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CONCEPTIONS OF NATURE IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

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Theoretical sciences study things of nature,
while practical sciences study those things
that were created by man by immitating nature.
(Aquinas, 1990, 42)

ABSTRACT

The paper examines the relationship between the nature and its explanans natural sciences and political concepts, their trajectories of change, showing the impact of the changes in one for the other. It shows examples from the Ancient, Medieval and Modern political thought. It particularly focuses on crucial modern divide between politics and nature, whereby in contrast with prevailing attitude in literature shows how nature and natural concepts are deeply embedded in politics and vice versa.

Key words: nature; natural law; physics; history of political thought; Machiavelli; Hobbes.

CONCEZIONI DELLA NATURA NELLA STORIA DEL PENSIERO POLITICO

SINTESI

L'articolo studia la relazione tra le concezioni della natura, le spiegazioni della stessa nelle scienze naturali e i concetti politici. Contrastando l'opinione generale che la natura e la politica siano due sfere separate, l'articolo illustra i vari tipi di collegamento e interazione tra loro in diversi periodi storici. Studiando casi della storia del pensiero politico antica, medievale e moderna, l'articolo presenta i modi di collegamento tra la natura e la politica, i cambiamenti nel rapporto tra di loro e l'influenza reciproca.

Parole chiave: natura; legge naturale, fisica, storia delle idee politiche, Machiavelli, Hobbes

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history nature has had an important role in politics. Natural concepts have been used in various historical periods to generate and influence perceptions of politics. Politics was usually seen on the receiving end of the nature-politics relationship, borrowing imagery and vocabulary from natural sciences that were, especially since the modern times, progressively thought of as explanans of nature. Some older (Ullmann, 1961) and some recent critical studies (e.g. Keller, 1995; Shogimen, 2007) have, however, shown that there is a relationship of mutual construction, and that concepts in the natural sciences are themselves affected by political, technological and informational concepts.

Each historical period brought different conceptions of the main political concepts, often based on the perceptions of nature. As the conceptions of nature by natural sciences changed, so have the concepts in politics. Revolutions in scientific knowledge of the 20th century brought reflexivity and subjectivity into natural sciences, something social sciences have long been based on. Social sciences no longer 'borrowed' from natural sciences, but rather contributed its concepts for describing and performing in natural sciences.

Despite of these recent exchanges and mutual influences, it still seems that the prevailing attitude is that there is a profound difference between nature and politics.[1] Politics is regarded as a social activity, something not to be mixed with natural activity or natural processes. In contrast with this common attitude that has been persisting for centuries with no clear end, we would like to argue that nature and natural concepts are deeply embedded in politics. We will show, by the way of selected examples from the history of political thought, the embeddedness of politics in the concepts of nature. The paper will examine the relationship between the nature and its explanans natural sciences and political concepts, their trajectories of change, showing the impact of the changes in one or the other domain for the other. It will look into the linkages, modifications and revolutions. We will begin by providing some examples from the Ancient and Medieval political thought, then we will move on to focus on the crucial modern divide between politics and nature, and finish with the consequences of Copernican revolution for political thinking.

THE IDEA OF NATURE IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT

Since ancient Greece, Western political thought has been full of natural metaphors, analogies with nature, and references to nature. Aristotle was convinced that humans are *zoon-politikons*, Plato compared a political leader with a physician, Cicero (1991, 34ff) analogized tyrannicide with cutting off an infected member, Aquinas argued that wisdom imitates nature, Machiavelli (1988, 61) was trying to show Lorenzo de' Medici that rulers can rule either by employing properly human means (i.e. laws) or by imitating the beasts. Ancient writers taught this political skill to ancient rulers by using allegorical tale of Achilles and other rulers who were entrusted to Chiron the centaur to raise them. Having a mentor who was half-beast and half-man signifies that a ruler needs to use both natures, human and beastly.

The origins of political references to nature can be traced back to ancient Greece. They are diverse, encompassing many aspects of nature that are allegorically or metaphorically then used in political matters. An analogy most used is the idea of body politic as a living organism. It can be traced back to the age of Pericles when Atenian polis achieved an extraordinary amount of political unity and developed organic analogy to express this unity (Hale, 1971, 18). The Athenian citizen was only fulfilling himself as a member of polis, as someone who takes part in the public affairs of polis. This basically meant discussion, debate, deliberating, election, holding office - participating actively in public life in general.

First examples of human body as an analogy to express unity of the state could be traced back to *Areopagiticus* (c. 355 BC) of Isocrates: »For the soul of a state is nothing else than its polity, having as much power over it as it does the mind over body; for it is this which deliberates upon all questions, seeking to preserve what is good and to ward off what is disastrous; and it is this which of necessity assimilates to its own nature the laws, the public orators and the private citizens; and all the members of the state must fare well or ill according to the kind of polity under which they live« (Isocrates, 1961, 7.14). Isocrates emphasized the participation of all citizens in the political life of polis and the dependence of their welfare on the proper functioning of the consitution of the city

Plato in *Republic* (c. 380 BC) speaks of the »healthy state« and »fevered state« (Book III)[2], while Aristotle (1996, 13) in *Politics* (Book I, 1253a, I, 4-5) says that »... it is evident that the state is a creature of nature and that man is by nature a political animal«. This reaffirms two basic principles of the idea of body politic: that society is natural, not the creation of man and that man's highest nature is to be part of society, not an individual (Hale, 1971, 21). Metaphorically wise we can speak of personification, when nonhuman becomes human (cf. Lakoff, Johnson, 1980/2003, 33).

The idea of body politic is made possible by Greek science, whose view of nature was generally accepted

1 This attitude is best summarized in Latour's Chapter 2 of *Politics of Nature* (2004).
2 Plato in the *Republic* also speaks of a metaphor of »fashioning« a happy city and he makes comparison to painting a statute (Zashin, Chapman, 1974, 303).

in Western thought until the Renaissance. In this view, the universe was created according to the most perfect model, Living Creature. The life and the psychological order that an individual posseses is identical with the life and order of polis and the Cosmos (Hale, 1971, 23). It is important to note that ancient Greek, like other modern languages (including English), has two important meanings for the word »nature« (*physis*). In one sense it is a sum of all created things, and in the other, it is also a defining principle of a thing, like quality of a thing. This has an important consequnce for the discussion about the idea of body politic. The state is in this respect is seen as a human organism: each member of the state has an important function which is natural and appropriate for both the part and the whole of which it is a part (Hale, 1971, 23). Aristotle (quoted in Hale, 1971, 23) even says that the constitution of an animal resembles that of well-governed city-state. According to him there is no need for special ruler with arbitrary powers in an ordered city, as there is no need for soul in each part of the animal body, because the nature has taken care of the functioning of the body, so that it performs functions in natural way (Hale, 1971, 23-24).

In Hellenic and Roman times close ties (including close family ties) of polis were replaced by other modes of inclusion into society. Political morality based on membership of a polis as a natural relation of the whole and its parts no longer seemed an appropriate mode of inclusion for larger territories and empires. Political thinking went along with new political conditions and Roman Stoics conceived political morality in terms of one's relations with other individuals and not with a polis (cf. Cooper and Procope, 1995). Seneca (1917-25, 91) writes in the 95th *Epistle to Lucilius*: »I can lay down for mankind a rule... for our duties in human relationships: all that you behold, that which comprises both god and man, is one - we are all parts of one great body. Nature produced us related to one another, since she created us from the same source and to the same end.«[3]

The idea of organic society from the later Stoics was passed into early Christian tradition. St. Paul in his *First Epistle to Corinthians* makes a number of points which are familiar with that of Stoics. He »assumes of hierarchiacal order, established by God (or nature), of differentiated parts, all of which are necessary to the body and which ought not, therefore, to reard themselves as either independent of the body or as superior to other members« (Hale, 1971, 29). This organic metaphor is frequently repeated as an admonition against disagreement and dissention among the Churches.

St. Augustine in *The City of God* (c. 410) brought organic thinking further and developed the idea of a mystical body (*corpus mysticum*) (Hale, 1971, 31-32).[4] This body has, in contrast to Athenian polis or Stoics universe, no real meaning in this world, but is rather community of the saved. The story is about the spiritual body, Christ being the head and members of the Church the body. The unity of the body and the head is achived through sacraments, for those who have eaten the body of Christ in the form of eucharisteia are incorporated in his body.

Throughout the Middle Ages the debate about mystical and real body of Christ continued. In the early Christian era both bodies were being kept apart, but at about the eight century, the concepts began to fuse (Hale, 1971, 35). Body of the Church also ceases to be just a community of believers, but becomes a supreme ecclestical hierarchy whose head is Pope. Papal supremacy is in ever stronger conflict with emerging national monarchies, whose response to the was the appropriation of the language of political theology and use of body politic metaphor influenced by the recent rediscovery of Aristotle's *Politics*. Hale (1971, 38-39) talks of three possible answers to Papal supremacy: either rulers acknowledged Papal claims and identified king or emperor as a heart and stressed the importance of this organ to the head. Or they could define distinct corpus naturale (secular body) with its own head, thus making things schizophrenic. Or, most radically, they could maintain that only Christ, and not the Pope, is the head.

Analogies to nature in political thinking are neither limited nor exclusive to the Western political thought. They can be found in Islamic, Indian and Japanese writings. The Arabic philosopher Al-Farabi, sometimes referred to also as Islamic Plato, compared physician and the king, the ancient Indian political thinker Sukura compared seven parts of the state with the organs of the human body, and the Tokugawa Japanese political philosopher Ogyu Sorai often analogized political rule with medical treatment (Shogimen, 2007, 208-209). Natural and medical analogies and metaphors in political writings relate to anatomical, physiological, diagnostical aspects, or treatment. While in Western medieval political discourses the medical treatment analogies often refer to coercive and punitive aspects of government, in Tokogawa Japan they serve to accentuate the government's role

3 As already mentioned in the Greek view of the universe, Stoics also thought that the world is a single, rational animal. The 'world-animal' or Nature was identified with Zeus, 'world-animal"s body is Zeus's body, its mind directing its movements in a perfectly rational way. Everything that happens in the world of nature is caused by his thought and always occurs for a good reason. Apart from animals, the only other rational animals are human beings, who are being governed by Zeus (that is, Nature) though use of human rational capabilities (cf. Cooper and Procope, 1995, xvii-xviii).

4 Organic analogies in medieval political writings have long attracted scholarly attention. Already at the turn of the twentieth century Otton von Gierke (1900) identified 'organic' analogies as distinctive feature in medieval European political discourses. See also works by Tilman Struve (1978) on organic metaphors in Middle Ages, Ernst Kantorowicz's classic *The King's Two Bodies* (1957), or Coker's *Organismic Theories of the State* (1910).

of preventing conflicts and maintaining stability without recourse to coercive measures (Shogimen, 2008, 80).

IN MODERN ERA, GOD IS REPLACED BY NATURE

The concept of the modern world as distinct from an ancient or medieval world is based on a premise that there has been a profound change, driven by human efforts to better the situation. Change was greater and profounder than ever before. Change was also different and by then not yet seen before. Transformation from an Old to the Modern is usually described as revolutionary, bringing advances in all areas of human activity – politics, industry, society, medicine, technology, economics, transport, communication, mechanization, culture, etc. Biblical value system was altered, monarchical system of government revalued, feudal economic system abolished, liberal and democratic ideas introduced in the areas of science, politics, sociology, economics. Distinct scientific methods were developed, which rejected myths and religious explanations of the world people lived in. New information about the world was discovered via empirical observation and deduction, leaving sole use of reason and religious arguments aside.[5]

Modern era thus begins by replacing the idea of God with idea of nature. World out there had been no longer God given, either as reward or punishment for human sins, but rather as neutral and independent entity that is capable of objective and value free observation, and is subjected to simple, non-teleological, i.e. mechanical laws (Jones, 1966, 20). Instead of thinking itself through God, Modern era thinks itself through nature. Sacredness, that had previously been a part of the legitimization of religious worldview, is now passed on to science. Science is the new explanans of nature. Science begins to be seen as being the only one with the proper relationship with nature and therefore capable of explaining its explanandum. Delegitimization of God as world creator and interpreter happens simultaneously with legitimization of science as nature's explanans. Natural sciences thus become reflections of modern period, through natural sciences modern civilization gets its awareness.

By introduction of a new explanans in the form of natural sciences, God is stripped of its "competences" of explaining the world and is left only with initial creation.[6] This process has foremost been going on in physics and is not yet finished.[7] Physics seems to be the principal science of the modern age, as it provides awareness of the modern era. Therefore it can be described as an ideology of the modern age: in physics Western civilization gets a basic consciousness about itself, its conflicts, creates its identity, and solves the conflicts.[8] The physics has a privilege to define what is the real, and with that what is the nature. Other sciences can on that basis create or discover only partial and/or derived realities. Although for Kant the premier science is mathematics, it lacks direct touch with reality and nature. Mathematics can only be connected with reality through physics (Kant, 1989, 12). Modern science has been so successful that it has become a "set of principles for ordering, acquiring and interpreting all knowledge" (Landau, 1961, 336). In other words, the findings of the physics have been prone to such generalizations that they profoundly affect "common understanding".

The crucial question every modern science has to answer is: What is natural? Only secondary comes the issue of an object of study of specific science. In that sense is the object of study of political science "determined" by the explanation of the world through physics. By defining what is real, it defines also limits of the political.[9]

Physics has been at the forefront of natural sciences because "history of physics clearly shows that the intro-

5 One of the examples of this division between humanist and scientific worldview is Hobbes's life and its reflection in political theory. Leo Strauss was the first to point out the dichotomy between Hobbes as humanist and scientist, while Tuck (1996, xxi) believes that a dichotomy between 'humanism' and 'science' is false, since for humanists of the late 16th century the status of natural sciences was bound up with moral philosophy. One can see this division as a moment in history where one paradigm was slowly being replaced by the other.

6 Hobbes, for example, believed that reflection on the nature of the universe would lead back to a concept of its creator – the being or event which started the mechanical processes which have persisted ever since (Tuck, 1996, xxiii).

7 Recent confirmation of an existence of an elementary particle called Higgs boson in July 2012 was described in mainstream media as discovery of »God particle«. Higgs boson is supposed to be, once it is completely confirmed, a particle that proves existence to the hypothetical Higgs field, in which elementary particles acquire mass through interaction. »God particle« may be the name of Higgs boson in the sensationalist media, but in historical perspective it is line with Modernity thinking of God as an initial creator and physics as nature's explanans.

8 Physics did not just define the new era in terms of a new awareness, but also served as ideological platform for capitalism as a production system. Physics models have influenced ideology of a class struggle, democratic resistances and revolutions, as well as other historic changes. See, among many of Althussers's works dealing with relations among philosophy, science, ideology and politics, *Philosophy and the Spontaneous Philosophy of the Scientists* (1990).

9 This is the dominant explanation that rests on a simple timeline of events. Modern social sciences have constituted themselves in the 19th century, after the physics had already taken place as the premier science. This dominant interpretation does not take into account the mutual transfers of knowledge and epistemical changes. See T. Kuhn's classic *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) on paradigms and paradigmatic shifts. (Post)modern constructivists are highly critical about reality as an objective entity that is not susceptible to the creative power of thought. They see it as a common philosophical error, because it presumes that reality is one, single super-thing, whereas looking at the ways in which we endlessly renegotiate reality as our discourses, images, practices of Self, resistances, mechanisms of Self-creation leads to quite another philosophically significant conclusion (Putnam, 1994, 452).

duction of the concept of force led to a methodological unification of the conceptual scheme of science." (Jammer, 1957, 242) Jammer (1957, 124) also notes that "force for the Newton was a concept given a priori, intuitively, and ultimately in analogy to human muscular force." Like other contemporary scientists, he started with the concept of the "natural individual".

Newton established "the first systematic deductive exposition of classical mechanics" (Jammer, 1957, 116) and therefore gave name to the mechanical consensus. Newtonian consensus is built on the concept of gravitation and from that concept of motion is derived. "I offer this work as the mathematical principles of philosophy, for the whole burden of philosophy seems to consist in this - from the phenomena of motions to investigate the forces of nature, and then from these forces to demonstrate the other phenomena." (Newton in Jammer, 1957, 119)

Out of this one can stipulate that physics informs elementary concepts for all sciences: body without inside structure and independent from anima and consciousness, movement, force (power), time, space, velocity, speed, work, energy, etc. The concepts, though they are also social and political concepts, have been because of the dominant position of physics immanent to every science, including political.

It is therefore not surprising that one of the initial questions of modern political thought is the question of reality. Hobbes (1996, 9) expressed his vision of (natural and mechanic) reality in the very first passage of the Introduction to the *Leviathan* (1651): "Nature (the art whereby God hath made and governs the World) is by the *Art* of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an Artificial Animal. For seeing life is but a motion of Limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principal part within; why may we not say, that all *Automata* (Engines that move themselves by springs and wheels as doth a watch) have an artificiall life? For what is the *Heart*, but a *Spring*; and the *Nerves*, but so many *Strings*; and the *Joynts*, but so many *Wheels*, giving motion to the whole body, such as was intended by the Artificer? *Art* goes yet further, imitating that Rationall and most excellent worke of Nature, *Man*."

Machiavelli in *Il Principe* (The Prince) (1532) embarked on a journey to discover "what really happens rather than on theories or speculations" (Machiavelli, 1988, 54). The Prince ought to be well acquainted with the human nature, to govern well and over a long period of time. Machiavelli's thought, written at about the same time as Luther's, starts from the same dominant position, split between fate in the form of God's actions and human decisions: »I am not unaware that many have thought, and many still think, that the affairs of the world are ruled by fortune and God that the ability of men cannot control them. Rather, they think that we have no remedy at all; and therefore it could be concluded that it is useless to sweat much over things, but to let them be governed by fate.« (Machiavelli, 1988, 84) Such a position is of course not acceptable for the burgeoning active political life of citizenry. Therefore he continues (1988, 85): »Nevertheless, so as not to eliminate human freedom, I am disposed to hold that fortune is the arbiter of half of our actions, but that it lets us control roughly the other half«. Freedom of human actions versus devine creation – in the modern political thought citizens' actions and rights gradualy replace God's regulatory role.[10]

It is not entirely up to God or fortune to determine actions of people. A lot depends also on circumstances or the times. Machiavelli is led to believe that »we are sucessful when our ways are suited to the times and circumstances, and unsucessful when they are not« (Machiavelli, 1988, 85). Apart from this, another innovation appears: routine in connection with natural inclinations. »And one does not find men who are so prudent that they are capable of being sufficienty flexible: either because our natural inclinations are to strong to permit us to change, or because, having always fared well by acting in a certain way, we do not think it is a good idea to change our methods« (Machiavelli, 1988, 86). At the beginning of the Chapter XXV entitled »How much power fortune has over human affairs, and how it should be resisted« Machiavelli thinks that God is arbiter to a half of human actions, while at the end nature, circumstances, and natural inclinations prevail in his thinking. God and fortune are being replaced by nature, reality independent of God that has a profound influence on the actions of the citizens.

For solutions to the political issues of the late 15th and early 16th century writers increasingly turned to nature, its laws, human nature, cirmustances, natural inclinations and mastering of the natural. How to understand human nature, how to master behaviour of people is one of the main tasks of Machiavelli and other writers at the time. Machiavelli is, based on historical lessons of why the rulers of Italy have lost their states, advising the prince not to lament on their bad luck but rather to find the reason in their own indolence (cf. Skinner, 1978, 113-138). »Only those defences that are under your control and based on your own ability are effective, certain and lasting« (Machiavelli, 1988, 84). If ruler wants to be praised for his qualities, it is not up to God but rather up to him to conduct himself in a praiseworthy manner. »But because it is not possible to have all of them [qualities], and because circumstances do not permit living a completely virtuous life, one must be sufficiently prudent to know how to avoid becoming notorious fo those vices that would destroy one's power and seek to avoid those vices that are not politically dangerous« (Machiavelli, 1988, 55).

10 In Hobbes's theory nature and God in their regulatory roles do not exist outside of the city, individual cannot appeal from the city to either nature of God. This is because Hobbes's sovereign's interpretation of Scripture is the only authoritative in the city (Brett, 2003, 105).

Machiavelli's political thinking expressed in the form of advice to the princes moves away from the abstract political thinking to the practical level. Though he may not be the first to sucessfully connect theory with political practice, he is certainly the first who embarks on his political thinking because of the practical issues and challenges Italian city-states are facing.[11] In this, he does away with scholasticism in the great fashion of Italian Renaissance[12] and turns to humanistic and naturalistic arguments. This is in direct conflict with the dominant Catholic and scholastic doctrines of the time about politics and ethics.[13] The language he uses is no longer Latin, but Italian vernacular, being popularised earlier by Dante Alighieri. Machiavelli's political thought is still somewhere 'in-between', as it is true for many of his contemporaries.

Jean Bodin's political thought is caught in the same split as Machiavelli's: between premodern and modern political thought. Bodin seeks in nature and science needed argumentation for political legitimation, but at the same time he uses arguments of scientific disciplines (e.g. astronomy) that we later land at the rand of scientific spectrum. In his *Six books on the Republic* (Les Six Livres de la Republique, 1576) he deals with issues of political power, order, monarchy, ordered political life, and, above all, sovereignty. As a trusted advisor to kings Charles IX and Henry III he was able to experience differences in laws between countryside and cities, and the power of clergy, gentry and local customs in limiting the central political power. Constant religious differences and wars in the 16th century France have driven central power apart, thus making it almost powerless and void. Bodin vision was therefore a strong, limitless central power, that would be internally as well as externally sovereign. He sought his argument for the theory of sovereignty in the divine authority, not in nature. »Since there is nothing greater on earth, after God, than sovereign princes, and since they have been established by Him as His lieutenants for commanding other men...,« Bodin (1996, 46) says that the sovereign prince is earthly image of God. Jones (1966, 84) is nevertheless convinced that Bodin is very clear about two issues: that the state is a natural instrument, and secondly, that there is a rational order in the universe that is above the will of the human beings to which they must be subjected. The latter applies to everyone, including sovereign princes: »... the laws of sovereign princes cannot alter or change the laws of God and of nature« (Bodin, 1996, 32).

In his elaborate theory of the influence of climate and related factors (water, soil, elevation, laws, customs and forms of states) Bodin holds that peoples of the north are resistant to strong authority and exibit weakened forms of sovereignty, while peoples of the south incline to extreme forms of authority and peoples of the middle regions to moderate and tempered forms of governance (Franklin, 1996, 131, n.46). All these factors play role in the natural inclinations of the peoples and are therefore very important to the lawmakers (Bodin, 1996, 26). Will of the people is always changable and uncertain, so it is almost impossible to make any predictions about the direction politics will take based on human behaviour (Jones, 1966, 75). Knowledge about politics should therefore be based on natural causality, by which Bodin thinks of movement of Earth, positions of stars and planets.

COPERNICAN REVOLUTION AND ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

In 1543 Nicholas Copernicus published his treatise *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium (The Revolution of Celestial Spheres*), and in it he presented a heliocentric model of the world and its context. That work challenged the age-old view that the universe worked quite differently, a geo-centric model that exaggerated the importance of the Earth, and, by extension, the importance of human beings. The realisation that we, our planet, and indeed our solar system (and even our galaxy) are quite ordinary in heavenly terms, since there are very likely myriads of planetary systems, provided a sobering and unsettling revision. All the reassurances of the cosmology of the Middle Ages were gone, and a new view of the world, less secure and comfortable, came into being. Despite these 'problems', and the many critics of the heliocentric view, this model of the solar system was soon accepted by the best minds of the time, such as Galileo[14].

For late seventeenth century writers of social and political thought, the Copernican revolution brought many challenges and opportunities. Suddenly categories of social and political thought that were previously central seemed peripheral and useless, or even empty of meaning, and the concepts of authority and subjection had to be worked out anew. No longer was the Earth the centre of the universe, planets did not move in perfect circles, and a world less secure and central to humankind was born. All this impacted on the political and social thinking at the time.

Disharmonies in the body politic became easier to explore, and a new individualism was coming of age.

11 »However, how man live is so different from how they should live that a ruler who does not do what is generally done, but persists in what ought to be done, will undermine his power rather than maintain it« (Machiavelli, 1988, 54).

12 It would be wrong to simply accept the traditional, but often misleading picture of the Renaissance as a period of sudden and explosive cultural change, where earlier intellectual traditions were simply replaced or outgrown by the new ones. One needs to be cautious, since there is a certain continuity of thought from the medieval *dictatores* and Petrarchan humanists of the late fourteenth century with Renaissance writers (Skinner, 1978, 101-102).

13 Because of these actions, Machiavelli is labelled as »theorist of liberty« (Skinner, 2000, 54-87).

14 Hobbes, being very interested in physics at the time, met with Galileo at Arcetri near Florence in 1635 (Tuck, 2002, 18).

Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and their fellow thinkers were presented with the challenge of forging new political theories and doctrines based on these new scientific discoveries. Walzer (1967, 192) argues that the new cosmology and theology were a great influence on political writers, but that there was not a straightforward translation of cosmological and theological ideas into political and social ones. "[Robert] Hooke might write that it was 'expedient' to understand the angelic hierarchy for the "more perfect direction" of mankind, but he did not mean that the best social order could be deduced from the structure of evangelic squadrons" (Walzer, 1967, 192). In other words, the Copernican revolution provided a new worldview, a new epistemic reality according to which knowledge about the world was being re-created. It provided new principles, new metaphors to orient and create political knowledge; it would later evolve into individualism and eventually liberalism (cf. Wolin, 1960, 282; Walzer, 1967, 203).

Accordingly, society came to be thought in terms of mechanics. Social processes were seen as determined processes, the motion (behavior) of bodies (human beings) was preset and controlled according to the laws of nature (Landau, 1961, 338). Natural man, whose properties included natural rights, was directed by natural forces to form societies. A state was no more than a sum of discrete bodies and elemental bodies.

Thomas Hobbes's political philosophy had two primary sources of influence: his classical humanist upbringing and education and scientific revolution of the 17th century, which he was witness to. His political writings, mostly written at the end of his carreer as philosopher and public servant and hugely influenced by his visits to the Continent and in-depth and personal knowledge of the Descrates's philosophy, are based on a vision of a human nature.[15] In one of his earlier political works *Elements of Law, Natural and Politic* (1640) he expressed his requirement for understanding of the nature: »True and perspicuos explication of the elements of *laws natural and politic (which is my present scope)* dependeth upon the knowledge of what is *human nature,* what is *body politic,* and what it is we call *law*.« (Hobbes, 1962, 182). He goes on to say, »Man's *nature* is the *sum of his faculties and powers*, as the faculties of *nutrition, motion, generation, sense, reason, etc*. These powers we do unanimously call *natural*, and we are contained in the definition of man, under these words, *animal and rational*.« (1962, 182-183) Such position is not surprising knowing that Hobbes's first discipline of study was physical doctrine of motion[16] and physical momentum.[17]

Hobbes's humanist understaning of human nature married with physical-mechanical worldview can be best observed in the beginning of *De Corpore Politico*. In it Hobbes declares from the outset that »Men [are] by nature equal« (1962, 277). The eqality of men should come from the fact that between mature men that are almost equal in their strenght, only little force is needed to take away other man's life. So one would expect that »men considered in mere nature, ought to admit amongst themselves equality« (1962, 277). But since there are differences in strenght, knowledge, seeking of vain glory and passions between men, since these differences are provoking men to be anything but moderate, all men must fight for their preservation. To fight is their natural right: »And forasmuch as necessity of nature maketh men to will and desire *bonum sibi*, that which is good for themselves, and to avoid that which is hurtful; but most of all, the terrible enemy of nature, death [...] It is therefore a right of nature, that every man may preserve his own life and limbs, with all the power he hath« (Hobbes, 1962, 278).

Hobbes's particular understanding of nature and its workings serves him to develop foundations of his political theory. By positioning all men equal in terms of their natural status, he is reflecting mechanical law of movement of bodies where all bodies, if in the same state, react the same to the outside forces. Newton's First Law of Motion from *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* reads: »Every body persists in its state of being at rest or of moving uniformly straight forward, except insofar as it is compelled to change its state by force impressed«. Hobbes was directly echoing this in *Leviathan* (1651): »That when a thing lies still, unlesse somewhat els stirre it, it will lye still for ever, is a truth no man doubts of. But that when a thing is in motion, it will eternally be in motion, unless somewhat els stay it, though the reason may be the same, (namely, that nothing can change it selfe,) is not so easily assented to. For men measure, not onely other men, but all other things, by themselves: and because they find themselves subject after motion to pain and lassitude, think every thing els growes weary of motion« (Hobbes, 1996, 15). Political expression of this mechanical thinking can be found in *De Corpore Politico*: »Every man by nature hath right to all things. [...] But that right of all men to all things, is in effect no better than if no man had right to any thing. For there is little use and benefit of the right man hath,

15 Hobbes was rather well aware of what was happening in the French philosphical circles at the time. He was aware of the works of Marsenne that was trying to marry critical insights of late Renaissance humanism with new natural science of Galileo. Marsenne had a profound influence on Descartes's thinking, which is best seen in his the collection of essays *A Discourse on the Method for Rightly Conducting the Reason and Searching for Truth in the Sciences* (Tuck, 2002, 19-20).

16 The various branches of philosophy, as Hobbes sees it, are all sciences of motion. Being mechanistic materialist, he understands reality as being comprised of »matter in motion«, where to understand a given thing or event, one must understand the »motions« that brought it into being (Finn, 2007, 7).

17 Hobbes's physics thinking can be best observed in his *De Corpore* (1639) chapters 7-11, 25, and Appendix 1 *A short Tract on First Principles* of the F. Tonnies edition of the *Elements of Law*.

when another as strong, or stronger than himself, hath right to the same. [...] Seeing then to the offensiveness of man's nature one to another, there is added a right of every man to every thing, whereby one man invadeth with right, and another man with right resisteth, and men live thereby in perpetual diffidence, and study how to preoccupate each other; the estate of men in this natural liberty, is the estate of war« (Hobbes, 1962, 279).[18]

Sixteenth and seventeenth century England experienced political transformations that were linked to the new worlds of the Copernican revolution. No longer was the harmony of various parts of the universe the most powerful metaphor; instead, the decay of the old cosmology and theology opened up a space for a new experience of man:

> *The body-in-motion upon which he [Hobbes] builds his system is a symbolic figure. It represents the individual human being, but in a very special way: no longer is he a member of the body politic; no longer does he have a place in a hierarchical system of deference and authority; no longer do his movements conduce to universal harmony. Instead, the individual is alone, separated from his fellows, without a master or a secure social place; his movements, determined by no one but himself, clash with the movements of the other, identical individuals; he acts out of chaos* (Walzer, 1967, 201).

The Newtonian world of mechanical motion became the reference-world for new political thought, a new source of metaphors, analogies, and images. Mechanism as a way of thinking comes from Hobbes' sensationalism - all that exists is body, all that occurs is motion, and the fundamental element of life is body (matter) in motion (Landau, 1961, 342)

So how did this mechanistic view of the universe come to influence politics and political science? Capra (1982, 68) claims that

> *Descartes himself had sketched the outlines of the mechanistic approach to physics,[19] astronomy, biology, psychology, and medicine. The thinkers of the eighteenth century carried the program further by applying the principles of Newtonian mechanics to the sciences of human nature and human society. The newly created social sciences generated great enthusiasm, and some of their proponents even claimed to have discovered a 'social physics'.[20] The Newtonian theory of the universe and the belief in the rational approach to human problems spread so rapidly among the middle classes of the eighteenth century that the whole era became the 'Age of Enlightenment'. The dominant figure in this development was the philosopher John Locke, whose most important writings were published late in the seventeenth century. Strongly influenced by Descartes and his personal friend Newton, Locke's work had a decisive impact on the eighteenth century thought.*

When Locke introduces definition of political power he claims that we have to "derive it from its Original", therefore "… we must consider what State all Men are naturally in, and that is, a *State of perfect Freedom* to order their Actions, and dispose of their Possessions, and Persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the Law of Nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the Will of any other Man." (Locke, 1964, 287) Being preeminent empiricist and rationalist, Locke thought of the natural law as a part of his rationalism.[21] He was convinced that the universe is to be understood rationally, including the working of the deity and relations of human beings. Natural law must always be compared and fit into the observed facts about the created world and human behavior (Laslett, 1991, 88).

Rousseau (1952, 330) was in a similar fashion as Locke calling for 'the original', that is understanding and knowing of the nature and natural man as preconditions for building political thought: "But as long as we are ignorant of the natural man, it is in vain for us to attempt to determine either a law originally prescribed to him, or that is best adapted to his constitution. All we can know with any certainty respecting this law is that, if it is to be a law, not only the wills to those it obliges must be sensible of their submission to it; but also, to be natural, it must come directly from the voice of nature." According to him his *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* is written on the basis of that what he has read "not in books written by your fellow creatures, who are liars, but in nature, which never lies. All that comes from her will be true; nor will you meet with anything false, un-

18 *Cf. Leviathan*: »Hereby, it is manifest, that during the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in the awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man.« (Hobbes, 1996, 88)

19 Descartes's approach to physics differs from Newton's over the idea of action at the distance. While Newton argued for the workings and consequences of gravitational force, Descartes argued for forces that work only through contact.

20 August Comte labelled his approach to social sciences 'social physics'. He accepted the assumptions of naturalism and saw the natural sciences as an example of how to set up a new foundation for objective reasoning. He believed that it is possible to discover natural laws of social life that would have the same validity as scientific laws of nature. On this view life in society is governed by the same laws as Newtonian mechanics (Smith, 1998, 79).

21 Both Hobbes and Locke have profundly changed they way politics was understood and praticed. Hobbes uses rather nice aphorism at the of the XXth chapter of the Leviathan to explain the change: »The skill of making, and maintaining Common-wealths, consisteth in certain Rules, as doth Arithmetique and Geometry; not (as Tennis-play) in Practice onely: which Rules, neither poor men have the leisure, nor men that have had the leisure, have hitherto had the curiosity, or the method to find out« (Hobbes, 1996, 145).

less I have involuntarily put in something of my own." (Rousseau, 1952, 334)

Hobbes and and his fellow contractualists (Locke, Rousseau, Grotius) were using the concept of nature as foundations of their political theories. The concept of social contract became fashionable in the 17th and 18th century, as the thinkers were preoccupied with the question how to build new foundations of political thought. One of their main concerns was to change perspective of political legitimation from hereditary and devine to natural origin. Out of this followed issue of transition from natural to civic and political state. The most explicit in this transition from natural liberty to human society was Hugo Grotius in his *De Iure Praedae* (1864) by stating: »human society does indeed have its origin in nature, civil society as such is based on deliberate institution.« (van Gelderen, 2006, 159)

The French revolution (1789) legalized this new political vision and effectively brought it to power. Nature became with the help of political power a new and dominant reality. By the same process, natural science became the state ideology. Modern political science began with political emancipation, that is with an act of recognition of individuals as citizens (citoyen), i.e. as discrete bodies that form the state. Bourgeois as a member of a civil society is an individual, which is recognized not as such but as an atom – the smallest particle of matter, an element of society, which understood itself through nature and natural science.

There are other numerous examples in the history of political thought where either natural, mechanic, biological or physical arguments, analogies or metaphors were being used for political thinking. Becker and Slaton (2000, 25-6) report that the American Founding Fathers were entrenched in the Newtonian worldview of their time by thinking in mechanistic terms, seeing individuals as independent units, accepting the supremacy of reason over emotion and being guided by cause-and-effect determinism (cf. Hamilton, Madison, Jay, 1982; Akrivoulis, 2008; Landau, 1961). Thomas Paine (1966, 161) declared in his essay *Common Sense* (1776) that: "All great laws of society are laws of nature". "We must shut our eyes against reason, we must basely degrade our understanding, not to see the folly of what is called monarchy. Nature is orderly in all her works, but this is a mode of government that counteracts nature. It turns the progress of the human faculties upside down." (Paine, 1966, 174) As one of many political scientists under influence of Newtonian physics, his acceptance of the Newtonian vision of the universe played an important role in shaping his political theories, and it served, through metaphor and analogy, to support his ideas about society and government. Together with many other political philosophers and scientists, he stated that politics could be rendered intelligible through metaphors of mechanics: "The Revolution of America presented in politics what was only *theory in mechanics*" (Paine, 1966, 154, authors' emphasis). William Bennett Munro, Professor of Government at Harvard University and President of the American Political Science Association in 1920s was one of the first to realise that American political science in the early 20th century was deeply entrenched in Newtonian thinking. In his *Presidential Address* to the Association on 28 December 1927 he claimed that:

Both the science and art of government still rest on what may be called the atomic theory of politics – upon the postulate that all able-bodied citizens are of equal weight, volume and value, endowed with various absolute and unalienable rights; vested with equally absolute duties; and clothed with the attribute of an individual sovereignty (quoted in Becker and Slaton, 2000, 39).

After Newton, at the time when Woodrow Wilson began to write about American politics (1870s), the influence of another natural analogy and metaphor prevailed. This time it was a metaphor of organism, biological science prevailed. Darwin had appeared. New modes of thought are introduced, new systems of analysis are employed. (Landau, 1961, 343) Organism replaced machine.

CONCLUSION

Modern political thought begins by dividing natural and political state of affairs that are connected by the social contract. Natural man is thus becomes political. This is not an evolutionary development, but a political decision born out of need to redefine what constitutes political. Ever since this development that mainly occurred in Europe of the 16th and 17th century, has politics been influences by conceptions of nature and mainstream political philosophy has been naturalized.

In this paper we have briefly sketched the relationship between conceptions of nature and their influence on politics. We were predominantly concerned with discipline of physics and time between the 15th and 17th century, when changes occurred that are still having a decisive impact on the way we perceive 'the political'. Although the natural sciences have seen the introduction of self-reflexive theories, especially in the form of quantum physics and the theory of relativity, and the social sciences have introduced various post-positivist and post-empiricist methodologies, 'the political' is predominantly still thought and imagined in relation to this tradition. Technological advances may have introduced new metaphors and analogies that differ from classical ones like the machine or the body (today we think, imagine and create using metaphors such as networks or flows), but the prevailing metaphor in political thought is still deeply within the Newtonian world experience.

The political concepts that are based on natural concepts are not present as language forms, but as cognitive schemata. They structure our systems of representation and meaning. They often function as 'dead' metaphors, though far from 'dead' in terms of their effectiveness and productivity.

POJMOVANJE NARAVE V ZGODOVINI POLITIČNE MISLI

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POVZETEK

Članek raziskuje odnos med koncepcijami narave, njenimi razlagami v naravoslovnih znanostih in političnimi koncepti. Kljub splošnemu prepričanju, da sta narava in politika ločeni sferi, so prikazani različni načini povezanosti in medsebojnega vplivanja v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih. V zgodovini so koncepcije narave pomembno vplivale na politiko in politično teorijo, predvsem z generiranjem in vplivanjem na to, kaj politika in politično sploh je. Vsako zgodovinsko obdobje je s spremembo v dojemanju narave prineslo tudi drugačne politične uvide. Članek z raziskovanjem primerov iz zgodovine političnih idej prikazuje načine povezanosti, spremembe v odnosu in medsebojni vpliv. Začetek nanašanja politike na koncepcije narave postavi v antično grško politično misel Isokrata, Platona in Aristotela. Nadaljuje z organicističnimi analogijami stoiške tradicije, ki je bila vpeljana tudi v zgodnjo krščansko misel ter srednjeveško politično misel. Pri tem opozarja, da analogije med naravo in politiko niso omejene zgolj na zahodno politično misel, temveč so tudi del indijskih, islamskih in japonskih tradicij. Posebej tematizira moderno politično misel in zamenjavo boga z znanostjo. Prikazuje razvoj fizikalne znanosti in spremljajoče inovacije v politiki (Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau), ki jih označi kot prevladujoče mehanicistične in newtonovske. Zaključuje, da so kljub izjemnemu razvoju novih teorij in metodologij v politični znanosti še vedno prevladujoče mehanske koncepcije.

Ključne besede: narava; naravni zakon; fizika; zgodovina političnih idej; Machiavelli; Hobbes.



Sl. 1: Nagrobnik Niccolòja Machiavellija, Firence, Cerkev Sv. Križa (Foto: Alinari)
Fig. 1: Tombstone of Niccolò Machiavelli, Florence, Church of St. Cross (Photo: Alinari)

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THE ANATOMY OF TOLERATION

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SUMMARY

Both historically and conceptually, toleration is primarily associated with the liberal model of citizenship. Despite its central role in contemporary political thought, toleration remains subject to various controversies and disagreements. This article aims to present the basic dynamics of toleration in a plurally diverse polity. The introductory part of the article presents the changes toleration has been subject to as well as the theoretical problems associated with it. The second part presents in detail the conditions and the circumstances of toleration. The third part of the article analyzes the moral and conceptual objections to toleration. The fourth part presents the logical and the moral dimension of the limits of toleration. The final part of the article reclaims the centrality of toleration as the basic model of engagement with diversity in a plurally diverse polity.

Key words: toleration, diversity, pluralism, moral objections to toleration, conceptual objections to toleration, the limits of toleration

L'ANATOMIA DELLA TOLLERANZA

SINTESI

Sia storicamente che concettualmente, la tolleranza è associata principalmente con il modello liberale della cittadinanza. Nonostante il suo ruolo centrale nel pensiero politico contemporaneo, la tolleranza rimane soggetto a diverse polemiche e disaccordi. Questo articolo si propone di presentare le dinamiche di base della tolleranza in una comunità politica plurale diversificata. La parte introduttiva del articolo presenta le variazioni la tolleranza è stato soggetto a nonché i problemi teorici ad esso associati. La seconda parte presenta in dettaglio le condizioni e le circostanze di tolleranza. La terza parte di questo articolo analizza le obiezioni morali e concettuali di tolleranza. La quarta parte presenta la dimensione logica e la dimensione morale dei limiti della tolleranza. La parte finale dell'articolo rivendica la centralità della tolleranza come il modello di base d'impegno con la diversità in una comunità politica plurale diversificata.

Parole chiave: la tolleranza, la diversità, il pluralismo, obiezioni morali contro la tolleranza, obiezioni concettuali contro la tolleranza, i limiti della tolleranza

FOUNDATIONS OF THE TOLERATION-BASED APPROACH TO DIVERSITY

The understanding of the basis of a liberal conception of toleration, writes Samuel Scheffler, 'has taken on a renewed urgency at this historical moment' (Scheffler, 1994, 5) since liberalism's commitment to tolerating diversity is also responsible for much of what is problematic and burdensome about classical as well as contemporary liberalism. The complexity of the foundations, nature and value of toleration and the controversiality of the status, the justification and the limits of what is to be tolerated, raise a number of questions over the basis of toleration in a plurally diverse polity. As the existing literature on this topic exemplifies clearly (e.g. Castiglione and McKinnon, 2003; Dees, 2004; Deveaux, 2000; Galeotti, 2002; Heyd, 1996; Kukathas, 2003; McKinnon, 2006; Mendus, 1989; Newey, 1999; Parekh, 2000; Rawls, 1993; Sardoč, 2010; Scanlon, 2003; Taylor, 1997; Walzer, 1997; Williams and Waldron, 2008), the persistence of the moral and conceptual objections against toleration confirm that a number of issues associated with the toleration-based approach to diversity and the possibility conditions of toleration remain contested. While both classical and contemporary proponents of toleration argued succinctly for its necessity for the maintenance of a stable political community, its *status*, its *justification* and the *limits* of what is to be tolerated have met with a number of objections and criticisms throughout its historical development.[1] At the heart of these controversies over the foundations, nature and value of toleration, lie a number of conceptual and normative problems stemming from the requirements of equal civic respect for diversity. Three basic questions associated with the controversies over the toleration-based approach to diversity contributed in large part to the ambivalence over the status and the value of toleration in a plurally diverse polity, i.e. [*i*] *why* toleration; [*ii*] toleration of *what* [what is a legitimate object of toleration]; and [*iii*] *how* to tolerate.

The basic aim of this article is to provide both a clarification and a defence of a toleration-based approach to diversity since toleration, as William A. Galston emphasises, is a 'core attribute of liberal pluralist citizenship' (Galston, 2009, 98). Clarification, because the complexity of the foundations, nature and the value of toleration as a political concept and the controversiality of the status, the justification and the limits of toleration in a plurally diverse polity, raise a set of challenges associated with the possibility conditions of the toleration-based approach to diversity. Defence, because a toleration-based approach to diversity, as Meira Levinson argues, 'is one of the hallmarks of both a liberal state and the liberal citizen' (M. Levinson, 1999, 103).

This article consists of six sections. I present in Section I the main philosophical and conceptual issues related to the toleration-based approach to diversity since our intuitive notion of toleration consists of a variety of conflicting meanings and interpretations. I first elaborate the different questions associated with a liberal conception of toleration and then outline the foundations of a toleration-based approach to diversity. I then identify in section II the conditions and circumstances of a toleration-based approach to diversity as well as critically evaluate the principal arguments associated with the justification of toleration in a plurally diverse polity. It is in this section that the complexity of the toleration-based approach to diversity comes to the forefront. In particular, I aim to clarify the principal background conditions a particular act must be consistent with in order to qualify as an act of toleration. In Section III of this article, I articulate the most pressing moral and conceptual objections against the toleration-based approach to diversity advanced by its many critics. Each of the moral and conceptual objections presented in this section criticises a particular element of the background conditions of toleration identified in section II of this article. Section IV examines two separate dimensions of the limits of toleration existing conceptions of toleration fail to identify. In the concluding section of this article, I reclaim the centrality of the toleration-based approach to diversity for any conception of engagement with diversity that claims to be consistent with a rights-based conception of citizenship.

The puzzle of toleration

The history and the development of toleration within the liberal tradition revolves around three basic questions identified by Susan Mendus in her *Toleration and the Limits of Liberalism*: [*i*] What is toleration? [*ii*] What is its justification? and [*iii*] What are the limits of toleration? (Mendus, 1989). Throughout the history of liberal political theory, a number of different arguments have been articulated to support toleration as a mechanism to grapple with the various forms of diversity that were sources of conflict. Liberalism, as Susan Mendus persuasively argues, 'begins from a premise of individual

1 This ambivalence towards a particular notion can also be found when examining some other basic concepts, e.g. patriotism. Despite the fact that toleration and patriotism are almost diametrically opposed, these two concepts share some basic points in common. While patriotism and toleration are far from compatible, they share their dependence on its object, i.e. what Rainer Forst named as a ‚normative dependent concept' (Forst, 2007). For example, if we are tolerant of violence, toleration would not be recognized as a virtue. The same would apply for patriotism (Kodelja, 2011). For example, constitutional patriotism is generally recognized as positive, as it is based on the commitment to shared public values and common principles of a plurally diverse polity, e.g. equality, justice, freedom, whereas ‚unconditional' patriotism [‚My country right or wrong'] is far from unproblematic. The similarity between toleration and patriotism is also *contextual*, as both patriotism and toleration were articulated long before the introduction of democratic political regimes (Ben-Porath, 2007).

diversity' (ibid., 56). Ever since the aftermath of the Medieval wars of religion where liberalism was born, modern societies have grappled with religious and other forms of conscience-based diversity as potential sources of division and conflict. However, toleration, as different scholars point out, was not a mechanism for accommodation of diversity. As Michael Walzer rightly emphasises, the form of toleration that emerged out of the wars of religion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 'is simply a resigned acceptance of difference for the sake of peace' (Walzer, 1997, 10). Historically, toleration arose out of doctrinal strife within the Catholic Church during the 16th and the 17th Century in Europe (e.g. Dees, 2004; Kaplan, 2010; Mendus, 1989; Williams & Waldron, 2008). The transformation of toleration from a pragmatic and prudential mechanism necessary for the security of an absolutist monarchy (e.g. in Medieval Europe) or empire (the Ottoman Empire)[2] into to a 'universally' acceptable principle to accommodate diversity needs further clarification. As William Galston emphasises:

> *Religious toleration may well have begun as a modus vivendi directed toward the abatement of pious cruelty, but it developed into a doctrine of principled limits to state power.* (Galston, 2002, 116)

In other words, liberalism as a political theory about the limits of the state and its institutional framework has universalised the toleration-based approach to diversity as a major mechanism of stability and peaceful coexistence between conflicting conceptions of the good by placing restrictions 'on the rationale that can be employed to justify state policy and on the means available to the state in pursuit of its aims' (Macleod, 1997, 542). The liberal formula that has developed out of the liberal model of toleration was based on two interrelated strategies that are closely associated with the toleration-based approach to diversity. The first of these was the 'strategy of privatisation' that delimited the impact of a conflict and the second the strategy of non-interference. Both strategies associated with the toleration-based approach to diversity have had a crucial impact on the success of accommodating diversity in a plurally diverse polity as well as on the criticism against the liberal formula of resolving conflicts over conflicting conceptions of the good that can be labelled as *the puzzle of toleration*.

Two distinct problems related to the liberal doctrine of toleration can be identified here. The first concerns the strategy of privatisation associated with toleration. The other – and perhaps more problematic – is the universalisation of the toleration-based approach to diversity, as some scholars have argued, to the area of ethical choice in general. On this interpretation, the liberal formula is based on the assumption of 'liberal expectancy' (Rosenblum, 1998, 53–57), which is the expectation that the two strategies associated with the toleration-based approach to diversity will gradually move the tolerated towards those who tolerate them. As Sanford Levinson empasizes, toleration of diversity includes the expectancy that 'exposure to diverse beliefs and ways of life over time will shift the tolerated's view towards those of the tolerator' (S. Levinson, 2003, 91–92). Liberals hope and expect, writes Will Kymlicka, 'that ethnic, religious, and cultural associations will, over time, voluntarily adjust their practices and beliefs to bring them more in line with the public principles of liberalism, which will reduce the 'incongruence' between associational norms and liberal principles' (Kymlicka, 2002, 103). Similarly, as Jürgen Habermas emphasises eloquently,

> *[t]he liberal state expects that the religious consciousness of the faithful will become modernized by way of a cognitive adaptation to the individualistic and egalitarian nature of the laws of the secular community.* (Habermas, 2003, 6)

However, the two strategies identified above have also contributed to a number of challenges that are associated with the failure of the toleration-based approach to diversity – on some interpretations – to pay equal civic respect to all members of a plurally diverse polity. Three potential 'perverse' side effects associated with the puzzle of toleration can be identified here, i.e. [*i*] the overall reduction of diversity; [*ii*] the transformative effect on citizens' character; and [*iii*] the creation of conflicting diversity. The first challenge consists in the reduction of social, cultural and religious diversity due to the spillover of a liberal political culture into other areas of social life, e.g. the associative networks of civil society. As John Gray points out, 'liberal societies tend to drive out non-liberal forms of life, to ghettoize or marginalize them, or to trivialize them' (Gray, 1996, 154).

Secondly, the transformative effect of the toleration-based approach to diversity does have a spillover effect on citizens' overall behaviour in other social spheres. As Jeff Spinner-Halev rightly emphasises, 'toleration is not only about establishing a private sphere; it also makes demands on how citizens act in public' (Spinner-Halev, 1994, 38). In this sense, the toleration-based approach would be inconsistent with the 'liberal promise', for example with the prudential commitment 'not to impose on some the values of others' (Sandel, 2005, 109). Thirdly, the toleration of diversity is likely to create the risk of marginalising those forms of diversity that are inconsistent with the toleration-based approach to di-

2 A comparative perspective on different 'regimes of toleration' is presented by Michael Walzer in his book *On Toleration*. For a historical insight into the transformation of toleration from a prudential mechanism into a mechanism that establishes religious pluralism, see Kymlicka (1996) and Dees (2004).

versity or otherwise incompatible with common principles and shared public values in a plurally diverse polity. On this interpretation, we might end up with a less heterogeneous society but – at the same time – there is greater risk of both alienation of these groups from the basic institutional framework of a plurally diverse polity and the creation of conflicting diversity that creates greater distance between members of the mainstream and those members of a polity whose values, beliefs or conceptions of the good might be either incompatible or in tension with common principles and shared public values.

In order to examine in detail the various objections to the toleration-based approach to diversity that are to be addressed in Section III of this article, I examine below the conditions and the circumstances of toleration, i.e. the general structure of the act of toleration that define the internal dynamics of any act that claims to be an act of toleration and the background conditions with which a particular act needs to be consistent with in order to qualify as an act of toleration.

CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF TOLERATION

In order to examine in detail the moral and the conceptual objections against the toleration-based approach to diversity [Section III], there is a twofold task to be undertaken at this stage. First, I have to identify the foundational elements of a toleration-based approach to diversity, such as the elements that constitute the basis of any conception of toleration that claims to be consistent with a rights-based conception of citizenship. Second, and relatedly, I have to identify the principal background conditions of a toleration-based approach to diversity. This must include the circumstances a particular act needs to be consistent with in order to qualify as an act of toleration.[3] The general structure of a toleration-based approach to diversity can be formulated by the following formula[4]:

A tolerates B despite/because of the fact that B believing or doing p A finds false and/or morally objectionable.[5]

There are four basic elements in the formulation of the structure of toleration explicated above, i.e. [*i*] the *tolerating agent* [agent A], that exercises the capacity for toleration; [*ii*] the *tolerated agent* [agent B], that is being tolerated by the tolerating agent [agent A]; [*iii*] the *object of toleration* [action or belief p] – the source of disagreement between the two agents [A and B]; and [*iv*] the *justifying ground for toleration*, i.e. the rationale, why the action or belief p is being tolerated. The basic elements that constitute the general structure of toleration define the internal dynamics of any act that claims to be an act of toleration. However, there exist a number of different interpretations of the basic elements that constitute the structure of toleration identified above. I can identify three principal controversies associated with the foundations, nature and the value of toleration that need further clarification.

First, *who* can qualify as an agent of toleration, e.g. is this an individual, a group, a political community? Next, what is the nature of the object of toleration? *What* do we actually tolerate? A doctrinal belief [e.g. religious belief], a value or a particular practice? What form of diversity can count as a legitimate object of toleration? Finally, *how* do we actually tolerate? Do we merely allow the object of toleration to exist, we do not persecute the tolerated agent or does the tolerating agent need to extend some positive protection to the tolerated agent, e.g. the active support, respect or recognition of its practice or beliefs?

The background conditions of toleration set the terms a given act has to meet if it is to qualify as an act of toleration. The circumstances of the toleration-based approach to diversity therefore refer to those elements of shared public life that give rise to the conditions of toleration. In fact, a number of background conditions need first to be fulfilled in order for a particular attitude to qualify as an act of toleration. The conditions of the toleration-based approach to diversity can be formulated by the following characteristics:

- recognition of the disagreement over a particular belief, practice or value both the tolerating and the tolerated agent find important [*the importance condition*];
- rejection of the belief, practice or value of the tolerated agent and its moral disapproval, i.e. the existence of a conflict between values, beliefs or attitudes among the two agents [*the disapproval condition*];
- possibility of the malleability of the object of toleration, e.g. a doctrinal [religious or ethical] belief, a value or a particular practice carried out by the tolerated agent [*the malleability condition*];
- conditional acceptance of the source of disagreement between the two agents as a legitimate

3 For a somewhat different set of background conditions of toleration, see Deveaux, 2000: 43; Laegaard, 2010: 18; McKinnon, 2006: ch.1; Newey, 1999: chs.1-2; and Shorten, 2005.

4 The formula that presents the general structure of a toleration-based approach to diversity is based on some aspects of Alan Gewirth's article 'Why Rights are Indispensable' (1986).

5 An argument for toleration, writes Jeremy Waldron, 'gives a reason for not interfering with a person's beliefs or practices even when we have reason to hold that those beliefs or practices are mistaken, heretical or depraved. (Questions of toleration do not arise in relation to beliefs or practices which are regarded as good or true.)' (Waldron, 1993: 90).

source of conflict [*the reasonableness condition*].[6]

Each of the background conditions identified above is a necessary element of any act that claims to be an act of toleration. In this sense, *the importance condition* basically refers to the moral cost the act of toleration has for the tolerating agent. If, suppose, the tolerated agent [agent B] holds a belief that Earth is triangular, the tolerating agent [agent A] might find this belief either irrelevant or unimportant and therefore neither necessary nor required to be tolerated. The importance condition requires that believing or doing *p* must be of crucial importance for both the tolerating agent [agent A] as well as for the tolerated agent [agent B].

Next, *the disapproval condition* depends on the evaluative judgement of the object of toleration by the tolerating agent. As Graham Haydon emphasises, '[i]f we do not in some way dislike or disapprove of something, the question of tolerance towards it does not arise' (Haydon, 2006, 460). However, it is necessary not to confuse toleration with *civility* and *indifference* (Walzer, 1997) or *resignation* (Galeotti, 2002) as the circumstances of toleration, writes Glen Newey, 'arise out of conflicting beliefs about value' (Newey, 1999, 158).

Furthermore, *the malleability condition* primarily refers to the very character of the object of toleration. Two contrasting interpretations of this background condition of toleration can be identified here, i.e. 'old' and 'new' toleration (Jones, 2006). On the one hand, 'old' toleration is basically concerned with religious and moral disagreement. The beneficiaries of toleration were individuals and 'what was tolerated – their beliefs and values – were self-chosen rather than ascriptive features of those individuals' (ibid., 125). On this interpretation, the object of toleration that is the source of conflict or disagreement between the two agents is basically temporary in nature. More precisely, the paradoxical nature of toleration refers to its temporary status. On the other hand, 'new' toleration, as Peter Jones emphasises, is to be directed at group identities rather than conscience-based commitments of individuals.

Finally, *the reasonableness condition* of disapproval between the two agents of toleration is primarily concerned with the justification of toleration that presents itself as the motivational foundation of an act of toleration. Both early and modern advocates of toleration have offered a number of different accounts of the justification of why and how a particular form of diversity should be tolerated, e.g. religious, prudential, sceptical, epistemic, political, justice-based and pluralist. For example, the early liberal account of toleration exemplified by John Locke in his *Letter Concerning Toleration* (Locke, 2010) is characterized by two prevailing justifications for toleration, i.e. [i] the prudential argument; and [ii] the sceptical argument. In the first justification for toleration, he argued that using force is not the right way of resolving a conscience-based dispute since by forcing someone to change his religious *belief*, we do not get the conversion for the right purpose and therefore cannot qualify as a sincere belief. As Stephen Macedo eloquently emphasises, for Locke 'persecution is irrational because faith depends on inward assent and cannot be coerced' (Macedo, 2007, 814). Second, he argued that belief can be *fallible*. Since we do not know what the right way to salvation is, we have to tolerate a variety of religious paths.

The conditions and the circumstances of toleration identified above set limits to what qualifies as a relevant act of toleration. In this respect, toleration is to be clearly delimited from attitudes that might have similar practical effects but are not equivalent with it at the moral level, e.g. indifference, compromise or resignation. In this respect, I agree with David Heyd's narrowing down of the concept of toleration:

> *[t]he concept of toleration must be narrowed down in its philosophical use so as to refer strictly to cases in which restraint in the response to another's belief or action is based on some specifically moral grounds (thus excluding both compromise and indifference)*. (Heyd, 1996, 4)

Understood in this way, toleration therefore does not arise in cases where a conflict – however important – is limited to pragmatic considerations only but to those forms of diversity that are primarily publicly relevant. Yet, despite its centrality in the history of liberal political thought, a number of objections against the foundations, nature and the value of toleration have been advanced by a vast range of critics. In the next section of this article I examine the most pressing objections raised against the inadequacy of toleration.

MORAL AND CONCEPTUAL OBJECTIONS TO TOLERATION

The inadequacy of the toleration-based approach to diversity has been advanced on a number of grounds. Two prevailing sets of objections can be associated with these criticisms, i.e. [*i*] the moral objections to toleration; and [*ii*] the conceptual objections against toleration. Central to the moral objections against toleration have been three interrelated objections that point to the morally troubling character of the toleration-based approach to diversity, i.e. [i] the social fragmentation objection; [ii] the virtue-based objection; and [iii] the justice-based objection. The conceptual objections to toleration consist of four differing objections that ques-

6 As Meira Levinson points out, '[i]ndividuals can accept other people' s conceptions of the good as reasonable and therefore as worthy of toleration and respect only if they are able to see their own background and commitments as in some way contingent' (Levinson, 1999: 45).

tion the consistency of the toleration-based approach to diversity with the liberal version of the rights-based conception of citizenship, i.e. [i] the strategy of privatisation objection; [ii] the redundancy objection; [iii] the inegalitarian objection; and [iv] the paradoxical objection.

Each of the objections that constitute the two sets of objections identified at the outset of this section point to a specific shortcoming associated with the toleration-based approach to diversity. However, a couple of distinct features characterise each of the two sets of objections. On the one hand, the moral objections to toleration refer primarily to the morally troubling *value* of the toleration-based approach to diversity. For example, the assertion that toleration is insufficiently inclusive and respectful of diversity, i.e. that it does not give equal weight to the different, values, beliefs and conceptions of the good present in a plurally diverse polity. Furthermore, two distinct puzzles associated with the morally troubling character of toleration identified by the moral objections against the toleration-based approach to diversity need to be emphasised here, i.e. [*a*] the process-based puzzle; and [*b*] the goal-based puzzle. The process-based puzzle refers to the morally troubling nature of the toleration-based approach to diversity, e.g. that the mere act of toleration including non-interference with conceptions of the good, practices or values that are the object of toleration is in itself problematic. On this interpretation, the very toleration of diversity is morally problematic as it might contribute to social fragmentation and a reduced degree of civic unity among citizens. In contrast, the goal-based puzzle is primarily concerned with the outcome of the toleration-based approach to diversity. On that view, toleration fails to develop in citizens the basic civic virtues to maintain the basic institutional framework of a plurally diverse polity. On the other hand, the conceptual objections against toleration refer primarily to the puzzling *nature* of the toleration-based approach to diversity. For example, the inegalitarian objection against toleration points toward an inconsistency between toleration and the social, cultural and political pluralism that is the result of the toleration-based approach to diversity. I examine below the two sets of objections to toleration separately.

Moral objections to toleration

The social fragmentation objection

Advocates of the social fragmentation objection argue that accommodation of diversity associated with the toleration-based approach to diversity fails to take into account the unity required to sustain a plurally diverse polity and its basic institutional framework. As Chandran Kukathas has eloquently elaborated the principal characteristics of this objection, '[t]he greater the diversity of cultural groups with independent moral traditions within a polity, the less the extent of social unity within that political society' (Kukathas, 2003, 160). The morally troubling character of toleration associated with this objection is premised on the assertion that the presence of different and competing values, beliefs and practices undermines both civic unity and social cohesion of a plurally diverse societies. As Will Kymlicka points out,

> *if society accepts and encourages more and more diversity, in order to promote cultural inclusion, it seems that citizens will have less and less in common. If affirming difference is required to integrate marginalised groups into the common culture, there may cease to be a common culture.* (Kymlicka, cited in Beiner, 1995, 6)

Furthermore, the social, cultural, religious and doctrinal diversity would undermine the equitable distribution of resources due to the lack of a sense of civic unity and social cohesion among members of a political community.[7]

The virtue-based objection

The virtue-based objection to toleration consists of the claims that toleration of diversity fails to develop in citizens the basic civic virtues to maintain the basic institutional framework of a plurally diverse polity that provide us with the 'conditions of liberty'. On this interpretation, the social consequences of toleration would undermine citizens' allegiance to our shared public institutions as well as the capacities and dispositions associated with active engagement in various activities of common interest. Furthermore, social conservative and civic republican scholars advance a criticism, that the toleration-based approach to diversity is basically ineffective in itself as instead of producing citizens equipped with the virtues, capacities and dispositions for active involvement in public life, it creates citizens without a sense of community and membership as well as public responsibility in general. On this interpretation, the morally troubling character of toleration creates the very conditions that would undermine both civic unity and social stability.

The justice-based objection

In contrast to the previous two moral objections advanced primarily by social conservative and civic republican critics of the toleration-based approach to diversity, the justice-based objection to toleration is advanced by multiculturalists (e.g. Parekh, 2000; Taylor,

7 For the discussion of the tensions between the politics of redistribution and the politics of recognition, see Banting & Kymlicka (eds.) (2006).

1997). Its main argument is that the toleration-based approach to diversity does not give enough weight to the distinctive character of those groups and individuals that are – in one way or another – not part of society's mainstream. More precisely, multiculturalists argue forcefully that toleration is insufficiently inclusive in confronting claims associated with equal civic respect for diversity. The accommodation of diversity based on the principle of toleration, so the criticism goes, offers an inadequate response to the circumstances of multicultural democratic societies as it fails to pay equal civic respect to all citizens in the design of its basic institutional framework. Contrary to the social fragmentation objection, the justice-based objection claims that the toleration-based approach to diversity has deleterious effects on tolerated agents. In this sense, claims for recognition advanced by non-dominant minority groups need to be articulated as justice-based claims for public recognition of their distinctive identities so that the members of these groups can enjoy the same basic conditions associated with their cultural diversity. The moral objections identified above could lead to the conclusion that the social consequence of tolerating diversity is morally problematic. While the first and the second objection identified above share the claim that the toleration-based approach is basically *ineffective*, the third objection claims that toleration is primarily *unjust*.

Conceptual objections to toleration

Several conceptual objections to toleration can also be identified. They differ from the moral objections against toleration examined in the previous section of this article primarily in terms of the criticisms of the various aspects of the *nature* of toleration. Four basic conceptual objections against the toleration-based approach to diversity can be identified here, i.e.: [i] the strategy of privatisation objection; [ii] the redundancy objection; [iii] the inegalitarian objection; and [iv]; the paradoxical objection. Let me examine each of them in turn.

The strategy of privatisation objection

One important aspect of toleration consists in the removal of the disrupting source of potential conflict between the two or more agents of toleration from shared public life thus neutralizing the potential conflict. Its protection of religious freedom and freedom of thought in general, cannot be subsumed under the protection of other forms of diversity, such as ethnocultural diversity. On this interpretation, as some scholars have argued, its 'strategy of privatisation' functions as a kind of limit on accommodation of diversity. Instead of demanding that individuals renounce their membership in a religious community or the associative network of civil society, the toleration-based approach to diversity basically requires that any doctrinal allegiance is to be kept out of shared public life. At the same time, some critics even argue that what liberalism and its toleration-based approach to diversity does is that it disvalues the object over which there is a dispute, for example a religious belief or a conception of the good.

The redundancy objection

Another important objection to the toleration-based approach to diversity is that toleration is basically redundant as with the introduction of equal basic rights, the issue of opposition towards a particular practice or value would not arise (Galeotti, 2002). According to this objection, toleration is irrelevant to the functioning and justice of a plurally diverse polity and its basic institutional framework. A related objection against toleration has been that it is not appropriate for a plurally diverse polity. In this sense, toleration is basically what remained from previous undemocratic and illiberal societies. As Monique Deveaux emphasises, 'weak toleration', i.e. a model of toleration that relies exclusively on non-interference 'is perhaps best suited to the contexts of nondemocratic states, where discrimination and persecution on religious and ethnic grounds are still much in evidence' (Deveaux, 2000, 46). On this interpretation, toleration is an institutional mechanism which is not appropriate for a plurally diverse polity as it is inconsistent with common principles and shared public values together with the rights-based conception of citizenship.

The inegalitarian objection

The objection that toleration is basically inegalitarian can be further divided into two basic criticisms. The first criticism consists in the claim that toleration reflects a hierarchical position of power. On this interpretation, Samuel Scheffler emphasises, the asymmetrical character of toleration reveals that 'it is the prerogative of the strong to tolerate the weak, but the weak are not in a position to tolerate the strong' (Scheffler, 2010, 315). The other critical part of the inegalitarian objection argues that toleration is an inadequate model for accommodating diversity since the rights-based conception of citizenship is based on the ideal of civic equality thus making toleration in a plurally diverse polity both logically and politically contradictory. Another element characterizing the circumstances of toleration is that the tolerating agent has the power to interfere with the practice, belief or value that is the source of disagreement whereas the tolerated agent does not. On this interpretation, toleration is a one-way relationship with an asymmetry of power between the two parties and is therefore implicitly inegalitarian as it does not presuppose some sort of equality between the two agents [agent A and agent B].

The paradoxical objection

The paradoxical objection against toleration needs to be divided in two separate criticisms that refer to some paradoxical character of the toleration-based approach to diversity. First, the paradoxical nature of toleration refers to the temporary nature of toleration and is connected with the malleability condition of toleration identified in Section II of this article. Once the tolerated agent accepts the doctrinal perspective of the tolerating agent, toleration is no longer necessary. Second, one of the strongest objections to toleration has been advanced by scholars who are sympathetic to liberalism or come from within liberal circles themselves (Williams, 2007 [ch. 10]; Scanlon, 2003 [ch. 10]). According to this version of the paradoxical objection associated with the nature of toleration, the very status of toleration as a virtue is questioned since it is being depicted as negative in nature. On this interpretation, exercising toleration, i.e. not interfering with a particular value, belief or practice we dislike or disapprove of, is in itself seen as paradoxical. In this sense, tolerating the choices, practices, beliefs or actions of the tolerated agent we find wrong or false would therefore not qualify as a virtue.

To summarise: there are two ways to understand the moral and the conceptual objections to the toleration-based approach to diversity. First, at one level, toleration is characterised by *inconclusivess* as it does not and cannot generate agreement on fundamental values or beliefs which are the object of disagreement between the two agents (the tolerating agent [agent A] and the tolerated agent [agent B]).[8] Despite the absence of agreement on the true or the right character of the dividing value, belief or practice, the two agents remain divided on the foundational value of the object of toleration. 'Toleration rightly understood', writes William Galston, imposes 'the principled refusal to use coercive state instruments to impose one's own views on others' (Galston, 1995, 528), a commitment 'to moral competition through recruitment and persuasion alone' (Galston, 2009, 98). Contrary to our intuitive understanding of toleration and the common everyday usage of the term, toleration does not require us to abandon our disagreement with the value or practice we find false or wrong but merely places limitations on how a conflict over a particular contested issue that presents itself as the object of toleration can be managed. As Barbara Herman rightly emphasises,

> [*i*]*n moral theory influenced by classical liberal values, toleration is sometimes offered as a reasonable strategy of response to a wide range of moral disagreements in circumstances of pluralism. Its value is defended as both pragmatic and instrumental: it does not require the resolution of all moral disagreements, and it enables other liberal values such as autonomy, pursuit of truth, and privacy.* (Herman, 2007, 30)

Second, and more radically, some critics have claimed that toleration is characterised by *indeterminacy* because it cannot provide the tolerating agent with sufficient reason(s) for rejecting the morally objectionable/false belief or particular practice. As William Galston emphasises, '[o]bviously, restraining ourselves from translating disagreement into coercion is good whenever we lack an adequate basis for suppressing such differences' (Galston, 2005, 585). On this interpretation, the principled dependence of toleration on an independent normative resource, as Rainer Forst emphasises eloquently (2007), exemplify that toleration in itself cannot qualify as positive or negative.[9]

Against the first of these two objections, I argue that the purpose of toleration is not to end disagreement as one of its foundational aims is to provide a way how citizens as free and equal members of a polity can resolve their differences or disputes. Against the second objection, the difficulty with toleration, as Thomas Scanlon emphasises, is concerned with 'the costs of having certain rights generally recognised, and with the problems posed by their open-ended character' (Scanlon, 2003, 3). What toleration expresses, he furthermore argues, is 'a recognition of common membership that is deeper than these conflicts, a recognition of others as just as entitled as we are to contribute to the definition of our society' (ibid., 193).

The moral and the conceptual objections against toleration examined in this section of the article raise two separate questions associated with the foundations, nature and the value of toleration in a plurally diverse polity, i.e. [*i*] what are the limits of toleration; and [*ii*] what is the alternative to toleration. Given a number of moral and conceptual objection against toleration advanced by both the critics and the advocates of toleration, there are a number of competing approaches that claim to be more just, inclusive or egalitarian compared to the toleration-based approach to diversity. One of the basic problems dividing a liberal and a multicultural understanding of equal civic respect of diversity is the very understanding of the limits of toleration. I examine these two questions in Section IV and in the concluding section of this article respectively.

THE LIMITS OF TOLERATION

The moral and the conceptual objections to toleration identified above open two separate dimensions of

8 On the notion of the inconclusiveness of disagreement over the object of toleration, see McLaughlin (1995) and Macedo (1995).
9 For the examination of toleration as a normatively dependent concept, see Forst (2007) and Newey (1999 [ch. 1]).

the limits of toleration that need to be emphasized here, i.e. [*i*] the logical dimension of the limits of toleration; and [*ii*] the moral dimension of the limits of toleration. I explicate both of them below.

The logical dimension

The logical dimension of the limits of toleration delineates the conditions a particular act needs to be consistent with so as to qualify as an act of toleration as exemplified in section II of this article. For example, the liberal and the multicultural conception of the logical dimension of the limits of toleration differ primarily over what can count as a legitimate object of toleration. As has already been emphasized, toleration traditionally deals with religious and moral conflicts, i.e. forms of diversity that qualify as choice-based. In contrast, a multicultural conception of toleration is directed also at identities rather than exclusively beliefs and other conscience-based commitments of individuals. The main dispute associated with this dimension, as Samuel Scheffler emphasizes, is primarily to identify 'which factors should be counted as part of peoples's circumstances and which can be subsumed under chategories of choice' (Scheffler, 2005: 6). In this respect, the basic question associated with the logical dimension of the limits of toleration revolves around the foundational distinction between two normative sources of diversity, i.e. [*i*] ascriptive diversity, and [*ii*] conscience-based diversity. The former form of diversity is a matter of chance or circumstance, i.e. the unchosen natural and social conditions associated with one's identity. The latter form of diversity, on the other hand, is a matter of individual choice. As Will Kymlicka firmly points out, '[t]he distinction between choices and circumstances is in fact absolutely central to the liberal project' (Kymlicka 1989: 186). The logical dimension of the limits of toleration is therefore linked to the status as well as the nature of the object of toleration.

The moral dimension

Unlike the logical dimension explicated above, the moral dimension of the limits of toleration addresses the problem which differences should be tolerated and what are the principled bases delineating the limits of toleration. The moral dimension, then, defines the situation where the reasons for the rejection of certain beliefs, practices or conceptions of the good are stronger than the reasons for its adoption. The moral dimension determines the limits of toleration and what is not to be tolerated. The classical liberal principle associated with the moral dimension of the limits of toleration is best represented by Mill's 'harm principle' introduced and elaborated in *On Liberty* (Mill, 1989). Unless certain actions, practices, values and beliefs or conceptions of the good violate the basic rights and fundamental freedoms of others, they are to be tolerated.

At the same time, both the logical and moral dimension of the limits of toleration raise the question of the alternative to toleration. In fact, over the last two decades the inadequacy of toleration has been argued from this very perspective. Two interpretations of this inadequacy can be identified. On the one hand, according to those sympathetic to it, toleration is insufficiently inclusive and should be expanded [internal criticism]. On the other hand, according to those who oppose it [external criticism], toleration should be replaced. Rejecting toleration, so these critics emphasise forcefully, would be more respectful of diversity and consistent with the common principles of a plurally diverse polity. In this respect, the dispute over the viability of the toleration-based approach to diversity has part of its origin in the twofold nature of the limits of toleration. Any approach that claims to be consistent with the fair terms of engagement with diversity, then, is therefore largely dependent on the articulation of the conditions and circumstances of toleration as well as a clear delimitation over the logical and the moral dimension of toleration.

CONCLUSION

What I have argued in this article is that the toleration-based approach to diversity cannot and should not be eliminated – as multiculturalists and other critics of the liberal version of the rights-based conception of citizenship would like to convince us – in favour of other models of accommodation of diversity. As Michael Walzer rightly emphasises,

> *[t]oleration itself is often underestimated, as if it is the least we can do for our fellows, the most minimal of their entitlements. In fact, [...] even the most grudging forms and precarious arrangements [of toleration] are very good things, sufficiently rare in human history that they require not only practical but also theoretical appreciation.* (Walzer, 1997, xi)

In particular, what has not been acknowledged or recognised is that toleration allows a particular value, belief or practice to exist due to the value it has for a particular subject and the value this has for the political community. A closer inspection of the conditions and the circumstances of toleration as identified in Section II of this article reveals that toleration includes a positive depiction of the differences it tolerates. In this sense, the positive view of the object and the tolerated agent can have a twofold importance in terms of the difference of toleration, i.e. [*i*] the *intrinsic positive view*; and [*ii*] the *instrumental positive view*. In the first view, we tolerate the differences we find wrong because these differences have positive implications for the tolerated agent, i.e. might be part of one's culture and might be an important

element of self-respect. In the second view, we tolerate differences we find wrong because its toleration has some positive implications for the political community itself [despite its conflict with the shared public values of a polity] as well as not violating the principles of non-discrimination. Despite the fact that the moral and the conceptual objections to toleration raise a set of potential shortcomings of a toleration-based approach to diversity, toleration is basically capable of producing two sorts of benefits: [*i*] direct individual benefits and [*ii*] social benefits contributing to the stability and social cohesion [therefore forming an indirect individual benefit] of a polity.

It is because of the value of the object of toleration both for the tolerated subject, i.e. a person holding a particular belief [*intrinsic valu*e] and the value of this object of toleration for the political community he/she lives in [*instrumental valu*e] that toleration should count as both valuable and permissible. In fact, as Samuel Scheffler emphasises,

> *[…] if, as I have been arguing, the injuries inflicted by intolerance on its victims are closely related to the temptations of intolerance for its perpetrators, then it seems to follow that, just as intolerance threatens the integrity of its victims, so too the perpetrators of intolerance may perceive a willingness to tolerate others as a threat to their own integrity. In other words, the threat that intolerance poses to the integrity of its victims may be mirrored by the threat that tolerance poses to the integrity of the perpetrators.* (Scheffler, 2010, 327-328)

In this respect, the tolerating agent recognises the value of the object of toleration either for its bearer [intrinsic] or for the society as a whole [instrumental]. Moreover, despite individuals' conflicting values and beliefs, toleration enables them to live together. Furthermore, toleration of diversity contributes significantly to the cohesiveness and stability of a polity that is plural and diverse as it requires an equal recognition of individuals' respect for integrity. Finally, its epistemic role enables those who are exposed to diversity to gain some knowledge on the diversity they come in contact with.

At the same time, the inability of both moral and conceptual objections to the toleration-based approach to diversity to provide conclusive arguments that would enable us to reject toleration that there are various options available to advance an alternative conception of engagement with diversity that is founded on the toleration-based approach to diversity. Nevertheless, a conception of toleration that claims to be consistent with the liberal version of the rights-based conception of citizenship, I maintain, needs to take into account another dimension of citizenship as a political conception of the person, i.e. civic integrity. In this respect, the toleration-based approach to diversity, far from being morally problematic or irrelevant, provides a morally sound basis of equal civic respect for diversity in a polity that is plural in its cultures, values and traditions.

ANATOMIJA TOLERANCE

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POVZETEK

Tako zgodovinsko kakor tudi konceptualno je toleranca osnovni model spoprijemanja z različnostjo, ki ga praviloma povezujemo z liberalnim modelom državljanstva kot političnega pojmovanja posameznika. Kljub svoji osrednji vlogi v sodobni politični misli pa ostaja toleranca predmet različnih protislovij in številnih nesoglasij. Pričujoči prispevek prinaša predstavitev osnovne dinamike tolerance v sodobni pluralni družbi. Uvodni del prispevka prinaša predstavitev sprememb pojmovanja tolerance ter teoretičnih problemov, ki so s tem povezani. Drugi del prinaša predstavitev pogojev in okoliščin tolerance. Tretji del prispevka analizira moralne in konceptualne ugovore zoper tolerance, ki mu sledi predstavitev dveh vidikov meje tolerance. Sklepni del prispevka prinaša predstavitev osrednje vloge tolerance v okviru problematike sprejemanja in vključevanja različnosti.

Ključne besede: toleranca, različnost, pluralizem, moralni ugovori zoper toleranco, konceptualni ugovori zoper toleranco, meje tolerance

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CHALLENGES IN RESEARCHING INTERETHNIC RELATIONS FROM AN INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The article derives from the experiences and dynamics of intercultural research work on the international project Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in the School Environment, led by the Science and Research Centre of the University of Primorska in 2011 and 2012. The project addressed various topics related to ethnicity and interethnic relations; however, the main issue addressed in the project was interethnic violence in the school environment. Motivated by several issues revealed during the empirical research process in five participating countries, we will expose some challenges in researching interethnic relations from an intercultural perspective. In so doing, we will focus on two dimensions defined as 'conceptual' and 'political'. The analysis of challenges in researching interethnic relations from an intercultural perspective is mainly based on a comparison of the five countries involved in the project (Slovenia, Austria, UK, Italy and Cyprus).

Key words: ethnicity, interethnic relations, intercultural perspective, legislation, Europe.

LE SFIDE PER LA RICERCA SULLE RELAZIONI INTERETNICHE IN PROSPETTIVA INTERCULTURALE

SINTESI

Il presente articolo nasce dall'analisi delle esperienze e delle dinamiche di natura interculturale riscontrate nella ricerca realizzata nell'ambito del progetto internazionale Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in School Environment, coordinato dal Centro di ricerche scientifiche dell'Università del Litorale tra il 2011 e il 2012. Il progetto ha analizzato diversi aspetti relativi alle relazioni interetniche, con lo scopo principale di affrontare tale argomento in ambito scolastico. Nella fase empirica della ricerca, svoltasi in cinque diversi paesi, sono emersi i vari elementi alla base di quest'articolo che espone alcune sfide future per la ricerca nel campo delle relazioni interetniche in un' ottica interculturale. L'attenzione verte su due dimensioni che sono state definite "concettuale" e"politica"; l'analisi presentata in questa sede si basa sulla comparazione tra i cinque paesi coinvolti nel progetto (Slovenia, Austria, Inghilterra, Italia e Cipro).

Parole chiave: etnicità, relazioni interetniche, prospettiva interculturale, legislazione, Europa.

INTRODUCTION

The present article derives from the research results of the international project *Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in the School Environment*,[1] led by the Science and Research Centre of the University of Primorska in 2011 and 2012, and to a much bigger extent by the experience and dynamics of intercultural work entailed in the researches conducted in five participating European countries: Slovenia, Austria, Italy, United Kingdom and Cyprus. The project addressed various topics, such as the issue of ethnicity, interethnic relations, the processes of intercultural confrontations and the rights of migrants to a safe environment and the free expression of their culture. However, the main issue addressed in the project was interethnic and intercultural violence in the school environment – a theme gaining importance in the last decades, especially because of the migration flows and growth of ethnic diversity, which are reflected in an increasing number of students of diverse ethnic background in the schools. In order to receive as holistic picture of types, prevalence and dynamics of violence in the school environment in five participating countries quantitative and qualitative research methods were combined. In the first, quantitative part of the research, questionnaires were completed by primary (10-12 years old pupils) and secondary school (17-18 years old pupils). In the second phase qualitative data were obtained from national experts working in the field of interethnic relations or peer violence, and also from school staff and from the pupils themselves. Pupils presented their opinions and experiences in focus group discussions, whilst semi-structures in-depth interviews were used for experts and school workers (for more information on the project see also Medarić and Sedmak, 2012).

The work of the multicultural research team and empirical comparative research conducted in five different cultural contexts exposed several terminological, conceptual and interpretative issues: different methodology in collecting demographic data regarding ethnic affiliation; different criteria in defining ethnic affiliation; different understanding of the same terms used to refer to issues of race, ethnicity and foreigners; different social contexts and world views influencing the sensibility and perceptions of ethnic phenomena; etc. Additionally, countries differ according to the confrontation with migration and discrimination based on ethnicity as well as implementation of common European migration and anti-discrimination policies.

Motivated by several issues disclosed during the empirical research process in the five countries in question, the paper will expose some *challenges in researching interethnic relations in intercultural perspective*. In doing that we decided to focus on two selected topics revealed as especially interesting and informative during our research: our first focus will be *terminological and conceptual*; we will discuss the interstate and intercultural differences in general understanding of the phenomenon of ethnicity, the differences in terminological use, the differences in the statistical evidence collection of ethnic affiliation etc. Secondly, we will present some gaps and challenges in *implementation and effectiveness of immigration and anti-discrimination policies* in different countries.

Our analysis of gaps, issues and challenges in researching interethnic relations in intercultural perspective will mainly base on the comparison of five countries involved in the project: Slovenia, Italy, Austria, UK and Cyprus. The intercultural analysis makes, in our opinion, important contribution to the understanding of contemporary European reality around questions of ethnic plurality and interethnic relations, especially since the experiences of the core countries are so diverse: The United Kingdom, as a former colonial power with a rich history of intercultural contact and with numerous, well-organised ethnic communities, has a long tradition of political and academic confrontation with cultural and racial pluralism while at the same time being influenced by the attitudes of its colonial past. Cyprus has its long and still ongoing history of interethnic conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Slovenia is traditionally and uncritically perceived as relatively monocultural, regardless of the presence of native Italian, Hungarian, Roma and thoroughly denied German minorities as well as a high number of immigrants from the territory of the once common state of Yugoslavia. Italy has a number of diverse ethnic and linguistic minorities and immigrant communities that are recognized politically in different ways. Finally, Austria has a high percentage of economic migrants, mainly from the territory of the ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey, as well as autochthonous minorities (Slovenian, Croatian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Roma and Sinti) (Medarić and Sedmak, 2012).

In present day Europe, the dynamics of interethnic relations are becoming increasingly complex and schizophrenic. On the one hand, we have elaborated supranational directives and national legislations regulating interethnic relations and emphasising the basic rights to preserve and cultivate one's own cultural and religious identity. These directives aim to promote cultural diversity, plurality, intercultural dialogue, tolerance and cohabitation. In the scientific arena, issues of multiculturality, hybridity, interculturality and transculturality are at the core of the research interest. On an individual as well as a group level, our everyday lives and cultural practices are becoming increasingly inter- and trans-cultural. On the other hand, right wing parties

1 The project was funded by the European Commisson, Directorate of General Justice, Freedom and Security, Directorate D: Fundamental Rights and citizenship.

are gaining increasing power in the European political arena, disseminating ethnocentric, racist and discriminating views. Under this narrative, immigrants and representatives of 'other' ethnic groups are presented as responsible for dramatic social and economic collapse of the old continent. As such, the formal directives, regulations and legislative acts promoting intercultural cohabitation and tolerance are denied on an everyday basis. As noted by Kralj (2011: 288-289): 'It seems that the experiences of the current global economic crisis /.../ and unstable socio-economic conditions (increased costs of living, increased unemployment rates, lower living standards, cuts of funding for social transfers etc.) begin to influence the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments, which are reinforced by messages about the 'demise of multiculturalism', transmitted from European politicians by the mass media'. According to public opinion polls (EVS, 2011), intolerance and negative attitudes towards the 'others' are increasing. In addition, present day Europe is facing (both legal and illegal) levels of migration flows without comparison in the past as the European societies become increasingly culturally and ethnically plural. Those countries traditionally thought of as emigrant countries are starting to function as immigrant states as well. As a consequence of all these processes and facts there is a strong need for further scientific reflection of interethnic relations with a special emphasis on the management of cultural diversity. We hope that our paper presents a small contribution in that direction.

CONCEPTUAL AND DEFINITIONAL CHALLENGES – INTERCULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN APPROACHING ETHNIC PHENOMENA

Due to the different historical circumstances and, consequently, the development of different systems of social policy accompanying the various economic and political situations in particular European states, it is almost impossible to use a single unified and common approach when discussing interethnic relations. The interstate and intercultural differences in approaching issues of ethnicity are present not only in a particular state's legislation that regulates e.g. the integration of immigrants in the host state or anti-discrimination policies, but are present in the very essence – prior to the concrete political actions or public debate – in the definitions, concepts and terminology used in discussing ethnic phenomena. In this context, we are interested in which terminology is used in discussing ethnic phenomena, how ethnic affiliation is measured in individual European countries and how single terms defining ethnic processes or ethnic phenomena are understood. Are we genuinely understood and do we think in the same way when we communicate using the same terminology? Or does our cultural heritage change our perspective? If it does, to what extent does it actually affect our perceptions? Without a deep understanding of and reflection on the intercultural differences in understanding the particular ethnic phenomena, it is hard to approach the problem holistically. The task is not easy because, as Le Vine (1997) explains, the essence of the problem lies at the very beginning of efforts to conceptualise 'ethnicity'. Because the term itself is unclear, there is a certain ambivalence and consequent lack of definitional or conceptual clarity when we attempt to deal with this concept in theoretical and empirical research.[2] In the following text, we will present some conceptual and definitional challenges and gaps in dealing with the issue of ethnicity and try to expose some (intercultural) differences.

Before attempting to tackle these perplexing issues, let us quote Delli Zotti and others who validly observe that in the social sciences there are few concepts as controversial as that of 'ethnicity'. At the same time as exposing that definition of the 'ethnic group', ethnicity and ethnic identity are arranged along a continuum between two poles: the *subjective and objective* (Delli Zotti et al, 2011: 7).

Some authors (let us mention Barth (1970) as among the more prominent of these), rather than taking a static approach involving subjective-objective assessments, instead objected that when we try to define the ethnic group and ethnic identity we should primarily focus on ethnic borders and their maintenance, thus exposing the importance of interactions. When trying to allocate common theoretical starting points we will refer to Eriksen (1993), who highlights the observation that, regardless of the fact that there truly exist a number of a different approaches to ethnicity, all agree that ethnicity has something to do with a classification of people in terms of a group relation. This means that in all societies there exists the tendency toward intergroup differentiations and classifications; however, the criteria of its realisation vary. The intercultural differences emerge according to the determination of who is a member of an ethnic group and who is not. Are the distinctions in the cultural 'givens' to which people attach a 'primordial' quality or is a determination of a membership more instrumental? The advocates of the first approach (Weber, Geertz, Shils) are strongly criticised by the advocates of the other (Barth, Glazer, Cohen, Jenkins); as Brass (1985) argues, ethnicity should be regarded as a type of political resource for competing interest groups.

To conclude, let us quote Enloe (1980), who claims that there is growing agreement that ethnicity is actually both objective and subjective: it requires a sense of belonging and awareness of boundaries between members and non-members and is composed of an intertwining cluster of attributes, not a singular cultural character-

2 For better illustration: In Isijiw's review from 1974 thus we can find twenty-seven definitions of ethnicity (Le Vine, 1997: 49-50).

istic. Independently from theoretical debates, empirical reality presents different experiences in defining ethnic identity and ethnic membership. The contradictions between the subjective/objective assessments of ethnicity are concretely exposed in an Austrian context by Sauer and Ajanovic (2011), who claim that definitions of who is 'an Austrian', who is a 'person with a migration background' or who belongs to an 'autochthonous minority' are, when used for statistical reasons in Austria, problematic due to their limited significance, since they do not tell us about the self-perception of the people themselves.

Another (and at the same time opposite) aspect exposing the problem with objectivity/subjectivity in defining ethnic affiliation is emphasised by Sedmak and other (2011) when presenting the public population census in Slovenia, based exclusively on subjective self-definition as the only means of ethnic identification. As the direct consequence of exclusively subjective ethnic labelling, it has occurred that, due to subjective and/or pragmatic reasons, people are changing their ethnic affiliation from census to census.

In the case of UK, a state with a long tradition and experience in dealing with interethnic relations, minority issues etc., the possibility of subjective ethnic auto-definition is even more elaborate. According to Aspinall (2009) with the inclusion of the possibility of multiple ethnic (self)identification, the UK population census has introduced the possibility of even more accurate assessment of people's ethnic identification, thus trying to meet the people's real and more intimate subjective self-identification.

Following the examples mentioned above, it can be seen that there is no uniform practice among European countries in approaching *the collection of statistical data regarding the ethnic affiliation* (using subjective auto/definition or more objective measurement). This fact reveals another research problem: the possibility and validity of interstate and comparative studies dealing with statistical and demographical data in relation to ethnicity and ethnic identity. Furthermore, in accordance with empirical evidence, people, when forced to declare themselves in terms of their ethnic affiliation, often cannot identify themselves according to the possibilities offered. As Aspinall (2009) observes, scientific accuracy and adequacy are not necessarily in accordance with sensible utility. His observations are based on the results of two empirical studies among mixed populations in the UK, in which he was trying to verify the adequacy of terminology defining mixed populations on occasions of population census. The most popular term among mixed populations themselves was the term 'mixed race' regardless of the fact that this option was widely criticised among a scientific audience. In addition to the formal state population census, there are other formal and institutional social situations in which people are asked to identify themselves in terms of their ethnic affiliation, the most obvious of these being the educational system. In national educational systems there are different practices taking place in different states relating to the collection of data pertaining to students' national identification.

In Slovenia, in the case of primary and secondary schools for instance, this kind of data are non-existent, while the official evidence of pupils' ethnic affiliation is commonly used in Italian, British, Austrian and Cypriot school systems. The evidence regarding pupils' ethnic affiliation and status can be more or less elaborate: the Austrian Statistical Agency thus collects data on the *nationality* and *everyday language* of pupils; the Cypriot Ministry of Education and Culture on their *country of origin*; while in the Italian case we can find the very 'structured' statistics regarding the students' *country of origin*, their being *first generation immigrants or being non-Italian students born in Italy, non-Italian pupils without/or with Italian citizenship* etc. The prohibition of formal collection of data about pupils and students ethnic affiliation in Slovenia can, on the other hand, be understood mainly in the context of ethnicity: members of school staff, at least in our research, almost uniformly objected that is 'not right' or 'not ethical' to ask such questions (Medarić and Sedmak, 2012).

European countries differ also in the *terminology* used in public, scientific and political discussions on the subject of ethnicity as well as for the collection of statistical data. In the Slovenian academic and political debate a clear distinction is made between *autochthonous*[3] and *non-autochthonous* (immigrant minorities). The difference is unfortunately not only semantic but in terms of its consequences very concrete: in accordance with 1991 Constitution, the additional special rights are preserved only for autochthonous minorities – Italian, Hungarian and conditionally Roma – (concretely, in bilingual territories, the obligation to use minority language on the occasion of public events, in using the minority language in marking the public spaces as streets and public institutions, the right to be educated in the mother language, the right to cultural and – more importantly – economic and political representation; these minorities have also been granted political representatives at local (municipal) as well as state (parliamentary) levels etc.). Only during the last ten years has the term *migrant workers,* with a strong reference to the immigrants from the territory of former Yugoslavia who came to Slovenia at a time of economic prosperity and growth (1960s–1980s) as well as during the most recent immigration flow after 2000, been observed when discussing ethnicity in Slovenia.

In Austria there is also reference made to so-called autochthonous minorities[4] (which are legally referred to

3 Due to the fact that the definition of *autochthonous* is arbitrary (there are no existent criteria for fulfilling this condition) the term is criticized by some authors (see: Komac, 2005).

as *ethnic groups)* and migrants who do not enjoy minority rights, even though they might be seen as an ethnic minority in terms of their population figures (Sauer and Ajanovic, 2011). However, a much bigger emphasis is given to the concept of *guest worker*, which category is applied to people not living permanently (and therefore 'properly') in the country. In this connection, Austria – similarly to Germany – concluded labour recruitment agreements with several mainly South and Eastern European countries in order to attract workers during the period of economic boom between 1960 and 1990. With the termination of the 'guest worker' programmes in the 1990s, the term *foreigner* prevailed.[5] This redefinition actually recognised the fact that a large proportion of the 'guest workers' did not want to return to their sending countries but rather preferred to stay and live in the receiving country (Ibid.). The discriminatory nature of the guest worker policy was critically addressed by Radtke (1997), who emphasised the problematic nature of German multiculturalist model: guest workers have no space in the public sphere 'except as the subject of exploitation, paternalism, advice and help'; they were pushed in private sphere and forced to intensify their ethnic links, and organize and express themselves around the religious and traditional symbols not only to protect cultural identity, bur to present themselves in the way majority wanted to see them (Ibid.). There are additional terms used by the Austrian Statistic Agency and the Federal Ministry for the Interior such as: *foreign origin,* to refer to people who do not possess the Austrian citizenship and to those who do but were not born in Austria; and *migration background*, referring to people whose parents were born in a country other than Austria regardless of their own citizenship.

Italy, a country rich in linguistic minorities in terms of the variety of their origin and by their quantity, makes use of the term '*historical linguistic minorities*'; this refers to ethnic minorities who have 'always' been living in the Italian territory and have therefore been guaranteed some special rights in comparison with other immigrant communities. Italian legislation formally recognises the presence of twelve ethnic and linguistic minorities and provides for them in terms of the official use of their languages in public offices, the teaching of these languages in schools and broadcasting in these languages on the Italian public radio and television. In terms of statistical evidence,[6] the Italian system makes use of two terms when referring to immigrant groups: *foreign* and *foreign born in Italy* (i.e. second generation immigrants). The last one being exceptional, because other countries usually treat the second generation of immigrants being born in the host state as citizens and no longer foreigners. In Cyprus there is only the reference to *immigrants* – the reason may be that Cyprus faced the issue of mass immigration very recently, mainly during the last decade of the 20th century.

In the literature of several, mostly economically well-off European states (Italy, Austria, UK etc.), there is also the reference to *refugees*; however, for some countries such as Slovenia this very new category only appears in the debate after the Balkans war. The discussion about the *1st, 2nd or 3rd generation migrants* – again, quite common in same European states with a longer tradition of intercultural contacts and relations such as the UK – is again quite new in others such as Slovenia, which represents a post-socialist country coming very late in terms of political and academic recognition of ethnic issues.

In the public discussion across European countries regarding the immigration issue, the term 'asylum seekers' is also present. Again, being omnipresent especially in the economically and political 'stronger' states with a longer tradition of asylum seekers, and in the states such as for instance Italy, which is, in addition to the economic factor, also relevant in terms of its geography (it has a close proximity to the African continent).

One of the main differences when analysing 'ethnic' terminology across European countries is the presence of term 'race' and associated race-related terminology as 'racism', 'racist ideology', 'racial prejudices' and 'racist stereotypes' etc. The controversial[7] term of 'race', addressing a supposed biological and essentialist nature of belonging, is completely absent in Slovenia and most of the former socialist states at the same time as being omnipresent in the United Kingdom, Italy, France etc. – states with a colonialist past and consequent migration flows from former colonies – or in the economically rich countries that have tended to attract immigrants from other parts of the world. In UK, regardless of the fact that the idea of separate human races has been discredited in everyday use and even in legislation in the Race Relations Acts, the term *race* is still present along with other 'derivates' such as the terms *Black and Minority Ethnic (BME), White British etc.,* which are widely used and accepted. In the academic sphere, the question as to whether the study of 'race relations' should be distinguished from the study of ethnic relations often surfaces. Van den Berghe (1987) advocates the view that

4 In Austria there are six recognized autochthon minorities with a special legal status and rights: the Slovenian, Croat Hungarian, Czech, Slovak and the Roma and Sinti.

5 Stötzel and Wengeler (1995) offer an overview on the different German terms and concepts in the context of immigration since 1945.

6 A major sources of statistical data for immigrants are *la Questura* (a Police department legalizing the presence of immigrants and the Italian Institute of statistics – survey registration in each municipality collecting migratory movements and foreign population residence at the end of every year.

7 In social sciences there is a prevailing opinion that race exists only as a cultural construct, produced and widely coming into debate in the time of European colonisation and imperialism, hand in hand with the construction of racist ideology at that time.

race relations are actually a special case of ethnicity. On the other hand, Banton (1983) argues that there is a need to distinguish between race and ethnicity. In his opinion, 'race' refers to the categorisation of people, while 'ethnicity' has to do with group identification. Ironically, even in the states where the term race is strictly non-present in the scientific and political arena and public debate, the term 'racism' is widely used (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996).

The intercultural research work additionally shows that in most European countries the terms defining negative effects of intercultural contacts (such as e.g. 'interethnic violence', 'racism', 'ethnic discrimination' etc.) are the same; however, the national specifics could be found when discussing the levels of sensibility towards violence and regard towards the 'other' in general. What individuals or societies perceive in terms of ethnic insult, ethnic discrimination or ethnic violence can differ. Most of the time, only evident physical violence is perceived as actual violence while at the same time subtler forms of violence (such as verbal, psychological violence or social exclusion) are not necessarily perceived as problematic. The differences in 'ethnic sensibility' and 'political correctness' are also seen in the terminology defining cultural and national affiliations. Thus, in the case of UK we can find a whole spectrum of options for national affiliations of immigrant groups, such as: 'White British', 'White and Asian', 'Asian Indian', 'Asian Pakistani', 'Asian Chinese African', 'Mixed (White and Black Caribbean)' just to mention a few; while, at the same time, Italian state statistical agencies use the term 'foreign residents born in Italy', to describe second generation immigrants. The term 'foreigner' in countries such as Austria, Slovenia, UK, Cyprus refers to people who were not born in the host state and do not have citizenship.

In some European countries there is a very strong connection between 'religious affiliation' and 'ethnicity' in general, these being in cases when minority group identification is mostly concentrated among religious divergence from the majority or other ethnic group (Irish Catholics and British Protestants in Northern Ireland, Turkish Muslims and German Christians, Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs etc.). After the attacks on 11th September 2001 (and the later London bombings in July 2005), the most visible and problematic issue in Europe is of Islam and the increased hostility and prejudice towards Muslims, who are often seen in stereotypical terms as a monolithic (religious) group. In countries with a higher percentage of Muslim immigrants (Austria, United Kingdom, France etc.), the researchers examine the rise of the problem of *Islamophobia*. In accordance with Inman, McCormack and Walker (2012), the term itself is contested because is often imprecisely applied to very diverse phenomena, from xenophobia to anti-terrorism; moreover, it is hard to distinguish the difference between it and other terms such as racism and anti-Islamism. An additional problem is that is very hard to differentiate racially motivated attacks from attacks that are religiously motivated (Ibid.).

Islamophobia is revealed at the level of everyday life in the form of (structural) violence, but also in subtler discriminatory ways. How can the negative attitude towards Islam be explained in the light of ethnicity? According to Enloe (1980), the tense interethnic relations (in our case between immigrant Muslim and majority non-Muslim ethnic groups in the European continent) could be explained in terms of *religious type*. Namely, the biggest interethnic tensions occur when two ethnic groups confess different religious and when these religions are theologically and organisationally elaborate and explicit and have incorporated taboos operative in the routines of everyday life (e.g. diet, dress code); moreover, the intensity increases when each religion has a tradition of evangelism (as Muslim and Roman Catholic religions do). The omnipresent phenomenon of Islamophobia could be understood also as a new form of racism, defined by Balibar (1991) as 'racism without race'; the core of this racism is comprised by cultural differences that cannot be overridden. Here we are talking about *cultural racism*, emphasising the incompatibility of different lifestyles and traditions, and the so-called 'clash of civilisations'.

If we deviate from the terminological issues, some other intercultural differences in approaching the issue of ethnicity can be exposed. European countries differ also in terms of the degree of *self-reflection* of the ethnicity problem. In Slovenia, as a republic of the former multicultural and multi-religious Yugoslavia, the issue of ethnicity and ethnic affiliation was, until independence in 1991, 'under-communicated' (Eriksen, 1993). The prevailing political ideology of the former common state reduced the importance of ethnic affiliations. Principles of 'brotherhood and unity' were promoted within the frame of the socialist ideal of the former state in order to ensure interethnic equality, tolerance and coexistence as well as to strengthen the position of class above the attributed ethnic determinants. The denial of the meaning of the single ethnic affiliation can be seen from the constructed term 'Yugoslav ethnic affiliation', which was used on occasions of population census. Consequently, issues of ethnically mixed marriages, ethnic prejudices, nationalisms etc. were almost absent in scientific, public and political arenas.

On the other hand, it could be said that, with the underestimation of personal ethnic affiliations and the substitution of ideas of 'brotherhood and unity', former Yugoslavia introduced the model of intercultural coexistence long before these concepts became reflected in the Slovenian academic arena and also before they had become popularised in the European political arena. Similarly to Slovenia, Cyprus, only in recent years encouraged by the increasing numbers of immigrants, organised a more proactive approach towards intereth-

nic relations and started to challenge these issues. In the past, the ethnic problem correlated with immigration flows (excluding the interethnic conflict with Turkey) was not the central topic of the state political and social debate. The ethnic 'isolation' of Cyprus could also be partially explained by geographical and historical reasons. Opposite to the above-mentioned cases, the UK is an ethnically very diverse country, with a long history of migration. Consequently, in researching intercultural and interethnic violence, there is a vast tapestry of researches and literature; obviously, the self-reflection of the so-called ethnic issue has been strongly present. This can also be seen in the complex and elaborate terminology used when defining the ethnic affiliation as well as in the efforts exerted in the political and research discussions, e.g. about the 'proper' terminology for demarcation of representatives of mixed 'race' (Aspinall, 2009).

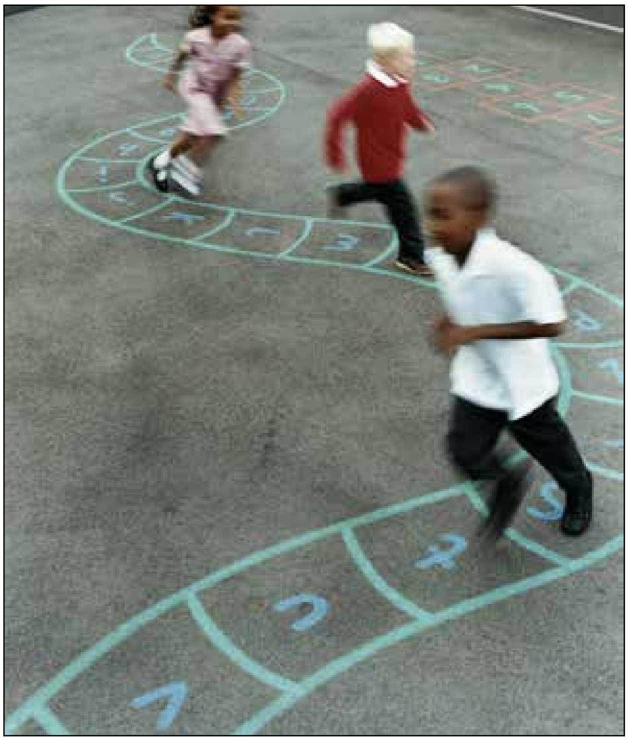
Finally, empirical problems in researching interethnic relations and comparative ethnic studies can also arise when ethnic identity is masked, when group members are ambiguous about their ethnic identity or when ethnic identity makes little or no difference in ordinary social relations (Le Vine, 1997).

IMMIGRATION AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES IN EUROPE: GAPS AND CHALLENGES

Over the course of the project, many differences in regulations of interethnic relations, diversity and anti-discrimination among the countries were revealed; therefore, the issue of tackling these differences within the framework of common migration and anti-discrimination policies in Europe also drew our attention. Here, we would like to present some challenges arising from these common policies, especially with regard to their implementation in different countries. It is important to address these issues in the context of establishing a common political and economic European space, particularly since Europe is facing increased migration and there is a consequent need for comprehensive common policies in this field in order to achieve long term political and social stability. Europe is currently facing two simultaneous processes: on one hand, increasing political convergence, integration and consequent ethnic plurality; on the other hand, rising xenophobia and right-wing political parties (Strabac et. al, 2011). This duality is also reflected in the everyday life of immigrants and ethnic minorities who are confronted on the one hand with notions of equal opportunity, tolerance, intercultural communication, while on the other hand sometimes facing the opposite reality, i.e. discriminatory behaviour, unequal treatment and negative stereotypes. Being aware of these problems, Europe is trying to tackle them also through developing comprehensive anti-discrimination and migration policies, placing special emphasis on social cohesion and the integration of migrants and minorities, with the primary aim of preventing interethnic violence and conflicts.

In the last century, Europe has faced a significant shift from emigration to immigration. While historically a significant number of migrants have emigrated from Europe to other countries, such as USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil, the continent became a major destination for immigrants from the mid-20th century on. The major migration flows in Europe can be seen as being reinforced by economic prosperity in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s, which caused internal migration flows from Southern to Northern European countries and attracted workers from North Africa, Turkey as well as former colony countries. During this period, immigrants were often recruited either through the policy of 'guest worker' (for example Germany with immigrants from Turkey, Southern European countries from Morocco and Tunisia) or from former colonies (for example France and UK). Another major migration flow, both internal and external, took place in the 1990s, caused by the Soviet Union, the collapse of the 'iron curtain' as well as the Balkan wars. From the last decade of the twentieth century onwards, migrations were characterised by immigration from Eastern to Western Europe and immigrants from Africa (Bodvarsson and Van der Berg, 2009). Additionally, the movement within the European Union has been simplified through the process of European integration by two Schengen agreements (1985 and 1990) and the extension of the Schengen area to the current 28 countries as of 2013. European countries thus have different histories with regard to migration flows and associated experiences as well as concepts related to migration: perceptions on who is migrant, a foreigner or minority member differ significantly across countries. As mentioned previously, definitions are important since they affect the data itself as well as its analysis and thus overall perceptions of an issue.

In 2004, Chahrokh and others divided the then 15 EU member states into three different groups, taking into account their immigration history and their concepts of 'migrants' and 'minority populations'. The first group, characterised by significant *immigration from former colonial territories*, consisted of France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The second, defined as systematically *recruiting migrant workers* (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg and Sweden) that were seen as 'immigrants' and 'foreigners' and not immigrant or ethnic minorities, had a long tradition of immigration. The third group is defined as '*new immigration'* countries, those that shifted from long-term emigration to immigration since the late 1980s and early 1990s (Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Finland and Ireland). In the context of the current EU 28, a new group of so called *post-socialist countries* (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Croatia and Slovenia) can be added, with the last four countries – Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia and Croatia – having ex-



Sl. 1: Skupna pot, Thinkstock
Fig. 1: Joint path, Thinkstock

perienced more immigration than emigration during the last few years. Cyprus and Malta can also be added to the third group of 'new immigration' countries, especially the latter, which in the last few years has faced a number of migrants arriving on its shores seeking asylum.

Different histories and experiences with regard to migration issues, as well as different conceptualisations of migrant and minority populations, result also in diverse anti-discrimination policies. Some have developed more systematic anti-discrimination policy concepts, such as e.g. UK or France, countries that also have long tradition of migration. Others, such as e.g. Slovenia, have not developed a specific equality or anti-discrimination legislation or have introduced it recently due to the common EU legislation framework. Over the last few decades there have been efforts in the European Union aimed at establishing common policies on immigration as well as anti-discrimination. The question, however, remains as to whether these common policies are truly effective and to what extent they realise the stated goals. In what follows, we will discuss some issues and gaps in common EU policies in this field, with particular focus on the situation in Slovenia, Austria, Italy, United Kingdom and Cyprus. We will look at the wider framework of the European polices on immigration as well as the specific part of the anti-discrimination policy that deals with the area of ethnic origin.

The common EU policies on immigration are based on the first Schengen Agreement, while the main legislation that defines basic human rights in EU derives from the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). This latter treaty defines the conditions of entry and residence as well as providing standards on procedures governing the issuing of long term visa and residence permits by Member States, a definition of illegal immigration and illegal residence and measures defining the rights and conditions under which nationals of third countries who are legally resident in a Member State may reside in other Member States (Fitchew, 2009). The main policy guidelines on EU immigration policy were drafted at the Tampere meeting of EU leaders in 1999 and revised in December 2004 at a meeting in Brussels. In 2008, a set of common principles on which to build upon a common immigration policy in Europe, focusing on the positive potential impacts of immigration and grouped under the three main EU policy strands of prosperity, solidarity and security, was also defined. The need for achieving the objectives defined at Tampere was reaffirmed by the Stockholm Programme (December 2009), which, while being called into question due to a claimed lack of consistency (Collet, 2009) and feasibility for successful implementation (e. g. Carrera and Guild, 2012), sets out a number of priorities in the areas of justice, freedom and security in the EU.

With regard to the intensified cooperation in the field of migration at the European level, there are two contrasting views: on one hand, there is the opinion that only regulation at a supranational level can be effective (Ghosh, 2000, Bigo 2002); on the other hand, there are more sceptical views expressed about the effectiveness of the common migration policy (Castles, 2004; Castles and Miller, 2009). Researchers who express more sceptical views about intensified cooperation in this field usually draw attention to the lacunae exposed and challenges presented by implementation of the policy. Taking into account the complex forces driving an integration of the migration situation, Castles (2004) highlights the importance of analysing how various factors interact within migration processes in order to achieve balanced and realistic policies. Namely, many policies are poorly conceived, narrow, contradictory and/or elicit unintended consequences. A typical example of a policy that did not achieve its goal is the German or Austrian 'guestworker' policy: its aim was to provide for the needs of temporary workers, who were expected to eventually return to their countries of origin; however, since these 'guestworkers' mainly overstayed their initial welcome, ending up by permanently settling in the host country, the policy failed to be implemented as conceived and the host countries eventually had to accept and deal with the new situation.

Castles (2004) identifies three main sets of reasons for this: factors arising from the *social dynamics of the migratory process*; factors linked to *globalisation and transnationalism and the North-South divide*; and factors within *political systems,* by which the difficulties in

implementing policies arise from the interactions between the previous sets of factors and the complex and contradictory political systems of the states in question, such as conflicts of interest, hidden agendas etc. The first set of factors refers to the way in which, when it comes to policy formation, the fact that migration is a social process with its own inherent dynamics (influenced by chain of migration, networks, familial ties, life-cycle stage of the migrant etc.) is often ignored. The second sets of reasons are the factors linked to the reality that international migration is a cross-border process with transnational dimensions gaining importance due to the current global economic, political and cultural changes and the rapidly growing South-North migration stream. The third set of reasons refers to the interaction between previously mentioned factors and the political systems of the receiving or emigration countries states in question; these are complex and contradictory in themselves.

In trying to define the effectiveness of common EU migration policy, Czaika and de Haas (2013) identified three main gaps that explain the disparity between policy discourses and the effectiveness of migration policy: a *discursive gap,* representing difference between discourse and actual migration laws, regulations etc.; an *implementation gap*, between the policies on paper and their actual implementation in practice; and an *efficacy gap*, defined as the degree to which an effectively implemented policy affects migration outcomes. In the current discussion, we will mainly focus on the implementation gap and the main challenges identified therein. The implementation gap can happen due to various reasons such as actors defining policies, lack of resources, different political priorities etc., but also the significant discretion applied by those implementing policies in practice: there is often an open space for the subjective interpretation of laws. As Czaika and de Haas put it: 'For instance, assessing whether an asylum seeker has a 'well-founded fear of persecution' (according to the respective UN Convention 1951/67), or whether there are no citizens available for a job for which a foreigner seeks to obtain a work permit, leaves open considerable room for subjective judgement.' (Czaika and de Haas, 2013: 496).

Despite the establishment of common immigration EU policies the notion 'Fortress Europe', thus removing border controls within EU and hardening external borders (Stalker, 2002) is still valid for the attitudes of Europe towards immigration, especially illegal or irregular. Among the five countries in questions, especially Italy and Cyprus are everyday facing a number of illegal migrants from Africa, Middle East and Asia, arriving on their shores. Moreover, Engbersen and Broeders (2011) highlight that not only we have strong 'external EU border control', but there exist recent trends towards stronger 'internal border control', excluding irregular migrants from the formal labour market and public provisions. Furthermore, the general socio-economic crisis enhances intolerance towards both, legal and illegal immigrants as well as ethnic or religious minorities.

There also exist significant implementation issues in *the field of common anti-discrimination EU policy*, focusing specifically on the question of discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin that affects migrants as well as national minorities (but also other ethnic groups such as Roma or Jews). The issue has been present at the EU level since the 1980s; however, until a few years ago, the focus was mainly on preventing discrimination on the grounds of nationality and gender. Since the 1990s – and especially after the Treaty of Amsterdam came into force in 1999 – new EC laws, or Directives, have been enacted in the area of anti-discrimination. Since the year 2000, an intersectional approach has been adopted to combat discrimination on various grounds. The two most important directives in the area of anti-discrimination are the Racial Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) and the Employment Equality Directive (2000/78/EC) – the former establishing a framework for combating discrimination and implementing the principle of equal treatment in many areas of social life and the latter establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation and prohibiting discrimination on the basis of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

The EU anti-discrimination legislation comprises the current framework for combating discrimination in the EU countries, obliging them to implement various measures to maintain a legal and procedural framework for the promotion of equality for racial or ethnic minorities. It also acknowledges indirect discrimination – when persons of certain groups of minorities are disadvantaged through apparently neutral laws or practices – as well as introducing the concepts of harassment and victimisation (Amiraux and Guiraudon, 2010, 1694). For some countries, such as Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Spain, this represented the first detailed non-discrimination regime on the grounds of racial and ethnic origin (European Commission, 2012). In contrast, in the cases of Austria, Cyprus, Italy and Slovenia, the respective constitutions already contained a general anti-discrimination provision as well as enshrining the principle of equality before the law. While the Austrian and Italian constitutions make reference to the equality of *citizens*, the Cypriot and Slovenian constitutions refer to *all people*. In the UK,[8] where there is no written constitution, there nevertheless exist several laws and acts pertaining

8 The United Kingdom has an unwritten constitution, i.e. does not have a Constitution or entrenched Constitutional Bill of Rights, but an extensive set of constitutional conventions (http://non-discrimination.net/content/media/2011-UK-Summary%20country%20report%20LN_final.pdf).

to equality and anti-discrimination. For instance, the Race Relations Act 1976 already outlawed discrimination on the grounds of race, colour and national origin in education, employment and the provision of facilities and services. The Equality Act (2010) introduced a number of changes, harmonising and extending various pieces of discrimination law that had been introduced gradually over the previous 30 years (Inman et al, 2011). As previously mentioned, the UK has one of the strongest legal anti-discrimination frameworks as a consequence of its long tradition of migration.

The Racial Equality Directive has significantly improved anti-discrimination protection; however, there are still some relevant implementation issues. Some important questions that affect the implementation and efficiency of the common EU anti-discrimination laws in individual cultural contexts were raised at the very beginning at the level of terminology. There are two main issues with regard to the definition of 'racial or ethnic origin': one focused on discussions around the use of the term 'race' within anti-discrimination legislation and the other involving overlapping definitions of characteristics such as nationality, language or religion. While the notion of racial equality is inherently problematic due to its reliance on the spurious idea that people can be divided into different biologically distinct 'races' (Bell, 2009), the term has been used ambivalently in the Racial Equality Directive, which simultaneously 'implements the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin' as well as, in its preface, rejecting 'theories which attempt to determine the existence of separate human races.' (Bell, 2009). Therefore, in some countries, the terms 'race' or 'racial origin' were not included in the applicable anti-discrimination legislation, since any such usage, in the view of legislators, reinforces the erroneous view that people can be distinguished according to their 'race'. The Finnish non-discrimination Act refers to 'ethnic or national origin'; the equivalent Swedish and Austrian Acts refer to 'ethnic affiliation'; the Hungarian Act refers to 'racial affiliation' or 'belonging to ethnic minorities'; while in France, the term 'real or assumed race' is used. With regard to the other question, as to whether characteristics such as colour, national origin, being a member of a national minority, language etc. can be included in the term 'racial or ethnic origin', there are different approaches taken within the respective countries. Some include colour and national origin as nominal criteria while others – for example, Poland and Slovenia – have special laws protecting national minorities. With regard to religion, discrimination against Jews and in certain circumstances Muslims is specifically recognised in the Netherlands; in the UK, discrimination against Sikhs or Jews is recognised as discrimination on racial grounds; similarly, anti-Semitism has a special status in Germany. This again illustrates some of the practical difficulties with concepts and terminology when trying to encompass the concept of discrimination on the grounds of 'racial' or ethnic origin.

Due to the above-mentioned issue, the efficient implementation of 'Racial Equality' directives is questionable in contexts where ethnic discrimination is not connected to immigrant communities, since a history of immigration such as that experienced by, for example, the United Kingdom is absent. This is the case of most of the member states that joined the EU in 2004 that, due to their history, have tended to be dealing mainly with national minorities (Bell, 2008), these also including Slovenia and Cyprus. The question also arises as to whether the individual rights model encompassed within the directive provides an adequate framework for a response to a community-wide disadvantage, such for example in the case of the Roma (Bell, 2008).

Effective policy enforcement is also often made more difficult due to very complex and diverse legal framework as is the case in Austria (Schindlauer, 2012); in most countries, despite the enshrinement of the two directives in the respective national laws, there often exist discrepancies and provisions open to different interpretation. In the case of Slovenia, for example contradicting interpretations of provisions that may seem to permit indirect discrimination are possible.[9] Policy implementation is also importantly affected by social changes. An important factor in the enforcing of laws is the economic crisis that has severely affected many countries, also impacting on institutions that focus on migrants, such as the national equality bodies that were introduced under the auspices of the common anti-discrimination policy. Austria and Cyprus, for example, report having had problems because their national equality bodies[10]

9 Article 2a of the Act Implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment states that different treatment on the basis of certain personal circumstances is not excluded, provided that it is justified by a legitimate goal and if the means for achieving the goal are appropriate and necessary (parag. 1). But parag. 2 and 3 of Article 2a prohibit any discrimination, regardless of the provision of parag.1, except for specifically defined exceptions, related to genuine and determining occupational requirements in the area of employment; religion in religious organisations; age in recruitment, employment and vocational training; beneficial treatment of women during pregnancy and motherhood; availability of goods and services for people of a particular gender; in the area of insurance; or in other cases defined by laws adopted pursuant to European Union law. These provisions are hence quite confusing since §1 indicates that direct discrimination on grounds of racial or ethnic origin could be justified by reasons other than positive action and genuine and determining occupational requirements.

10 In Cyprus there are two departments within the equality body – one covering mainly gender issues and the anti-discrimination department covering all other grounds, while in Austria the Ombud for Equal Treatment consists of three independent parts, two of which cover also ethnic origin.

have insufficient finance and staff; financial cuts have similarly affected public bodies and initiatives dealing with migrants in the UK and Italy, e.g. UNAR, the National Office Against Racial Discrimination (European Commission, 2013). In addition to being affected by financial cuts, it should be mentioned that Slovenian Advocate of the Principle of Equal Treatment is not funded independently but through the government; therefore, its independence and effectiveness in actually carrying out the laws it is tasked to implement are questioned, especially in cases of alleged discrimination committed by the Government.

Putting aside the crisis, in some countries, despite comprehensive legal framework, the enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation is deficient for various reasons, including, for example, an awareness of the possibilities offered by the Act among migrants and minority members that is still very low, as is the consequent level of reporting of discriminative behaviour. This is also partly due to poor implementation of dissemination of information and a low level of social and civil dialogue.

There have also been problems with implementation of the Racial Equality Directive outside the area of employment, including areas such as housing, social protection and education. Despite the above-mentioned issues, it should be stressed that before the development of a EU-level policy forbidding discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity and religion, the issue was dealt with at a local or national level; while the common EU policy has encouraged broad changes as well as debates regarding issues that were previously not acknowledged, as well as, for example, the introduction of national equality bodies to promote anti-discrimination policies and monitor their implementation (Amiraux and Guiraudon, 2010). However, at the same time as equality legislation and protection of rights have improved, racism and xenophobia have often intensified (Amiraux and Guiraudon, 2010, Strabac et. al, 2011). It is, as Amiraux and Guiraudon put it, that 'discrimination in a sense, is proscribed, yet on the rise.' (2010, 1693).

CONCLUSION

Encouraged by the results of the international and intercultural research work by our team, in our paper we have tried to expose some challenges which may be faced when researching different aspects of interethnic relations from an intercultural perspective, focusing mainly on the twin dimensions we refer to as 'conceptual' and 'political'. Firstly, exposing the terminological and conceptual intercultural inconsistencies and differences; secondly, the political problems that rise in legislation enacted at the national and supranational level. At the end of this short review, questions arose concerning what can be done to improve interstate and intercultural comparability in terminology and basic concepts dealing with ethnic issue. Moreover, what can actually be done to ensure uniformity of application of supranational regulation at the level of the member states? In both cases, probably not much. However, what can be done is that researchers of ethnic phenomena retain awareness of intercultural differences and cultivate a special sensibility for them when dealing with cultural, 'racial', linguistic and religious issues. This is essential in order to avoid imposing ethnocentric and culturally-determined viewpoints on the problem and to achieve at least a minimum level of research objectivity. Moreover, terminological 'mess' must not discourage researchers of interethnic and intercultural relations topics from further work on these problematic issues. Still more complex is the question of uniformity of application of the legislation. Firstly, as we have already exposed, there is no existing political and scientific consensus whether the common legislative approach is at all efficient. Secondly, as it looks as if only some very basic directives dealing with migration and anti-discrimination issues are able to be applied uniformly at the level of individual states. Historical and political differences among European states are too big to be conveniently passed over. Unfortunately, the most significant barrier to progress in this area seems to be comprised of economic special interest groups and hidden agendas among policymakers.

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POVZETEK

Članek izhaja iz izkušenj in dinamike medkulturnega raziskovalnega dela na mednarodnem projektu Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in the School Environment/Glasovi otrok: Preučevanje medetničnega nasilja in otrokovih pravic v šolskem okolju, ki je potekal pod okriljem Znanstveno-raziskovalnega središča Univerze na Primorskem med letoma 2011 in 2012. V projektu so bile obravnavane različne teme, ki se navezujejo na etničnost in medetnične odnose, osrednja pa je bila medvrstniško nasilje na etnični osnovi v šolskem okolju. Projekt se je izvajal v petih sodelujočih državah, in sicer v Sloveniji, Italiji, Avstriji, Angliji in na Cipru. Večkulturnost raziskovalne skupine in komparativna empirična raziskava sta izpostavila številna terminološka, pojmovna in interpretativna vprašanja: priča smo bili različnim metodologijam pri zbiranju demografskih podatkov, nanašajočih se na etnično pripadnost, in različnim kriterijem določanja etnične pripadnosti, različnemu razumevanju istih terminov, ki se nanašajo na 'raso', etničnost in tujce; različni kulturni konteksti so vplivali na različne percepcije in različne stopnje senzibilnosti do posameznih vprašanj, povezanih z etničnim fenomenom. Poleg tega pa se države, vključene v primerjalno raziskavo, razlikujejo glede na migracijske in antidiskriminatorne politike ter v stopnjah implementacije naddržavnih evropskih migracijskih in antidiskriminatornih politik. Spodbujeni z omenjenimi medkulturnimi in meddržavnimi različnostmi smo v pričujočem članku izpostavili nekatere izzive v raziskovanju medetničnih odnosov v medkulturni perspektivi. Pri tem smo se osredotočili na dve izbrani širši tematiki, ki sta se tekom raziskovalnega procesa izpostavili kot še posebej zanimivi, in sicer na (1) terminološka in konceptualna vprašanja in na (2) izzive in vrzeli, ki izvirajo iz različnih migracijskih in antidiskriminatornih politik držav v obravnavi. Osrednje ugotovitve članka bi lahko strnili kot naslednje: v evropskih državah smo priča uporabi različnih terminov, ki se nanašajo na etnična in rasna vprašanja, različnim metodologijam zbiranja podatkov o etnični pripadnosti, različnim razumevanjem »tujosti« in »pripadnosti« ipd., kar znatno otežuje raziskovanje etničnih vprašanj in medetničnih odnosov v medkulturni perspektivi. Tudi, ko preidemo na področje migracijske in antidiskriminacijske zakonodaje se soočimo s perečo neskladnostjo oziroma različnostjo zakonov po posameznih državah, kljub nekaterim skupnim nadnacionalnim pravnim direktivam. Razlike se pojavljajo predvsem zaradi različnih interpretacij Evropskih direktiv ter zaradi različnih stopenj upoštevanja le-teh. Poleg tega pa ne obstaja niti (politični ali raziskovalni) konsenz glede tega ali bi skupna in poenotena vseevropska migracijska in antidiskriminatorna politika dejansko odpravila težave, s katerimi se trenutno soočajo evropske države na tem področju. Uvedba skupne nadnacionalne politike, ki bi regulirala »etnična vprašanja« pa je ne nazadnje utopična tudi zaradi zgodovinskih in političnih meddržavnih razlik in, v veliki meri, zaradi ekonomskih interesov in prikritih agend (nacionalnih) politikov.

Ključne besede: etničnost, medetnični odnosi, medkulturna perspektiva, zakonodaja, Evropa.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS TOWARD BULLYING AND (PEER) VIOLENCE: EXISTING GOOD PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

The promotion of human rights, the equality of all people and prevention of violence are central topics in European schools. With reference to evidence from the Children's Voices Project, this paper analyzes the most relevant good practices addressed to fight interethnic violence in schools. Indeed, specific activities have been organized to foster children's rights and to prevent generalized violence. Moreover, programs oriented to the promotion of integration of migrants or pupils belonging to ethnic minorities have been developed. Starting from these assumptions, selected good practices will be presented in a comparative way, in order to describe different characteristics, purposes and goals, within the context of the five countries involved in the project.

Key words: Bulliyng, peer violence, good practices, school, education

VIOLENZA TRA PARI E BULLISMO: PROBLEMI E SOLUZIONI. ANALISI DI ALCUNE BUONE PRATICHE

SINTESI

La promozione dei diritti umani, l'uguaglianza e la prevenzione della violenza sono certamente temi centrali, sui quali le scuole europee hanno impostato i loro programmi. Partendo da quanto emerso dal progetto europeo Children's Voices, questo paper ha lo scopo di analizzare le principali buone pratiche messe in atto dai cinque paesi europei coinvolti nel progetto (Austria, Cipro, Inghilterra, Italia e Slovenia) al fine di prevenire e contrastare qualsiasi forma di violenza, compresa quella interetnica, nell'ambito dei contesti scolastici. Le buone pratiche selezionate saranno di seguito presentate a livello comparato evidenziando le caratteristiche, gli scopi e gli obiettivi perseguiti da ogni singolo contesto in base alle peculiarità nazionali. La mappatura delle buone pratiche condurrà, infine, ad un'analisi delle componenti fondamentali per il contrasto della violenza tra pari fuori e dentro l'ambiente scolastico.

Parole chiave: bullismo, violenza tra pari, buone pratiche, scuola, educazione

INTRODUCTION[1]

The aim of this paper is to produce an insight view through evidence from the Children's Voices Project[2] on the topic of interethnic peer violence, which is a concrete problem even if it still remains an under-researched and inadequately discussed topic/issue in many countries (Sedmak, Medarić, 2012, p. 9). The spotlight is on the related good practices implemented in each partner country (Austria, Cyprus, England, Italy and Slovenia). Starting from this point of view, Children's Voices research has meant to represent a new piece of this incomplete puzzle, focusing primarily on the role played by inter-ethnic issues in peer relationships at school. The project has benefited from a common methodological framework in which a selection of agreed topics was analyzed. Nevertheless, the importance of the different national contexts that play a key role in the analysis of causes and effects is undeniable, especially when the crucial issue is the interethnic aspect of a society.

To the present day, multi-ethnic societies are no longer a rarity. On the contrary, they are increasingly common and they are characterized by an ever-growing presence of ethnic and territorial differences in the same context (Cesareo, 2007, p.3). The debate on multiculturalism highlights the qualitative aspect of the transformation of society. The difference is increasingly an important issue, an interpretive key to describe, understand and justify reality and its contradictions, and is also an important tool to to read and construe the contemporary age (Colombo E., Semi G., 2007, p.15). In fact, human history is the history of constant and intense intercultural, interreligious and interracial contacts (Sedmak, Medarić, 2012, p.14): the result of the mixture of all those elements may generate conflicts, especially among youths, in contexts where they spend most of their time like schools.

Starting from all these assumptions, a short description of insights into the society and historical characteristics of each of the five countries involved in the project might be useful since the European situation on the topic is very heterogeneous.

For example, due to its colonial past the United Kingdom shows a high presence of foreigners over the years, especially from countries outside Europe. Thus, the Country and its institutions and organizations have had the chance to establish a long tradition of political and academic debates on cultural and racial pluralism, thus representing an example of different kinds of coexistence. for all European nations Moreover, despite its small territorial dimension, Cyprus[3] has a long and still ongoing history of interethnic conflicts especially between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. As regards the specific issue of racism and discrimination in Cypriot schools, various research studies have been conducted, exploring students' attitudes toward multiculturalism, their experience of marginalization, discrimination etc. (Partasi, 2010; Zembylas, 2010a; Zembylas, 2010b). This research is a symptom of the national public opinion's manifest interest in these topics; moreover, it is worth underlining how Cypriots are also facing problems of being in contact with students of other nationalities like, for example, Palestinians to whom a specific program is dedicated (Emergency Intervention Team- see the Annex I).

Although Slovenia has traditionally been perceived as culturally homogeneous, in its territory many historical differences are still present. Nowadays, three minority groups are legally recognized (Hungarian, Italian and Roma) and a considerable number of migrants from former Yugoslavia territories are still living within Slovenian borders. For this reason, an intercultural debate on differences is a current topic in the agenda of the Country. In Italy, where a debate on migration issues in on, it is very common to highlight how the Country has changed its position during the last decades. After being an emigration Country, it has progressively become a host Country for many migrants coming from many different countries in the world; as a consequence, it has been dealing with the many aspects of integration in daily life. Lastly, Austria is a country that shows a high percentage of economic migrants, from former Yugoslavia and Turkey, and a number of recognized minorities (Slovenian, Croatian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak and the Roma and Sinti).

As mentioned above, all European countries including those involved in the Children's Voices project are facing with the challenges of modernity and multiculturalism: migration flows are constantly increasing, especially within the European borders, where boundaries are blurred and the free circulation of people and goods is not simply a characteristic of the modern age but also a chance for everyone. As Favell (2008) stated, observing Europe today is like watching a Rorschach test: you look at the continent as a whole and Europe is still divided up into distinctive nationalized societies. At the same

1 Though both equally involved in writing this research paper, Donatella Greco wrote Paragraphs: Introduction; Methodology; Good Practices in different national contexts.
Chiara Zanetti wrote: What are the school's perspective? (Peer education; Beside the schools: family, local authorities and ngo's; Interethnic violence practises and intercultural education).
Both authors wrote: Summing up: some important findings from European Children's Voices

2 The European project Children's Voices has represented an excursus on the subject of violence in schools with a particular focus on interethnic peer violence. It involved five countries (Austria, Cyprus, England, Italy, and Slovenia). Further information is available at www.childrensvoices.eu.

3 In this paper, the terms Cyprus and Cypriots will refer only to the part of the island under the control of the Republic of Cyprus, as since1974 the Turkish and Greek parts are de facto separated. Thus the two educational systems have always been separated.

time, many identities and ethnic backgrounds are living together in a common European context which is the result of migration flows, historical changes and human mobility, all of which have created new horizons. Many countries in Europe have faced with issues connected to cultural and ethnic diversity in different ways based on their own historical background. School is definitely a place where all those differences are widely poured out in many different ways .As a result, schools are where a big portion of European diversities represented

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of Children's Voices has been supported by a common approach among the five national research teams. Their research has been developed at a quantitative and qualitative level: a combination of two methods was used to gain an in-depth, layered perspective on the analyzed issues (Sedmak, Medarić, 2012, p. 11).

The project started in January 2011 and finished in December 2012. The quantitative phase was performed with a self-administered questionnaire[4] designed in agreement by the five partners. It was administered in two classes of four primary and four secondary selected schools (sixteen classes for each Country) chosen according to common criteria (a considerable number of foreigners in the classrooms, preferably urban geographical location of the schools, and the interest of each single school in participating at the research)[5]. The questionnaire was addressed to 10 years old pupils and 16-18 years old students. On the whole 3,524 questionnaires were collected in the five countries[6].

A combination of individual and semi-structured interviews and focus groups were the tools utilized during the qualitative stage of the research, which involved pupils and students as well as the participation of a number of selected experts and spokespersons from the school staff (headmasters, teachers, pedagogues etc…) as qualified witnesses.

As stated above, the pupils and students were also in some of the focus groups: each Country organized eight focus groups set in four selected schools (two primary and two secondary) where the quantitative survey had already been developed. The agreed topics on which focus groups were based were the perception of violence, the reasons for violence as well as the pupils' reactions to violent situations. In some cases, for younger children a number of warm-up techniques were used to help them feel comfortable sharing their experiences[7]. The choice of the members (four-six students) to be included in the focus groups was made in cooperation with school teachers with a goal to pursue a balance of gender and cultural diversities.

The qualified witnesses and their expertise have given an insight view of what the school's perception about the peer violence is and what the real emerging issues that have to be considered are. Each Country has sampled, through a one-to-one semi-structured in-depth interview, a selection of qualified witnesses[8] chosen among school staff (teachers, headmasters, counselors and pedagogues) and spokespersons of national and local authorities, institutions and organizations. The topics discussed during the interviews have also been agreed among the partners in the project in order to obtain contextual information related to their territories and critical emerging issues.

GOOD PRACTICES IN DIFFERENT NATIONAL CONTEXTS

Going deeper into the situation of each individual national situation a selection of projects and good practices implemented to fight school violence and bullying will be presented in a comparative way, in order to describe different characteristics, purposes and goals. The term *good practice* usually represents a *benchmark* in a specific context due to its proven efficacy of action: consequently, a good practice could be helpful to create other operative experiences suitable to solve and pre-

4 The questionnaire was written in English and thereafter every country translated and adapted it to the national context.
5 It is worth highlighting that, as regards the questionnaire, the choice of schools and their geographical location, each Countryadopted specific correctives according to national specifics framework. Moreover, within the agreed methodological framework, a number of peculiar situations have been analyzed such as case of the English partner who decided to focus on the Islamofobia issue as well, perceived as a matter of significant interest.
6 The number of collected surveys for each country was: 767 in Slovenia, 729 in England, 715 in Austria, 714 in Italy and 599 in Cyprus.
7 In Italian focus groups a short excerpt from the animation *The Ant Bully* was projected. The movie deals with the topic of diversity using a language suitable for children.
8 Following a short list of qualified witnesses interviewed. Slovenia interviewed eight among experts of public health, researchers, representatives of school students organizations and international organizations; Austria interviewed eight teachers and six experts among university professors, researchers, trainers, psychologist, chairmen/woman and spokespersons from local authorities and organizations; Cyprus interviewed five experts recruited from governmental and non-governmental organizations and eight among school staff members (teachers, counselors and headmasters); England sampled eight experts from school staff (senior manager and school teachers) and seven experts from representatives from Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), researchers, government agencies, schools and community organizations; Italy sampled eight among teachers and headmasters and six among pedagogues, spokespersons from local and national institutions and organizations.
9 Some factors characterize the experiences of good practices like, for example, the presence of positive and innovative ways and methods whose application can solve problems and the possibility to replicate the experience from time to time in different contexts and situations that can require a model to refer to.

vent a problem[9] (Stradi, 2005). Indeed, in each country a fundamental role is played by the national legislation that establishes the framework where all the interventions take place. On the other hand, projects are implemented also by each single school, a crucial space because in this context young boys and girls socialize with peers and adults and learn how to balance (or not) their behavior. According to Sharp and Thomson (2004), school policies influence a school's whole organization, including relations among students, teachers, school staff and families. Moreover, schools and teachers can play a relevant role in increasing the well-being of children and reducing bullying. In fact, when families and local communities fail in their educative task, schools can compensate for this lack. In addition, schools have a central role in strengthening and sensitizing the local institutional network and community in order to promote the well-being of children: therefore, they need support from the local community to succeed in this purpose. Beside, also NGO's and associations implement programs that promote the well-being of the population (and of children in particular) and combat anti-social behaviors: for this reason, in each country, a wide number of national or local organizations implement further specific projects.

The good practices mapped at national level are illustrated in table no. 1[10]: the two dimensions reported in the table are targets to whom the programs are directed and their purposes. Indeed, each country has a wide presence of specific programs promoting both intercultural values, and fighting and preventing bullying. However, it is harder to observe specific programs expressly designed to fight interethnic peer violence; in fact, when it occurs, the situation is treated more specifically. At any rate, selected intercultural programs are designed with a broader overall purpose in order to foster the integration of foreigners and to enhance children's intercultural competences: as a consequence, the prevention of any form of violence is pursued. More specifically, a considerable number of good practices was developed in support of both the students and the school staff; however, the family is also a notable target, as it has an important role in the socialization and education process. The involvement of family is a first step toward a whole community approach against any form of peer violence (Cowie, Jennifer, 2007). As tab no. 1 shows, in the selected programs the involvement of local authorities and institutions (i.e. social workers, protocols with judicial authorities) is actually less frequent although it is widely suggested in literature. As mentioned hereafter, teachers also recognize the value and usefulness of such involvement; however, school expertise and economic resources are often scanty. As an Austrian expert claimed:

> *On the other hand it is important to know that violence and bullying are not individual problems but social. They develop in groups, there are the bullies, the victims but also those who let it happen, those who observe or participate. So in order to stop it we provide a culture of looking at a violent situation and helping to stop it." C.S. "We need to work not only with the bullies and the victims but also with others who are observe but do nothing to stop it. Those are also involved and they also support the bully by doing this. (Austria, R. Herzog, expert)*

Surely the implementation of such programs has an overall impact on tackling violence at school; however, a concrete and precise quantification of their impact is difficult to be achieve, as a formal assessment is not always provided. Indeed, the fact that such programs are on the agenda of almost each school policy is a positive sign itself.

In detail, the selected good practices allow the identification of common lines of action. Schools have proven to be very sensitive toward multiculturalism: in fact, many of the activities aim at transmitting intercultural values, which are functional in improving tolerance and respect among children and teenagers. In order to achieve the integration of foreigners, programs usually focused on the inclusion of foreigners and on the promotion of diversity. Beside this, some interventions are focused on the prevention of violence (anti-bullying programs).

WHAT ARE THE SCHOOLS' PERSPECTIVES?

By looking at what actually happens inside schools, it is possible to analyze contextual variables which can prevent and tackle violent behaviors of children at school. Moreover, there a relevant tradition of research regarding the analysis of interethnic relationships in classes and schools (D'Ignazi 2005; Zoletto, 2007; Agostinetto, 2008; Law, Swann, 2011).

At this point, a terminological aspect should be pointed out. Violence can occur in several shapes, but in order to mark the borders of the present analysis, it is worth giving a previous theoretical explanation of the relation between bullying and violent deviant behaviors. Smith (1999) describes bullying as a particularly cruel subcategory of aggressive behaviors directed repeatedly to a victim who is unable to defend himself, crushed by a number of younger, less strong or less secure attackers. Traditionally, literature identifies both physical and psychological bullying. Olweus[11] (1996) and Fonzi (1997) underlined the durable negative consequences of such behaviors in victims. On the other hand, the au-

10 Each national research team chose the projects listed in tab. no. 1 independently according to relevance in their own Country. For a wider explanation of contents of selected good practices see Annex I.

11 In particular, Olweus gave a first definition if bullying in 1993. He indicated in intentionality, persistence and asymmetry of power between bullies and victims the three fundamental characteristics that make it recognizable, compared to other aggressive behaviors.

Table 1: Selected Programs and Good Practices implemented at the National Level
Tabela 1:Izbrani programi in dobre prakse implementirani na nacionalni ravni

	Good Practice	Target	Purpose
Austria	Viennese Social Competence training WiSc	Students, teachers/school staff, family	Violence prevention program
	Faustlos	Students	Violence prevention program
Cyprus	Emergency Intervention Team	Students	Intervention team against violence and delinquency in schools
	Zones of Educational Priority	Students, teachers/school staff	Foster integration of students with different ethnic backgrounds in public schools
	Strategic Planning	Students	Increase awareness of multiculturalism and diversity in the school environment
England	EMAG	Students	Assist students from different ethnic backgrounds in schools
	SNL	Teachers/school staff, school and local authorities	Provide support and training to schools and local authorities
Italy	Smontailbullo	Students, schools, teachers/school staff, family, the whole community	Prevention, information and support
	Regional permanent observer on bullying	School and local authorities	Prevention, monitoring, dissemination of good practices
Slovenia	School Mediation	Students, teachers/school staff, family	Improve the culture of relationship between pupils and school staff
	School for peace	Pupils	Combat peer violence
	Preventive Programme for the Reduction of Violence in Primary School	Students, teachers/school staff, family	Violence prevention program
	My Peers and Me-Let's Talk	Students, teachers/school staff, family	Peer mediation - peer education
	Networks of Learning Schools	Teachers/school staff, school and local authorities	Systematic exchange of good practices: education in problem solving

thors pointed out that personal gratification, prestige in the peer group and eventually stealing other people's things can be motivations adopted by bullies. In this paper, the analysis focuses both on the bullying phenomenon and on *peer violence*, as suggested by the title. For this reason, a wider range of harassments are taken into account, even if, as mentioned below, sometimes adults do not recognize them as bullying acts.

In order to reduce peer victimization, many researchers (Besag, 1989; Sharp, Smith, 1994; Rigby, 1996; Rahey, Craig, 2002) agree on the importance of an ecological approach which tackles the issue of bullying behaviors in schools from different points of view. As underlined by Gini (2007), "The main goal of this kind of approach is to elaborate a school policy against violence and a rules system based on respect and co-operation". Therefore, the focus shifts from the social skills of victims and bullies to the prevention of harassment: specific measures are addressed to pupils who do not play a central role in peer violence episodes. In particular, at least in theory, interviewed teachers emphasized courageous and severe answers against the harassing behaviours of students.

More in detail, in England and Slovenia the interviews point out the presence of a *zero tolerance policy* against violence. Besides having a clear formal school regulation setting out policies and tools to contrast bullying, in England school staffs reported the importance of promoting an overall inclusive and welcoming ethos in the school, where racist attitudes would not be tolerated. Slovenian teachers point out this element as well: a constructive dialogue seems be one of the best ways to deter pupils from repeating bad behaviour:

> *We've had anti bullying policy [...] I think people are very clear that this is a college where we want*

Table 2: What do you usually do when you see that a pupil is treated badly because of his or her nationality/ethnic background (culture, language, religion)? (%)
Tabela 2: Kaj ponavadi storiš, ko vidiš učenca s katerim grdo ravnajo zaradi njegove narodne/etnične pirpadnosti (culture, jezika, vere)? (%)

	Cyprus	England	Italy	Slovenia	Austria
I help him or her	29,1	31,2	33,8	23,2	27,8
I tell a teacher or another staff member what is happening	18,1	31,0	18,6	29,2	19,5
I tell another adult what is happening	5,5	4,8	5,4	6,0	4,1
I tell them that this is not right	19,6	11,3	16,0	10,9	21,3
Nothing but I think I should help him or her	15,8	8,4	12,9	16,0	12,4
Nothing but I stay and watch	5,5	3,7	4,0	4,7	2,5
Nothing and walk away because this is none of my business	5,3	6,7	8,0	7,6	7,3
I join the ones who treat him or her badly	1,0	0,9	0,9	0,5	1,8
Other	0,0	2,2	0,7	1,9	3,3

a warm, friendly, welcoming atmosphere and we won't tolerate anything that goes beyond that. (England, Vice Principal, School 15)

Constructive dialogue, this is the first step […] but dialogue is the first thing. […] Disciplinary sanctions are the last resort. You have to discuss such matters promptly, the minute it happens. Because zero tolerance means exactly that it shouldn't be tolerated, (Slovenia, teacher)

Punishment and sanctions, followed by a scope of rehabilitation sessions in order to make students learn from their own mistakes, may be reserved for the more serious or persistent misbehaviours. In fact, scientific literature is sceptical about the effectiveness of zero tolerance policies unless they are integrated with "prevention, conflict resolution/peer mediation, improved classroom behaviour management, and early identification and intervention" (Skiba 2000). For this reason, school authorities try to explain to violent pupils that their behaviour will not only have a negative impact on others but on themselves as well.

All in all also pupils believe that "severe" sanctions for improper behaviour are the best way to prevent (interethnic) violence in the school environment. This confirm s that disciplinary punishment is "powerfully symbolic" (Skiba, 2000) because it makes students feel sure that something is actually going to be done.

Teachers should be stricter; they should give the bully some severe punishment. (Slovenia, Male, 10) [Unsaid: It could be useful employing] CCTV surveillance, for example. (Slovenia, girl, 10)

Indeed, teachers and other schools authorities have the ethical and legal responsibility to create and maintain a protective atmosphere in their schools: for this reason, when episodes of violence occur, the adequate involvement of teachers and other school staff is crucial. When teachers fulfill their role of leadership and become reference points for the students, they are among the first confidants for the students. In this way, students see them as those who can really solve their problems. In particular, as Table no. 2 shows, in each Country the respondents claimed that they mostly either actively stepped in or helped the victim of violence, or they informed a teacher about the episode. Teachers seem to be strongly involved by students in English and Slovenian schools, whose interviews have revealed the popularity of a policy of zero tolerance against violence. Indeed, as already highlighted in paragraph 1, in the English case the credibility of teachers is also supported by well-established traditions in managing difference. However, this attitude seems to produce a positive impact on students' confidence with their teachers (especially in the case of primary schools): as a matter of fact, in these two countries, students are also more willing to involve teachers when violent episodes occur (see Fig. 1). Therefore, this kind of policy may possibly generate confidence and respect in students towards the effectiveness of teacher intervention:

We have a zero tolerance policy towards violence. Violence shouldn't be tolerated…we react immediately, decisively and we stop it the moment it happens. (Slovenia, Teacher, Secondary School)

Referring to the survey (Table no. 3), around 40% of the responding students (both from primary and secondary schools) think teachers always intervene when episodes of bullying or violence occur. It is worth noticing that, in each country, primary school students stated that teachers always intervene. On the contrary, a greater number of secondary school students affirmed teachers never interfere. As regards the reasons for non-intervention of teachers, in all countries the majority of students who claimed that teachers do not intervene specified they do not step in because they are not aware of what is actually happening. This is also confirmed by some focus groups. For example, this appeared in a Cypriot focus group:

In our school there are teachers but I do not know how much they will help because these things are among the students, if no solutions are found between peers they could not help because they are older you won't pay proper attention. (Cyprus, female, 17-18)

However, as some pupils stated that sometimes teachers tend to minimize or not to recognize the presence of interethnic violence, especially when it is not easy to distinguish verbal violence from shared jokes or teasing between friends. Olweus (1993) underlined that sometimes teachers and parents are not aware of harassment happening in school. This has been confirmed by several focus groups, for example:

I would not go to teachers because they don't do anything, they don't try to find the reason and to solve the problem (Austria, female, 18)

On the other hand, both primary and secondary school students are sometimes afraid of exposing themselves to even further harassment and retributive measures by bullies if they refer to an adult about violent behaviour:

You can tell the teacher, but then they [E.d. the bullies] will go after you. Or they can block your way and you have nowhere to go. (Slovenia, boy, 10)

In the project countries, teachers and other school staff members suggest that interethnic violence does not occur in their schools (at the time the data was collected). As a matter of fact, in order to maintain a positive climate and to prevent peer violence and bullying, the role played by adults working at the school is crucial. Indeed, since they spent lots of time with students, they were more aware of the problems in their school. Moreover, teachers can facilitate the integration of children having a different ethnic background by redirecting aggressive behaviour and supporting vulnerable pupils. Furthermore, as reported in many interviews, teachers can explore the issue of diversity thanks to specific projects and activities designed to promote interest toward different cultures and to foster mutual coexistence. However, all the experts interviewed pointed out that not all teachers are able to create a favourable environment for mutual exchange and tolerance. Sometimes, teachers lack adequate training or they underrate violence or bullying.

Peer education

If teachers play a relevant role in order to prevent bullying, peer education is also very important in developing social competences and cooperation among children (Cole, 1987; Cowie and Sharp, 1996). In fact, peer education interventions are based on the "ability of children to give and receive help" (Gini, 2004). In particular , several examples of this are presented in English and Austrian cases. In England, teachers and pupils mentioned the so-called *anti-bullying ambassador program* and *Circle time*.

Table 3: Do teachers step in when someone gets bullied by his/her schoolmates? By kind of school (%)
Tabela 3: Ali učitelji odreagirajo, ko gre za nasilje nad sošolcem/ko? Glede na tip šole (%)

	Always	Sometimes	Never
Secondary			
Austria	29,1	60,3	10,6
Slovenia	18,3	66,3	15,4
Italy	29,9	59,5	10,6
England	26,9	61,4	11,7
Cyprus	23,6	63,8	12,6
Primary			
Austria	43,9	49,3	6,8
Slovenia	65,5	30,2	4,3
Italy	58,7	36,6	4,7
England	46,6	49,5	3,8
Cyprus	50,2	41,2	8,6

The former is a sort of peer-helper (*befriendining*): some pupils are trained to help their mates when violent behaviours occur. As a head-teacher explained:

the anti-bullying ambassadors, is … so they're children who have been selected and gone to training, how to deal with bullying, and have come back and shared that in assembly with other, and talked to their class about it. (England, headteacher, School 2)

While teachers deemed this measure really effective, during focus group sessions pupils said that they preferred talking directly to their teachers about the peer violence episodes they had experienced or witnessed. Moreover, since the bullying ambassador is a child, he or she has no real authority over his schoolmates:

[…]
Pupil1 […] the adults don't realise that most of the...bullying ambassadors are kind of silly.
[..]
Pupil2 Cos they don't take their jobs seriously
[…]
Pupil1 Some of them just like slack off their... they just erm, they just say bring the bully to me and then, they say...and then they say don't do it again. Erm, but then they do it again and the anti-bullying ambassadors don't notice it. That's why I talked to my teacher instead because she does her job properly, she cares about our health.
Pupil2 Yeah because they're the same age as us, they're year 6 so they're like a bit lazy too.
[…]
(England, School 2, FG2)

Circle time, the second best practice cited by pupils of English primary schools, emphasized the importance of speaking about these issues with their teachers, who became a sort of mediator. In fact, they appreciated the chance to talk about diversity and about the consequences of violence during class time.

> *Erm, sometimes with Miss X on Mondays, we do circle time, like about bullying now but, like last year we had like if something bad happened to us and we told the teacher in circle time and they told the person to stop it. (England, School 12, FG1)*

Interviews and focus group sessions in other countries also showed the relevance of dialogue in order to prevent violence. In Italy, where the circle time initiative is not widespread, when acts of violence occurred in primary schools, teachers usually started a class discussion about the incidents. Many students from Italian secondary schools underlined the importance of talking with experts too about this topic:

> *In my opinion what we should do is just that to make us stay together and talk, but not with our teacher. With other people outside the school that can understand us and make us think. (Italy, female, 17)*

Furthermore, in Slovenia, students from primary and secondary schools talk about diversity (culture, religion and human rights) during class time as a way of preventing (interethnic) peer violence. They highlight the importance of speaking and discussing with their teachers and other experts about various forms of violence in order to recognize them and learn how to react. In this regard, many schools have developed programs and individual measures[12]. Moreover, most schools provide peer mediation programs, where peers are trained to solve conflict situations among pupils. If necessary, some teachers organise special activities like, for example, outdoor weeks in order to strengthen the team spirit of a particular class.

In fact, acts of bullying with an ethnic component represent a deeper attack addressed to pupils with a different ethical background. For this reason, training students to become responsible and self-confident students, who can become representatives of anti-bullying themselves, appears to be a good strategy.

Beside the schools: family, local authorities and ngo's

A systemic and ecological approach involves the school community as a whole; it should therefoore also include family, local authorities and external agencies (Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, Isava 2008; Vreeman, Carroll, 2007; Cowie, Jennifer, 2007). In fact, bullying is a phenomenon that involves several individual and social dimensions: that is why, in order to prevent and solve conflicts, a holistic approach is indicated as the most incisive method to achieve a positive outcome (Gini, 2011).

In particular, Randhal (1996) argues that the behaviour of bullies and victims may be correlated to out-of-school factors, like the family's educational style. For this reason, the involvement of family plays an important role in resolving and promoting non-violent behaviour among young people, as also many students and teachers highlighted. A fortiori if the reason of the peer violence is racial: in fact, negative stereotypes at the basis of violent episodes could be reproduced in family.

> *I do not know. By my opinion, this starts inside the family (Slovenia, male, 18)*
> *[…] and if [the Head] deems it to be serious then the parents are to be involved and then there's to be, where possible and where it will benefit the students, there is to be some, conflict resolution between the two of them. (England, Staff member, School 3)*

> *I first try to talk it out with the children, […] then I talk to the parents. […] (Austria, teacher)*

But the relation with family is not always easy. For example, Italian teachers pointed out a number of problems that occurred during family meetings with parents that do not have an Italian cultural background. In fact, Italian parents tend to defend their children and ultimately transform the aggressor into the victim. The general difficulty is to interact with parents of pupils of non-Italian origin as they do not speak Italian and sometimes they do not understand the rules of Italian schools. In such cases teachers may also have to have the role of linguistic and cultural mediators; due to the lack of economic resources real cultural mediators are often missing.

Families are not the only actors with whom schools cooperate in order to prevent bullying. In fact, interaction with the local authorities can help to solve the most serious cases of racial violence. In particular, teachers usually refer to the Social Services or the police. For example, in Italy, sometimes, protocols are established at local level between schools, the Social Services, the local police and Juvenile Courts. These protocols usually do not focus on interethnic violence, but are addressed to all kinds of bullying. In English schools the requirement to report racial incidents to the local authorities exists as well:

> *It's reported to the local authority. So we have a standard form that we would fill in. Erm, where we have to list the ethnicities of the children in-*

12 Some examples of mediation programmes are "Together for a Safe School", "From Quarrel to Tolerance", "Violence is Out, We are In!", "Safe Point School Project". In some cases, these projects form a part of the school curriculum (ie. the unit "Let's Silence the Violence", under the primary school subject Civic and Homeland Education and Ethics).

volved, and their age, and the kind of erm, incident it was and some detail about what was said and the action that was taken by the school. So whether that was to inform the parent or carer, or speak with the child, and take some sort of restorative action, erm, so we fill in all of that. And then also it's reported to the governing body. (England, head teacher, School 2)

Besides local authorities, also other institutions work in favour of children like NGOs and voluntary associations which have also developed *programs, workshops and measures against violence in schools*. These organizations support school activities in different ways, depending on their specific institutional mission. In fact, some of them operate in order to promote the rights of children or to develop an inclusive society against racism and discrimination. In particular, a good example is represented by the Austrian Child/Youth Ombudsman, which is present in each of the nine Federal States of the country and which acts in the sole interest of children and young people. It mediates in conflict situations and provides rapid help. Furthermore, it promotes the organization of workshops and projects which focus on the improvement of the social conditions of children and young people in order to help them to avoid violence and to ensure professional mediation. Another example is SOS Il Telefono Azzurro Onlus, the first association in Italy committed to the prevention of child abuse and neglect. In particular, these institutions contributed to arousing the public opinion to the issue of violence between and against children also, also thanks to the high impact of media campaigns. This aspect is particularly relevant as it shows how the media can contribute to breaking negative ethnic stereotypes and not only to perpetuating it, as they usually do[13].

Other projects proposed by NGOs and associations are similar to the practices implemented at national level or by schools (peer education/mediation strategy, counsellor interventions, etc.)[14].

Interethnic violence practices and intercultural education

As stated above, good practices against interethnic violence at school also include the improvement of intercultural skills, in order to enforce a cross-cultural perspective. For this reason, the "others" are a precious resource for an education with an inclusive purpose. Consequently, intercultural education is undertaken to support students in the construction of cultural identities, also including the local and the intercultural traditions. In particular, all teachers and experts emphasize the importance of applying the principles of multiculturalism and tolerance in the school curricula.

Learning the local official language can favour integration (Caravita, 2004). For this reason, each country promotes activities focused on teaching the host country language to students having a different ethnic background and who are enrolled in the national school system, following the assumption that sharing a common language is the very first vehicle of integration (Santerini, 2010; Pattaro, 2010). As a consequence, additional hours dedicated to language teaching are a tool for integration and, indirectly, help prevent ethnic violence, especially among young people who, hopefully, will become more aware and integrated adults in the future. In addition, as regards intercultural tolerance, the interviewed teachers reported intercultural seminars at school as opportunities where to discuss diversity and interculturality and to receive training.

Regarding the individual countries' experiences, Austria sets aside an important role for interculturality in school, especially in bigger cities like Vienna or Linz, characterized by a multicultural environment.

We have a lot of measures targeting interculturality […]. We have recently implemented a pupils' initiative called 'Mentoring 4 Students', we have the subject Intercultural seminar, and provide also many journeys (Austria, Teacher)

In Italy, interculturality also plays an important role in schools. In fact, Italian schools can benefit from special funding to implement intercultural activities[15]: projects can be promoted alongside with experts (cultural and linguistic mediators, psychologists) and opportunities can be offered to learn about different cultures (trips, multicultural festivals with the presence of children's families and representatives of the local community).

Interviews in England emphasized the role of all school members in promoting an ethos of inclusion of diversity, with particular attention to the different expressions of socio-cultural belonging, such as religion, customs and traditions. Finally, in Cypriot schools too, intercultural activities can be found.

13 Another example from Italy is the media campaign Smontailbullo, related to a web platform where teachers, families and students can find useful information and several materials on the topic of bullying.

14 For example, in Austria, the Zara organization developed a series of workshops, named Mut zur Vielfalt, for sixteen year-old students with the aim to train teenagers to become anti-discrimination trainers and mediators. Other relevant actors promoting the integration of human rights in schools in countries all around the world can be identified in Amnesty International (i.e Friendly Schools Project in the United Kingdom) and UNICEF (i.e. Speak Up! Let's Talk About Violence among Children in Slovenia).

15 The national legislation defines, with art. 9 of the National Supplementary Collective Agreement - School Compartment for 2006-09, the way through which the State may finance incentives for projects relating to risk areas with a very high percentage of immigration and for projects against school exclusion.

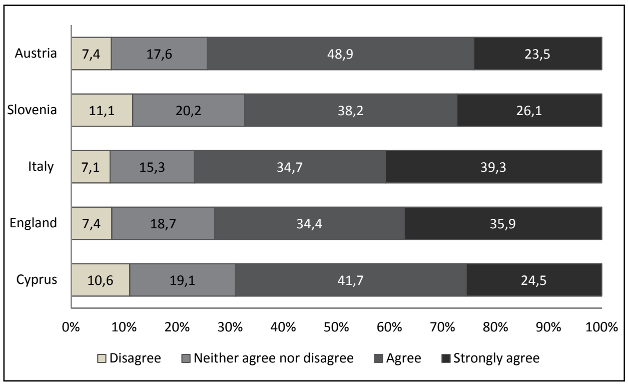


Figure 1: In the classroom we learn about different cultures and religions (%)
Slika 1: V razredu se učimo o različnih kulturah in verah (%)

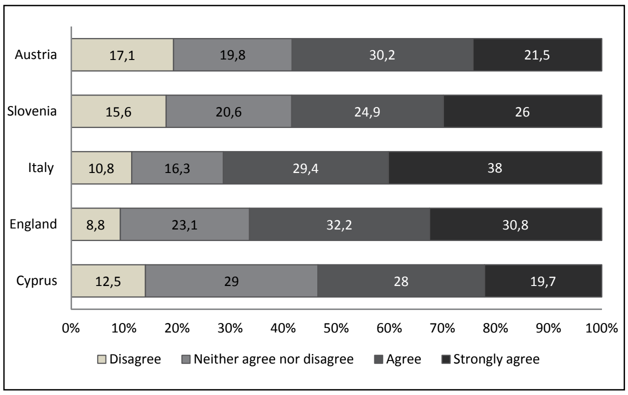


Figure 2: In the school we have special activities that encourage us to be equal and understand the differences between us (%)
Slika 2: V šoli imamo posebne aktivnosti, ki spodbujajo enakost in razumevanje medsebojne različnosti (%)

We have a special topic in our syllabus on racism and there are various discussions in class and essay writing (Cyprus, male, secondary school)

In Slovenian schools, teachers try to integrate the topic of interethnic tolerance in their curricula, especially in several compulsory subjects (usually geography, history, the official language and foreign languages). On the other hand, interethnic tolerance and the civic rights of minorities are compulsory subjects[16]. Nevertheless, some experts underline that these activities are not enough.

In conclusion, it might be useful to consider what the students' perception is about the activities described so far. Do they contribute to encouraging equality and the inclusion of linguistic, cultural and religious differences in schools? We asked pupils whether or not they agreed with the following statements (*a. In the classroom we learn about different cultures and religions?; b. In school we have special activities that encourage us to be equal and understand our differences?*). The majority gave a positive response which confirms that schools are "a place where everybody can be themselves whatever their ethnic background" (Fig.1). Therefore, at school children can learn about different cultural identities, which is essential to remove discrimination and stereotypes. The encounter with ethnically and culturally different people represents an opportunity for children and teachers in order to reflect on the level of values, rules and behaviours.

SUMMING UP: SOME IMPORTANT FINDINGS FROM EUROPEAN CHILDREN'S VOICES

As mentioned above, ethnic bullying is a multidimensional phenomenon which requires an integrated approach. The selected analyzed good practices gave ev-

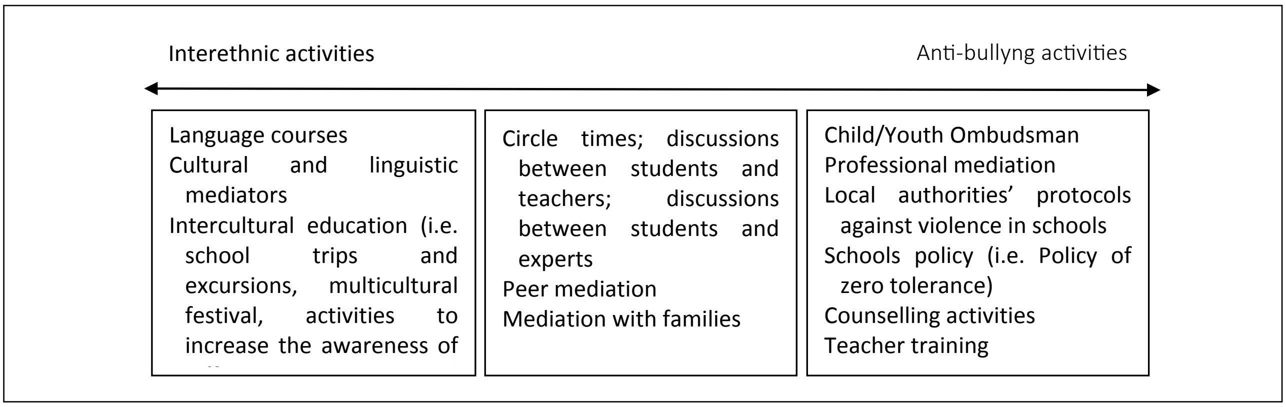


Figure 3: Typology of interethnic anti-bullying activities
Slika 3: Tipologija medetničnih antibuling aktivnosti

16 In detail: *Ethics and Civic Education* in the 7th and 8th grade of primary school and *Education for peace, family and non-violence* in the 3rd year of the secondary school.

idence of several paths implemented in preventing bullying and (peer) violence in and out of schools. In particular, several kinds of good practices can be represented along a *continuum* having two main facets (Fig. 3): intercultural aspects and an anti-bullying dimension. The former (on the left side of the continuum) represents activities whose main aim is the development of an intercultural ethos in schools. The latter (on the right side of the continuum) shows measures mainly addressed to the protection of children and young people from violence. Between the two extremes, other measures with the general aim to develop inclusive and cooperative relations between children in and outside schools can be positioned. Indeed, borders between these two aspects are blurred but they help to present an analytical framework.

Notwithstanding the national context of a country, which may lead to different kind of experiences due to differing traditions of racial pluralism, heterogeneous migration histories and several levels of ethnic cohesion (Medarić, Sedmak, 2012), a selection of common elements providing an improvement of the situation can be listed (Gini, Pozzoli, 2011).

A common topic which has emerged in this research is the role played by teachers in the school system due to their constant interaction with students. As underlined in many interviews, the reinforcement of the teachers' interpersonal skills through lifelong training is desirable in order to strengthen the identification and the treatment of violence and bullying episodes. In particular, what strongly emerges is the importance of a common and clear set of guidelines and specific training for teachers provided by national states or schools. Therefore, external support for teachers provided by experts from outside of the school environment, perhaps coordinated at a national/central level, may be useful. However, while these aspects are commonly acknowledged, each country pointed out different elements based on their own national context. In particular, Austrian, Slovenian and Italian evidence shows that teachers should not be the only ones responsible for the management of conflicts and for anti-violence measures in school. In fact, they state that referring to experts would be preferable (psychologists and social workers, for example).

> *[…] There is no one to help teachers to find the right strategies, methodologies needed to manage this relationship, to handle the leadership and then make it a democratic and distributed leadership. (Italy, Pedagogue)*

Cypriot teachers underline the lack of a common policy in schools regarding how to deal with the interethnic violence. Some interviewees stated that, most of the times, counselors and head teachers deal with violent acts in school using only their own personal knowledge and perceptions:

> *Every teacher follows his/her own procedures (Cyprus, Teacher)*

The importance of teacher development and training on issues of violence is also underlined in the English experience where teachers reported feeling confident in giving institutional support on the topic of interethnic violence, also thanks to their long-term experience. However a problematic aspect related to islamofobia emerges. As Allen (2010) empathised "islamofobia affects all aspects of Muslim life": as a consequence, violence against Muslims can be expressed through discrimination in education. This is also confirmed by some of the interviewed teachers and experts:

> *I don't think there is much training of new teachers. There needs to be coherent programme. Teachers lack confidence as it [Islamophobia] is a sensitive issue. With awareness training and discussion, teachers would feel more confident in dealing with these issues (England, Representative from an Islamic NGO)*

Moreover, teachers are a part of the school community, which must be considered in its broadest sense (students, teachers, headmasters and all the collaborators that have a role in daily life at school). Basically, if a positive ethos is established all around the school setting, students will perceive it and their awareness of security and their self-confidence will pour out again in their daily lives as well. Literature underlines the importance of school policies against bullying and violence (Gini, Pozzoli, 2011). Furthermore, by involving the entire school community, teachers and students alike will not be alone in front of violent behaviour: help can be provided by all members of the community, each with its own specific competences:

> *"What is missing is the approach that the whole school as a team has to work to solve the problem (Austria, C. Spiel, expert)*

Outside schools, the collaboration with families is useful to pursue the common goal of preventing peer violence and enforcing their respective educational functions. Families should be constantly informed about what happens to their children and what the school provisions are in order to prevent and manage violence and in particular ethnic one.

Finally, these research results give the chance to reflect on how to improve the prevention of (interethnic) violence at schools. First of all, an improvement of school activities designed to strengthen student awareness on the topics of violence and multiculturalism needs to be made. Consequently, students should constantly share their emotions, feelings and experiences (as with, for example, the "Circle time" technique) since it has been reported by

students and teachers as a good practice. The purpose of these methodologies is to make students aware of their behavior and, at the same time, to make them feel empowered. Another aim is to promote the establishment of a positive environment characterized by a culture of respect and solidarity among peers (Croce, Lavanco, Vassura, 2011). In this sense, strengthening the students' social skills can be a tool in fighting and preventing bullying and violence among peers[17]. A second point could be represented by the enforcement of effective cooperation with national and local authorities and external agencies such as, non-governmental organizations or other policy makers. Consequently, a reticular perspective would be desirable. This could lead to several advantages like the chance to exchange knowledge with other institutions regarding problems and possible solutions to them (Gini, Pozzoli, 2011). However, a successful network among all the aforementioned actors requires a long-term perspective and a suitable quantity of economic resources.

A appropriate combination of the tools, methods and actors mentioned insofar appears to be the most effective strategy to combat general and interethnic peer violence in schools. Following the evidence that has emerged across the five countries , the above elements seem to confirm that this kind of approach is, despite the national context, the basis on which any other measure can be taken.



Sl. 1: Equal treatment for all, Thinkstock
Fig. 1: Enaka obravnava za vse, Thinkstock

17 Nowadays the World Health Organization of United Nations (WHO) considers teaching methods based on life skills education as an incisive technique against aggressiveness and, at a general level, any form of dependence.

Annex 1 -Profile of the Selected Programs and Good Practices implemented at the National Levels
Priloga 1- Profil izbranih programov in dobrih praks implementiranih na nacionalni ravni

	Good Practice	Description of activities
Austria	Viennese Social Competence training (WiSc)	Both programs are designed to foster social and emotional competences in pupils in order to create a positive school atmosphere. In detail, WiSc designs a holistic approach including the whole school environment (students, teachers, but also parents and school headmasters). Faustlos is also a violence prevention program with the aim of fostering children's social and emotional competences in kindergarten, primary and middle school. Both programs are implemented within a national strategy that represents itself as a good practice. From 2007, it encloses projects that differently pursue the same aim of prevention and intervention against violence in kindergartens and schools
	Faustlos	
Cyprus	Emergency Intervention Team (EIT)	In 2007 the Ministry of Education and Culture developed Strategic Planning in order to improve the general quality of the educational system. The specific purpose was to increase awareness regarding multiculturalism and diversity in school environments. Consequentially, national measures that provide support to schools in their everyday activities combating all forms of violence and delinquency were established. An example is EIT designed for students who provide various kinds of activity: assignment of school escorts (for educational, linguistic and psychological purposes), supportive lessons, grants for extracurricular activities, assignment a of psychological support and financial assistance.
	Zones of Educational Priority	National program launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture with the main purpose of helping students to gain trust and self-confidence through specific projects, even in multiculturalism. It has a double mission: to give assistance to students from different ethnic backgrounds when joining public school environments and reinforcing teachers' awareness on the topic of multiculturalism.
	Strategic Planning	National program launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture with the aim of improving the quality of the educational system and increasing awareness regarding multiculturalism and diversity in school environments. For example, it proposed to adapt the educational materials to students' needs and to support the students regardless of any ethnic, socioeconomic and religious difference in status.
England	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG)	In 1998 EMAG was established to focus on satisfying the specific linguistic needs of pupils from minority ethnic groups. Since 2011, it is no longer directly available for schools, but Local Authorities may sponsor EMAG services for schools.
	School Linking Networks (SLN)	The overall aim of SLN is to facilitate links between schools in England in order to help children and young people explore their identity, celebrate diversity and develop dialogue in order to support them in becoming active citizens. SLN adopts the network approach useful in preventing and spreading knowledge and good practices. The project was firstly implemented in Bradford in 2001 and then in Tower Hamlets in 2006.
Italy	Smontailbullo	National public educational campaign: it promotes events in schools and a toll-free number where children can seek help (it is also possible to ask for advice by e-mail). The related website is also an operative support for educators thanks to the availability of free collected materials (films, books etc.) which deal with issues such as peer violence from a psycho-sociological and cultural point of view.
	Regional permanent observer on bullying	Regional observers have aimed to exchange experiences among schools. Their purpose is to provide teachers, headmasters and other members of the territorial network with support in establishing projects useful for monitoring, preventing and combating bullying and peer violence.
Slovenia	School for Peace - Knowledge and Teaching of Children's Rights	National program divided into two sections: the first with the aim to improve mutual respect in heterogeneous groups; the second with the aim to teach children how to express their opinion regarding equality and choice, to listen to each other and to talk about mutual relationships and rules. It is based on the use of peer mediation and peer education.
	Preventive Program for the Reduction of Violence in Primary School	*National program* deals with the issue of bullying and violence in a systematic and structural way, foreseeing its implementation in school curricula (teaching, class work, etc.). It aims to increase awareness on different forms of violence in schools and on how to react and manage it. It includes every segment of the school staff (management, teachers, counseling staff, etc) and the students' parents.
	My Peers and Me-Let's Talk	National project addressed to pupils, parents and teachers. It is based on the use of peer mediation and peer education.
	Networks of Learning Schools (1 and 2)	National programs that stimulates the systematic exchange of good practices between teachers/pre-school teachers and schools/pre-school institutions that participate in education in order to implement the so-called "co-operation network". This system fosters the exchange of experiences, problems and solutions among the hubs of the network in order to establish systematically cooperative activities in schools and inter-schools levels. A specific objective of this Slovene program called *Strategies for Preventing Violence* deals specifically with the analysis of violence in pre-primary and secondary schools acting on the assessment of the situation, the development of a strategy for improvement in the field of the prevention of violence and the execution of the established activities. It also analyzes episodes of violence that already occurred and, at the same time, emphasizes the importance of preventive actions.

PROBLEMI IN REŠITVE MEDVRSTNIŠKEGA NASILJA: PREGLED DOBRIH PRAKS

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POVZETEK

Spodbujanje človekovih pravic, enakosti med ljudmi in preprečevanje nasilja so osrednje teme v evropskih šolah. V članku analiziramo relevantne dobre prakse preprečevanja medetničnega nasilja v šolah preko rezultatov projekta Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's rights in the School Environment/Glasovi otrok: Preučevanje medetničnega nasilja in otrokovih pravic v šolskem okolju. Šole so običajno že vpeljale določene ukrepe za promocijo otrokovih pravic in preprečevanje nasilja ter programe, usmerjene k integraciji migrantskih otrok oziroma manjšin. Izhajajoč iz navedenega bo v primerjalni perspektivi predstavljen izbor dobrih praks z opisom značilnosti, namena in ciljev ob upoštevanju nacionalnega konteksta.

Izbrane dobre prakse so bile analizirane s treh vidikov udejanjanja: programi, ki jih izvaja država na nacionalni ravni, projekti, ki jih izvajajo šole, in programe, ki jih izvajajo nevladne organizacije in društva.

Nacionalne vlade postavljajo okvir, v katerem prihaja do intervencij, šole dejansko udejanjajo pobude, prakse in mreženje za preprečevanje (medetničnega) nasilja, nevladne organizacije in društva pa preprečujejo asocialno vedenje s promocijo blaginje celotnega prebivalstva (predvsem otrok). Preko analize dobrih praks je bilo identificiranih več skupnih smernic delovanja, ki jih lahko strnemo v naslednje točke:

- *nekateri programi so bolj usmerjeni k preprečevanju nasilja (programi za nenasilje), drugi pa k prenosu medkulturnih vrednot;*
- *v vsaki državi so bili programi usmerjeni k vključevanju otrok drugih narodnosti in k promociji različnosti, z namenom njihove integracije;*
- *večina izbranih programov se dogaja v šolskem okolju in vključuje tako učence kot šolsko osebje (učitelje, ravnatelje);*
- *nekateri programi vključujejo starše in družine, saj so pomemben del procesa socializacije in izobraževanja;*
- *nekateri programi vključujejo predstavnike lokalne oblasti (socialne delavce, protokol s pravniki) z namenom organizirati širšo mrežo, ki bi zaščitila otroke in mladostnike in spodbujala varno okolje v šolah.*

Zaradi vseh navedenih dejavnikov je bil skupnostni pristop identificiran kot osnova za razvoj različnih programov in dobrih praks proti nasilju v šolah.

Ključne besede: buling, medvrstniško nasilje, dobre prakse, šola, izobraževanje

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INTERETHNIC RELATIONS AND PEER VIOLENCE IN AUSTRIAN, ITALIAN AND SLOVENIAN SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on interethnic relations and interethnic peer violence in selected Austrian, Italian and Slovenian primary and secondary schools. Based on quantitative and qualitative research conducted by an international research consortium for the project "Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in the School Environment", the authors observe that interethnic peer violence is largely not recognised as an issue of concern. Furthermore, ethnicity per se is only rarely a decisive factor instigating peer violence. The results of the study indicate that peer violence in the school environment should be analysed using an intersectional approach, focussing together on ethnicity/race, gender, socioeconomic class and sexual orientation.

Keywords: interethnic relations, interethnic peer violence, schools

VIOLENZA INTERETNICA E VIOLENZA TRA PARI NELLE SCUOLE IN AUSTRIA, ITALIA E SLOVENIA

SINTESI

L'articolo e incentrato sullo studio delle relazioni e della violenza interetnica tra i giovani in alcune scuole elementari e superiori in Austria, Italia e Slovenia. Basandosi sulla ricerca internazionale, quantitativa e qualitativa nell'ambito del progetto "Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in the School Environment", gli autori osservano come la violenza interetnica tra i giovani non sia considerata un elemento rilevante. Infatti l'"appartenenza etnica, di per se, è solo raramente il fattore decisivo che causa eventuali episodi di violenza. I risultati della ricerca hanno posto in evidenza come lo studio dei comportamenti violenti in ambito scolastico necessiti di un approccio più integrato che prenda in considerazione elementi relativi all'appartenenza etnica e razziale, il sesso, la classe socio-economica e l'orientamento sessuale.

Parole chiave: relazioni interetniche, violenza interetnica tra i giovani, scuole

INTRODUCTION

Peer violence in schools has caught the attention of scholars and policy makers in Europe relatively recently, only in the last decade. The specific issue of interethnic peer violence in the school environment, however, remains largely an under-researched phenomenon. This article draws on results of the international research project "Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in the School Environment", conducted in five European Union member states: Austria, Cyprus, Italy, Slovenia and the United Kingdom (England). The project represents one of the rare studies focussed on interethnic violence in schools. The project aimed to address the following issues: (1) multiculturalism and interethnic relations in the school environment and (2) pupils' experiences of peer violence related to ethnic, cultural and/or religious differences. Although the research was primarily explorative and, due to the specific sampling – described below in the methodology section – the data cannot be generalised, it provides an important insight into interethnic violence in schools through the perspectives of children, school staff and experts dealing with ethnicity and peer violence issues. The article has the following structure: a section on the methodology used, followed by a discussion of ethnic diversity and interethnic relations in local communities and in the school environment. Then pupils' perceptions of the degree of understanding, tolerance and respect for ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in their communities are presented, followed by a section on (personal) experiences with interethnic violence in schools. Because ethnicity is only one factor that can lead to violent behaviour among peers, the importance of an intersectional approach to understanding the peer violence is discussed.

METHODOLOGY

The "Children's Voices" international research project was conducted in Austria, Cyprus, Italy, Slovenia and the United Kingdom (England). We chose to focus on Austria, Italy and Slovenia because of their regional proximity as well as better comparability of their immigration flows and ethnic composition. Surveys were conducted in 2011. The research methodology combined quantitative and qualitative approaches using a sequential QUAN (quantitative) -> QUAL (qualitative) mixed-methods design (Ivankova, 2013). Figure 1 shows the study design in detail.

The first stage was quantitative and examined the issue of interethnic relations in the school environment with a self-administered survey in the form of a standardised questionnaire, surveying schoolchildren in primary school, aged 10 to 11, and in secondary schools, aged 16 to 17. The questionnaire aimed to cover pupils' views on ethnicity, equality, perceptions and experiences of interethnic violence, and so on; it was adapted slightly in some countries in line with specific national characteristics. The survey was conducted in school classrooms. A total of 767 pupils participated in the study in Slovenia, 715 in Austria, and 714 in Italy.[1] The quantitative results were subsequently used, as described by Ivankova (2013), to determine development of qualitative data collection protocols and shape the qualitative research sub-questions.

In the second stage, qualitative research was conducted in the form of focus groups with two sets of five to six schoolchildren and two semi-structured interviews with school staff (headmasters, teachers, school counsellors) in each school. Additional insights into interethnic relations in the school environment were gained

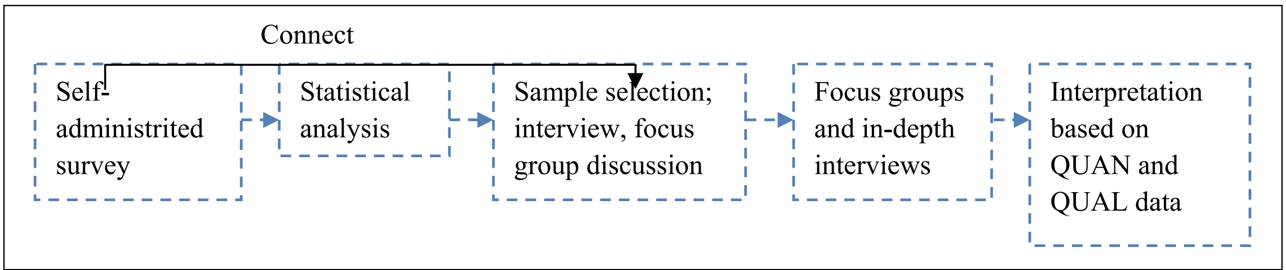


Figure 1: Study design
Slika 1: Načrt raziskave

1 In Austria, schools from the regions of Vienna, Upper Austria, Salzburg and Carinthia were included in the sample. The first three regions have the highest percentages of pupils whose everyday language is other than German, with Vienna having the highest proportion of such students – about 40 per cent of pupils in Vienna have an everyday language other than German. The fourth region, Carinthia, was chosen because Slovenians – one the largest autochthon ethnic groups in Austria – live there (Sauer and Ajanović, 2012).
The Italian regions chosen for the survey were Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto and the autonomous province of Trento. These regions have an above-average percentage of pupils without Italian citizenship, ranging from 10 per cent to 14 per cent. In the sample of the included schools, between 10 per cent and 50 per cent or more of pupils in the class were foreign students (Delli Zotti et al., 2012).
The quantitative research in Slovenia took place in four locations: Ljubljana, Jesenice, Primorska and Prekmurje. The regions selected all have ethnically mixed populations. In each region, about one-third of pupils included in the sample were of non-Slovenian ethnic background (Medarić et al., 2012).

through interviews with experts in the field of interethnic relations and peer violence from governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). We present the findings of the qualitative study in Austria (conducted in two primary and two secondary schools in Vienna), Italy (conducted in two primary and two secondary schools in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Veneto regions) and Slovenia (conducted in two primary and two secondary schools in Jesenice).

The sample used in the quantitative stage was not representative of the pupil population in each country. A non-probable sampling was used to meet theoretical prerequisites specified by the project. The schools were selected according to specific criteria in the project description, in particular that they be located in multicultural regions, chosen according to:

- closeness of the border,
- urbanity of the area (highly urban areas), and
- "attractiveness" of the region for migrants.

Given this mode of sampling, any direct comparisons among data from the three different countries should be done with extreme care. When such comparisons are made, the results need to be treated with caution and as indicative of trends that exist in each national setting.

Research partners entered the data into a previously established national sample database, which were later joined to form a common database. As the country samples were not representative (they consisted of four regional schools in each country), they were not directly comparable. Therefore, the partners agreed on a country-by-country analysis instead of performing an analysis of the whole sample. Within each country sample, the Cramer coefficient was used as a measure of association. With the Cramer's V coefficient we can determine the strength of relationship between variables with 2 x 2 or more rows and columns where statistical significance has been confirmed using Chi-square.

The chosen schools were located in multicultural regions and were characterised by an above-average degree of ethnic diversity and a greater interest in the subject of interethnic violence. This selection could have had an effect on the incidence of interethnic violence, representing a higher degree of interethnic violence than if schools located in more ethnically homogeneous environments were included.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Putnam (2007, 141–142) discusses two contrasting theoretical perspectives of the impact of immigration and ethnic diversity on social connections and civic attitudes in local communities/neighbourhoods: the contact theory and the conflict theory. According to the contact theory, isolation breeds unfounded negative beliefs, stereotypes and mistrust towards "others". By contrast, diversity may serve to improve interethnic relations, as prejudices can be overcome and intercultural understanding can be enhanced if groups mingle and interact. The reasoning behind this perspective is that 'as we have more contact with people unlike us, we overcome initial barriers of ignorance and hesitation and come to trust them more'. This line of reasoning stems from the intergroup theory, originated by Allport (1954) and more recently extended by Pettigrew (1998). However, intergroup interaction generates such positive outcomes only if it occurs (1) on the basis of equality, (2) in settings of common experiences and common objectives and (3) on a frequent, lasting and intensive basis (Allport, 1954; Gurin et al., 2004). If these conditions are not met, interethnic contact can instead produce the very opposite of tolerance and ethnic equality. That sort of polarisation lies at the core of the conflict theory, which postulates that (ethnic) diversity fosters "out-group" distrust and "in-group" solidarity. In other words, the more we are brought into physical proximity with people of a different ethnicity, the less we trust them. Conflict theory thus suggests that interaction between different ethnic groups will result in tension, conflict and hostility, foremost because of competition for scarce resources and access to public goods. In the conflict theory perspective, the relative size of the minority group or groups is of utmost importance. The larger the size of the minority group(s), the more members of the dominant group will feel threatened, the tighter will be their in-group bonding and the more prejudiced they will become towards the minority group(s). Blalock (1967) argues that this polarisation occurs because a growing share of minority group(s) in the population increases the competition over scarce resources among groups and gives minority group(s) more opportunities to mobilise socially and politically and therefore challenge the privileges of the dominant group.

While these perspectives of contact and conflict are presented as alternative and contrasting explanations, it seems more realistic to anticipate that both processes will operate simultaneously in most local communities. Therefore, for some individuals, direct contact will reduce stereotypes and mistrust towards members of ethnic groups, while for others, the appearance of (new) ethnic groups in a local community/neighbourhood will lead to avoidance of social contact and the development, or exacerbation, of existing stereotypes and out-group mistrust.

According to the assessments of the interviewees in Austria and Slovenia, interethnic relations in general have improved. However, in both countries, the older generations were recognised as less tolerant.

> *I think that for a certain period expressing national affiliation to other [non-Slovenian] nations was undesired. This is also shown by reports on human development and other reports but after 1999 the level of intolerance is decreasing, while*

still remaining towards the Roma people. /…/ Coexistence has become a value, being different is a right. Consequently, people declare their difference. (Expert, Slovenia).
I think that it [the situation] got better. People see that we migrants also work hard and also are integrated. I personally did not experience any racist incidents but sometimes you hear elderly people talking. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).
You can hear older people talking badly about migrants; they complain when you talk in another language in the tram and you can hear [them insulting someone by calling him/her 'gipsy']. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).
Our generation is used to the multiculturalism in Vienna and I don't feel bothered by it. But elderly people sometimes make racist comments in the supermarket or the tram. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).
These old mums ain't [tolerant towards immigrants]. (Secondary school pupil, Slovenia).
Recently, I think it's getting better, but this is a rural, actually suburban environment. So it seems that some of these stereotypes are still present. Err, now in practice, … hmmm … maybe with these parents, older ones, that actually, when there are some problems that we solve, there's more of it present than with younger generations, who are basically connected in a different way. (School counsellor, Slovenia).

In Italy, however, in recent years a shift towards intolerance of immigrants and ethnic minorities has been observed in public discourse, leading to increased racism and xenophobic violence. The 2011 Human Rights Watch report[2] stated that "in a country that has seen a dramatic increase in immigration, particularly over the past 10 years, a political discourse that links immigrants and Roma and Sinti (many of whom are Italian citizens) to crime has helped to create and perpetuate an environment of intolerance". Media reporting on immigrants and ethnic minorities in Italy often portrays them in a negative light, and the impact of such reporting on the public perception of those communities is causing increased concern among representatives of NGOs as well as media observers.

I remember when they reported the news of that Romanian who had killed a man piercing him in the eye with the tip of an umbrella in Rome, a hell of a conflict raged. The kids at school were all against the Romanian kids and I still remember the aggression, remember my Romanian friend. She was on the bus with her baby in her arms, the phone rang and she started the conversation in her language. At that point all people on the bus attacked her with insults and pulled her off the bus. (Expert, Italy).
I often go with my mom to a park and once I heard children arguing because there was this kid who called another kid inferior because he had come from a different country and said that he could not stay there: You cannot play with me because you're not part of my group, and it went on so for half an hour until my mom separated them because she was a bit sick of seeing that scene. The targeted child had tried to stand before starting to cry. (Primary school pupil, Italy).

The processes of "othering" and creating hierarchies of "foreigners" were also observed in Austria and Slovenia. Othering has been conceptualised by Said in his influential book *Orientalism,* where he writes: "The development and maintenance of every culture requires the existence of another different and competing alter ego. The construction of identity…whether Orient or Occident, France or Britain… involves establishing opposites and otherness whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of their differences from us" (1995, 332). Constructing otherness requires categorisation. The construction of "us" and "them" is not possible without characterisation meant to differentiate and separate. In defining "ourselves" in opposition to a constructed "other", we perform a process of classification through the use of binary oppositions, such as normal/abnormal, civilised/uncivilised, clean/unclean. We do not merely assign people to categories; we assign values to those categories. Furthermore, a "chain" of "others" is also established, in which hierarchies of more and less tolerable or likable "others" are constructed[3].

In Slovenia and Italy, an evident differentiation between the nationalities from the southern and eastern parts of Europe (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Romania, Serbia, etc.) and the western and northern parts of Europe can be observed.

Otherwise I believe there is a difference. That those who come from the west are more respected than those from the south. (Secondary school pupil, Slovenia).
People, just because they come from Eastern Europe – Albanians, Serbs, Romanians – are considered more dangerous than, let's say, the Chinese. (Secondary school pupil, Italy).
People think that all Serbs and Albanians are dangerous people walking armed with knives, but

2 Human Rights Watch (2011): *Everyday Intolerance: Racist and Xenophobic Violence in Italy*. New York: Human Rights Watch. Available at: http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2011/03/20/everyday-intolerance-0 (30. 5. 2013).
3 For more on intergroup discrimination and the issue of hierarchy of more or less acceptable »others«, see Medarić (2009) and Sedmak (2004).

also [some] Italians are like this. Unfortunately, only foreigners are seen as bad people. (Secondary school pupil, Italy).

Ethnic stereotypes are still rooted in the majority ethnic group and transmitted to the young. Focus group discussions revealed that members of the majority were more positive towards those nations that they considered to be civilised, clean and developed. In their opinion, western and northern nations "are more civilised" and the differentiation between nations is a consequence of "not being equal" (Primary school pupil, Slovenia). A Macedonian girl explained the reason for differentiation:

"Because countries like France and England are more developed than Macedonia or Bosnia" (Primary school pupil, Slovenia).

At the bottom end of the chain of othering are Roma, who unquestionably remain the most marginalised and vilified minority group in Austria, Italy and Slovenia. The majority live in extreme poverty, many in appalling conditions in either authorised or unauthorised settlements. Extreme prejudice against the Roma is widespread among the rest of the population, and anti-Roma sentiments are common in political discourse, the media and in everyday conversations that reach also into the classrooms.

Yes, Roma pupils often also hide their ethnic background because they know that they will be insulted.
(Teacher, Austria).

A similar situation was pointed out in Slovenia. An 11-year-old girl of Roma ethnic background initially declared herself as Croat, but later in the focus group discussion about prejudices explained that others think Roma "smell and should go to school for students with special needs". Hiding the Roma ethnic background can be understood as a practical consequence of multiple prejudices related to Roma.

A few years ago, when we had a consultation on the status of Roma in Slovenia and Austria, there was a representative of the NGO Society of Allies for Soft Landing from Krško who told us that a kid once asked her if some cream exists which you could use so that others couldn't see you are Roma. (Expert, Slovenia).

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOL

The impact of ethnic diversity in the micro-environment, as at the school or classroom level, can be quite different from that of diversity at the neighbourhood, city or national level. Interaction among children of different ethnicities cannot be avoided in the micro environment of the classroom/school, where the children mingle on a daily basis, are equal in status (at least nominally) and share the same school experience (Kokkonen et al., 2008, in Janmaat, 2010). Thus, we might expect the contact theory perspective to receive much support from micro-level studies in educational settings.

Pupils included in the research in Austria, Italy and Slovenia estimate interethnic relations in school as largely positive. According to our interviewees, ethnic diversity does not represent a problem and is well accepted in most cases. Pupils mostly pointed out that what really matters is the personality of an individual, not his/her ethnicity, race or religion.

It [ethnicity] does not matter. (Primary school pupil, Slovenia).
The colour of the skin doesn't count as well. What counts is how one is within. The colour of the skin doesn't count anyway, even if one is a foreigner he is always a person. (Primary school pupil, Italy).
Of course everyone has his or her cultural background which is present in his/her opinion/attitude but this never was a problem for us. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).

Based on the discussions with the pupils, it seems that most of the time they feel comfortable in their (multicultural) school environment. Some pointed out positive things like getting to know different people, learning about different food or cultural customs, as well as learning the everyday languages of their friends in school.

Yes, also because we have contact with different people. (Secondary school pupil, Slovenia).
And they have different habits from which we can learn and we should not differentiate them…that in fact they are equal. (Secondary school pupil, Slovenia).
I like that we see different food and learn languages. What I don't like is that pupils insult each other in other languages. (Primary school pupil, Austria).

The perception of pupils in the schools we visited was in general one of equal treatment and respect – pupils mainly perceive the school environment as positive and inclusive. In general, the ethnicity of pupils does not influence the attitude of school staff towards them. According to the findings of the Italian research team, teachers, except in some rare cases, work constantly to strengthen the concept of "equality in diversity".

It's not possible to treat everyone the same. But if teachers don't treat us the same then it's not because of our nationality. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).

Because teachers all treat the Slovenian pupils and pupils of other nationalities equally! (Primary school pupil, Slovenia).

However, individual cases of discriminatory grading, unequal treatment or racist comments were mentioned in all three countries.

Yes, we have a professor who does not accept them [non-Slovenian students] and this is evident…When it comes to giving grades, he is not objective, in cases when essays are graded, etc. (Secondary school pupil, Slovenia).

One teacher makes strange comments, like that one girl does not get enough sunlight because she wears a headscarf and that this is not good for her development. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).

I have experienced it personally: a teacher gave me a D and an Austrian student got a C although we had the same number of points in the test. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).

In interviews, some school staff mentioned that some parents also feel their children are being treated unfairly on the basis of their nationality. In one Slovenian primary school, the counsellor mentioned a case where, at the beginning of a project to keep records on talented students, two parents felt that their children were being discriminated against on the basis of their nationality, as their daughters had not been identified as "talented students".

The research findings show that schools in all three countries can be perceived as "protected spaces" where pupils generally feel safe and the teachers or the school policy as such can ensure that tolerance and respect for diversity function better than in society as a whole.

If we compare racism in our society and in schools, then in schools it is hardly a problem. (Teacher, Austria).

I have never experienced interethnic violence in our school. This happens more often outside. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).

Yes, because in school these guys [the bullies] behave quite well while when they go out they turn into beasts. (Primary school pupil, Italy).

No [there is no interethnic violence in the school], because there are teachers and parents who watch them ... and then because they know they must behave in a different way. (Primary school pupil, Italy).

Even though interethnic relations in schools seem to be largely positive, it would be misguided to assume that interethnic peer violence does not exist, as we will discuss below.

ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND TOLERANCE

Views on multiculturalism and ethnic minorities'/immigrants' rights can be a useful indicator of current and future social stability and levels of community cohesion and integration. A group of normative statements was presented to the pupils, who expressed their level of agreement with each (with average values on the Likert scale, from 1 – strongly disagree – to 5 – strongly agree). The first two statements clearly tap into the notion of migrant assimilation and cultural adaptation, while the last three statements indicate respect for and positive acceptance of cultural difference.

The highest general level of agreement with the statement

"Children who come to Italy/Slovenia/Austria from other countries should give up their language and culture"

was found in Slovenia (2.02; in Italy 1.80 and in Austria 1.94). The statement

"Children who come to Italy/Slovenia/Austria from other countries should follow the country language and culture"

obtained the highest level of agreement in Austria (3.60; in Slovenia 3.21 and in Italy 3.03). For the statements expressing respect for ethnic diversity and positive acceptance of cultural difference, the results are the following. The statement

"People who come to Italy/Slovenia/Austria from other countries should have the right to follow the customs of their countries"

obtained the highest level of agreement in Austria (3.95; in Slovenia 3.88 and in Italy 3.58). Similarly, the level of agreement with the statement

"I like the fact that there are people of different ethnic backgrounds in the country where I live"

was the highest in Austria (3.96; in Slovenia 3.84 and in Italy 3.74). The statement

4 Asking children to declare their ethnic identification is a sensitive issue that we have been aware of since the very beginning of the project. Furthermore, younger pupils in particular encountered difficulties when answering this question, since they sometimes didn't understand the concept itself. Additionally, difficulties arose in cases when children came from ethnically mixed marriages. Therefore, for the purpose of the study we introduced the following categories: dominant ethnicity (children of Austrian, Italian and Slovenian ethnicity), other ethnicities (children with various migratory backgrounds and children belonging to ethnic minority groups) and mixed ethnicity (children born to ethnically mixed marriages).

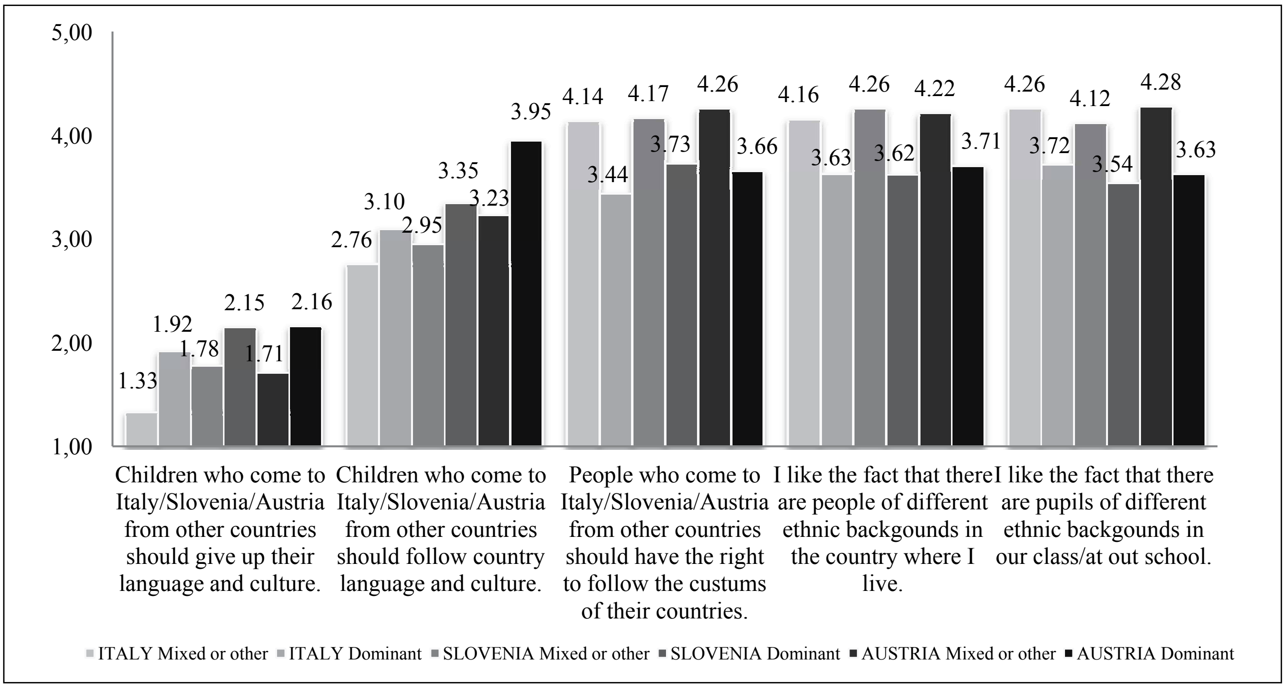


Figure 2: Average levels of agreement with normative statements by ethnicity
Slika 2: Povprečne stopnje strinjanja z normativnimi izjavami glede na etničnost

"I like the fact that there are pupils of other ethnic backgrounds in our class/at our school"

received the highest level of agreement in Austria (3.95; in Italy 3.83 and in Slovenia 3.74).

When taking into account the ethnicity[4] of the respondents, apparent differences in the answers can be observed between pupils of dominant (Austrian, Italian and Slovenian) ethnicity and pupils of other and mixed ethnicities. As Figure 2 clearly shows, pupils of non-dominant (other or mixed) ethnicities express a higher level of disagreement with statements emphasising migrant assimilation and cultural adaptation.

("Children who come to Italy/Slovenia/Austria from other countries should give up their language and culture" and "Children who come to Italy/Slovenia/Austria from other countries should follow the new country's language and culture").

On the other hand, pupils of non-dominant ethnicities express a higher level of agreement with the statements

"People who come to Italy/Slovenia/Austria from other countries should have the right to follow the customs of their countries", "I like the fact that there are people of different ethnic backgrounds in the country where I live" and "I like the fact that there are pupils of other ethnic backgrounds in our class/at our school."

INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE AMONG PEERS

For the purpose of the study, we defined interethnic peer violence as any type of violence among peers (physical, verbal, relational or cyber), happening on the basis of ethnicity, language, religion or culture of the individual or peer group. In compliance with our territorial focus, interethnic violence among peers encompasses violence of a pupil or pupils of Austrian/Italian/Slovenian ethnicity towards pupil or pupils of other/mixed ethnicities and vice versa.

In analysing the prevalence of interethnic peer violence, our research focussed on two perspectives. The first perspective encompassed observations of pupils on the occurrence of six types of interethnic violence[5] happening to other students. The second perspective focussed on personal experiences with the above-mentioned types of violence. Both perspectives include comparison of differences in observations and experiences according to the ethnicity of the pupils.

NOTICING INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE

Knowledge of the new country's language is one of the key factors influencing inclusion of immigrant pu-

5 Namely, (1) rude physical behaviour; (2) teasing, name calling or insulting; (3) talking behind one's back; (4) sending insulting messages by internet or mobile phone; (5) ignoring or avoiding contact; and (6) destroying personal property.

pils in peer groups. The degree of acceptance of peers of different ethnic backgrounds is reflected in attitudes towards pupils (of mixed or other ethnicities) who use their mother tongue in public or who do not speak the new language fluently. In focus group discussions pupils mentioned several times that they don't approve of talking in a language other than German/Italian/Slovenian in school, especially when a pupil's mother tongue is used for insulting others.

I think it is mean to insult someone in a language that the others do not understand. (Primary school pupil, Italy).
When we walk by a group of Serbian girls, for example, they talk behind our backs in Serbian and this is not nice. (Secondary school pupil, Austria).

Teasing others on the basis of their lack of language skills was most often noticed in Italy, where 12.9 per cent of pupils included in the sample often noticed teasing on the basis of poor language knowledge (it was noticed sometimes by 32.6 per cent of the pupils, once by 10.5 per cent and never by 28.2 per cent). In Slovenia, 32.2 per cent of pupils reported not noticing any teasing on this basis, while 11.5 per cent pupils noticed it once, 31.7 per cent sometimes and 9.0 per cent often. In Austria, more than half (53.4 per cent) of the pupils participating in the study did not notice any teasing on this basis, 7.7 per cent noticed it once, 18.6 per cent sometimes and 6.4 per cent often.

When talking about interethnic violence towards pupils of other ethnicities, the largest share of pupils in Austria, Italy and Slovenia noticed cases of pupils being teased, shunned or gossiped about because of their ethnic background. Of the three country samples, the Slovenian sample had the highest average proportion of pupils who had witnessed various types of interethnic violence. A total of 61.7 per cent of Slovenian pupils reported having noticed teasing, name calling and insults on the basis of ethnicity (compared to 58.5 per cent of Italian pupils and only 36.6 per cent of Austrian pupils); 56.2 per cent of Slovenian pupils had noticed talking behind pupils' backs (compared to 50.8 per cent of Italian pupils and 39.0 per cent of Austrian pupils); 58.2 per cent reported ignoring or avoiding (compared to 54.0 per cent of the Italian and 29.5 per cent of Austrian samples); 31.9 per cent reported hiding or destroying property (compared to 15.8 per cent of Italian pupils and 12.1 per cent of Austrian students); and 29.9 per cent noticed hitting or spitting (compared to 20.6 per cent of Italian pupils and 13.3 per cent of Austrian pupils). Finally, 28.7 per cent of the Slovenian students, 21.0 per cent of Italian students and 17.3 per cent of Austrian pupils included in the sample noticed cyber bullying of peers of other ethnicities (e.g. sending insulting messages via the Internet or mobile phone). Sending insulting messages or emails and insulting comments over the Internet seems to be the least widespread form of interethnic violence in Slovenia, while in Austria and Italy the least widespread forms of violence turned out to be rude physical behaviour towards other pupils and hiding or destroying their property.

As Figure 3 demonstrates, the percentage of students who noticed incidents of interethnic violence was higher among pupils of mixed or other ethnic origin for four out of five types of interethnic violence. Only it Italy

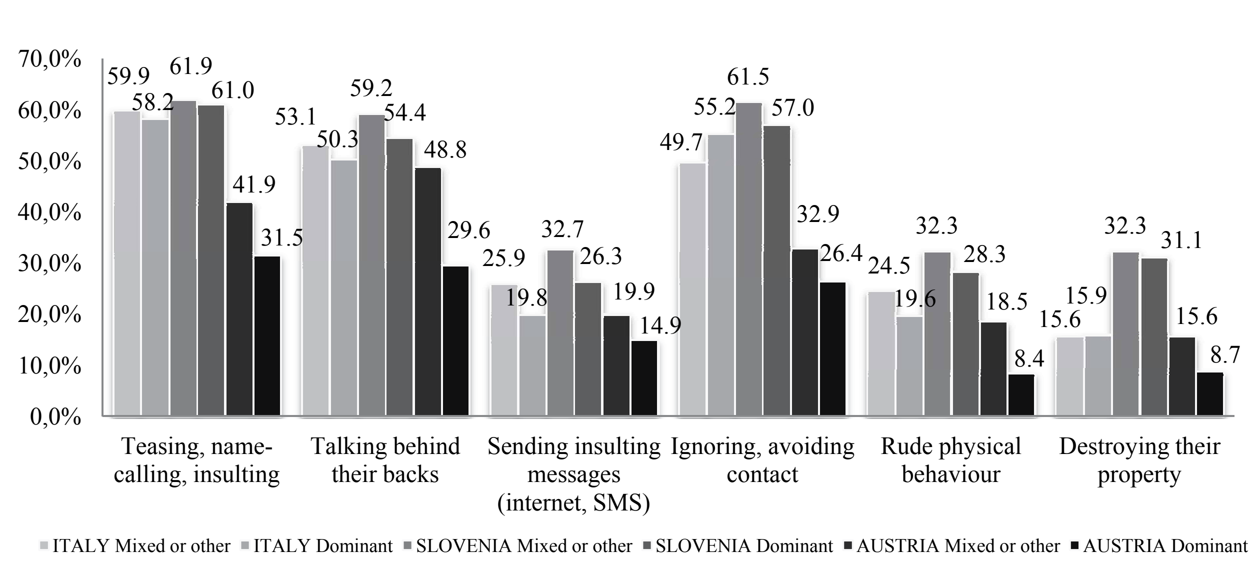


Figure 3: Respondents who noticed interethnic violence sometimes, often or very often (%) by ethnicity
Slika 3: Odgovarjajoči, ki so opazili medetnično nasilje včasih, pogosto in zelo pogosto (%)

did members of the majority ethnic group report more frequently noticing two types of interethnic violence: ignoring or avoiding contact with pupils of other ethnic backgrounds and the destruction of property. Differences in observations according to the ethnicity of respondents are especially high in Austria, where average observations of the occurrence of interethnic violence are the lowest. Differences between pupils of Austrian ethnicity and those of mixed/other ethnicities range from 5.0 per cent (sending insulting messages via Internet or SMS) to 19.2 per cent (talking behind someone's back). The data indicate that pupils of other or mixed ethnicities seem to be more sensitive to noticing interethnic violence among peers. The chi-square test confirmed statistical differences in observations of interethnic violence among pupils of non-dominant ethnicities:

- In all analysed countries, a significantly higher share of pupils of other or mixed ethnic background noticed cases of teasing others due to their poor language skills.
- In Italy and Austria, relatively more pupils of other ethnic background tend to notice habitual teasing, name calling or insulting others because of their ethnic background.
- In Italy and Austria, more pupils of other ethnic background tend to notice habitual rumour spreading than do pupils of dominant ethnicity.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE

In Italy and Austria, most pupils said they had personally experienced rumour spreading and having untruthful things said about them behind their backs, while in the Slovenian sample the most prevalent forms of interethnic violence were teasing, name calling and insults. Interethnic violence is experienced by pupils of mixed or other ethnic origin as well as by pupils of Austrians/Italian/Slovenian ethnicity; however, the proportion of pupils with such personal experiences was found to be significantly higher among pupils of other and mixed ethnic backgrounds. In all analysed countries, significantly more pupils of other or mixed ethnic background experienced teasing, name calling or insults, talking behind their backs and being shunned by their classmates because of their ethnic background.

….He started to mess with me, because I'm Bosnian. Because I'm Serbian. Serbo-Bosnian. /…/ He said to me: 'Haha, you're a Bos…Srbo-Bosanc', and stuff, 'I hate you', and then he beat me up a bit and such. (Primary school pupil, Slovenia).

Once it happened while John and Julius were playing soccer, some older kids arrived and told them to go away and they said no and the kids began to beat them. They don't let us play and say that I'm just a Moroccan...that I don't have the same rights and that they are superior. (Primary school pupil, Italy).

[I don't like it when they make] fun out of different cultures, the food or they call me Pharaoh because I'm from Egypt or they call one pupil "nigger" or another "gypsy". (Primary school pupil, Austria).

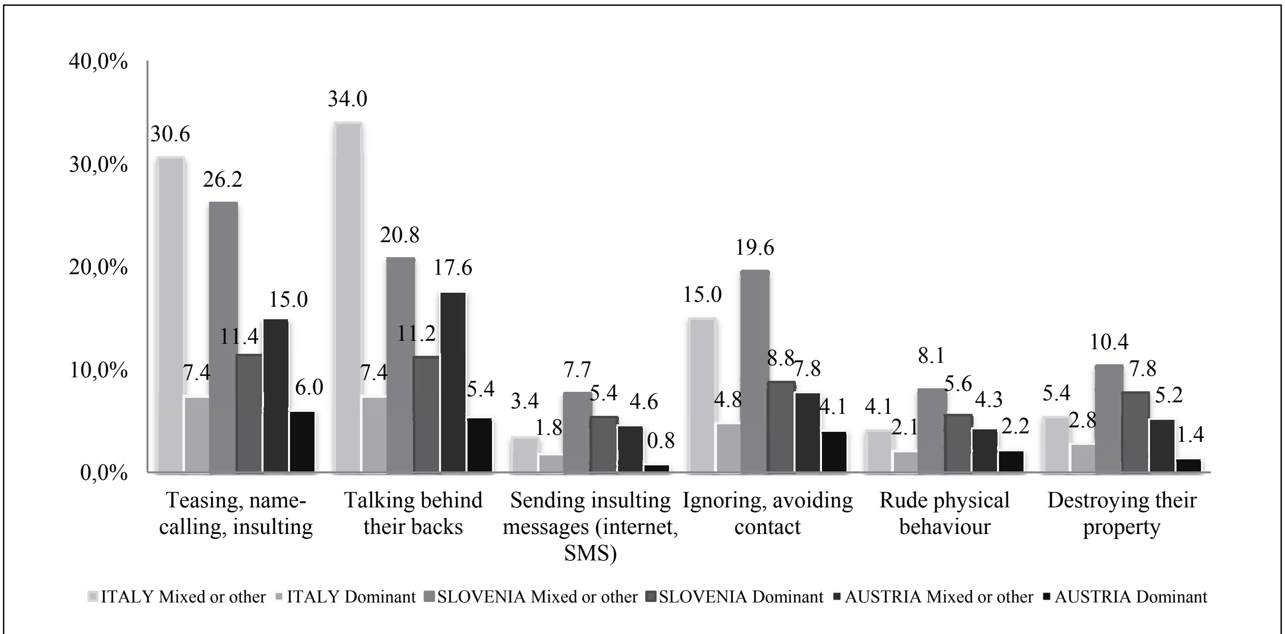


Figure 4: Respondents who experienced interethnic violence sometimes, often or very often (%) by ethnicity
Slika 4: Odgovarjajoči, ki so izkusili medetnično nasilje včasih, pogosto in zelo pogosto (%) glede na etničnost

EVENTS STIMULATING INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE

According to our interviewees, ethnicity *per se* is only rarely the reason for the outburst of peer violence. However, it serves as an identifying characteristic, a reason for differentiating between "us" and "them" on the basis of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. Interethnic (peer) violence may be encouraged by everyday or extreme events that raise the issue of ethnic identity. Sports events and media reports on crimes conducted by immigrants in particular serve as stimulators of interethnic tensions among peers that can escalate to violent acts.

Yes, but it can also occur when the Serbian team won and the Italian team lost the game. Then in class acts of violence, that weren't there before between the kids, are unleashed. (Teacher, Italy).

Another issue highlighted during the project is the legacy of interethnic conflicts in former Yugoslav republics. The violent dissolution of the former common state, which led to the wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo, still resonates in the minds of the older generation (parents and relatives of pupils) and strongly affects the relationships among members of former Yugoslav nations and nationalities. Some youngsters feel these tensions as a heavy emotional burden imposed on them by their parents and they feel these issues are not theirs to bear.

I have recently had a case where a Kosovo Albanian girl and a Serbian girl had a problem and they have already had this conflict in their last school. But here the parents were responsible for the conflict – the parents even fought in school once. Here our influence comes to an end and only a social worker can help and go to the families. (Teacher, Austria).

When you mentioned old grudges...I resent my father. When I was little, we lived in [xy] street and he has such old grudges, because his parents also had them. And I resent my parents very much, that they had such a bad relationship with others. For example, when we used to live in [xy] street, when I was in the first grade, my father went into a fight with an axe with a neighbour, who was a Serb. I resent that, because he has these old grudges. /.../ It is like if some German would come here and we'd say: 'You attacked us in the Second World War' /…/ I do not know why these old grudges are borne, if we are now a new generation. I don't know why... (Primary school pupil, Slovenia).

UNDERSTANDING PEER VIOLENCE – IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

The dynamics of peer violence are strongly related to various forms of social inequality. Therefore a focus on just one social category, such as ethnicity, is inadequate for understanding the social position of an individual, which is complex. Key social categories intertwine to influence social inequalities and the position of the individual in the peer group. Therefore the issue of peer violence should be analysed using an intersectional approach (Hrženjak and Humer, 2010; Peguero, 2012). The concept of intersectionality, introduced mainly by Collins and Crenshaw (in Anthias, 2013), considers the interlocking of several social categories that influence the social position of an individual in society and his/her predisposition to social inequalities. Initially, the concept of intersectionality primarily addressed three social categories – gender, socioeconomic class and race/ethnicity – but studies addressing peer violence in the last decade have introduced a fourth category: sexual orientation.[6]

Pointing to a sole reason for peer violence victimisation without considering other social categories as well as contextual and individual factors results[7] in a simplified understanding of the issue. Instead, the inter-relationship of multiple factors is crucial for understanding the dynamics of peer violence.

6 In his article on youth victimisation at school, Peguero (2012) analysed the complexities and disparities associated with school bullying within four social categories that influence the increased the vulnerability of youth to potential bullying at school: race and ethnicity, being an immigrant, gender and sexual orientation.

7 Among contextual and individual factors, age, cultural and family background, school success, personality, physical appearance, and school climate were stressed by experts and school staff as key determinants influencing peer violence dynamics:

- Age is an important factor when it comes to the experience of and the use of violence to solve or react to conflicts. The prevalence of (interethnic) violence is higher among younger pupils.
- Cultural background influences culturally specific tolerance of (physical) violence and socially acceptable response to insults, provocations, etc.
- A family history of violence influences tolerance towards violence.
- Differing from average success in school, in either a positive or negative way, may cause peer teasing or social exclusion of children who are above or below averagely successful.
- Personality influences position in peer hierarchies, with low self-esteem/shyness/introversion encouraging the potential for victimisation.
- Physical appearance not fitting into contemporary beauty ideals is another risk factor for peer violence.
- School climate (such as the presence of a security guard, availability of physical activities during breaks, class dynamics) influences the prevalence of peer violence in school.
- Addiction problems or illegal drug use are often related to violence among peers.

Often, the migration background is used as an explanation to simplify complex issues. But this often hides the real things, the problems and challenges that are there, instead of explaining them. And then these simplified attempts to explain something reproduce certain pictures and stereotypes. (Expert, Austria).
If the comparison would be made, it would be hard to say that children from ethnic minorities are more often victims of violence – we didn't find that. Violence occurs in many different dimensions. Ethnicity isn't the only one, it isn't crucial…It's about the circumstances, the combination of factors. (Expert, Slovenia).

The ethnic or migrant background of an individual does not adequately explain the position of a young individual in the peer group or in school. The study results suggest that peer violence in the school environment should be analysed intersectionally, with a focus on ethnicity/race, gender, socioeconomic class and sexual orientation. Now we will briefly consider how key social categories interact in the dynamics of peer violence.

Gender is recognised as one of the crucial social categories that influence experiences of peer violence, perceptions of it and reaction towards it, as well as influencing violent actions by pupils. It is therefore important to analyse peer violence through the lens of gender – being aware not only of gendered differences in the perceptions and practice of violence but also of the role of norms around the social construction of masculinity and femininity (Sauer and Ajanović, 2013).

Numerous studies confirm gender differences associated with different types of peer violence. While physical violence is usually more often reported by boys, verbal and relational violence is more often reported by girls (Peguero, 2012, 405). These gender(ed) differences – the perception that physical violence is an issue related to boys and their expression of masculinity while verbal violence is the pervasive type of violence among girls – were found among children included in the research.

That's how it is with boys, they fight, and girls, girls are just insulting. (Primary school pupil, Slovenia).

When gender-related expectations around violent behaviour are violated – for example, in instances of physical violence among girls – these deviations from gender-acceptable behaviour result in the recognition of those who practice such behaviour as outsiders. Girls who break socially accepted norms around physical violence, which is supposed to be a "boy thing", are seen as fitting into the context of the "other" ethnic group.

They [girls of other ethnic backgrounds] mainly fight because of dudes. (Secondary school pupil, Slovenia).

Our data on interethnic violence in the school environment confirmed gender differences in the experience of interethnic violence and in the reactions to it. In the three countries sampled:

- Girls experienced all types of interethnic violence less often than boys.
- A significantly higher share of boys than of girls said they bullied others because of their ethnic background.



Sl. 1: All different all equal, Thinkstock
Fig. 1: Vsi različni – vsi enaki, Thinkstock

- A significantly higher share of boys than of girls said they fight back when being treated badly by a bully. In Italy and Austria, a higher share of girls than of boys said they cry or run away when being bullied.
- A higher percentage of boys than of girls are prompt to help the victim of mistreatment, but they are also the ones who more often decide to do nothing and even join the ones who treat others badly. In all countries, girls are more likely than boys to tell an adult about the mistreatment of others and are more likely than boys to tell the bullies what they're doing is not right.

The socioeconomic position of the family of the (immigrant) pupil is another important factor that influences inclusion in peer groups. Socioeconomic status is decisive for immigrant students' interethnic friendships (Van Houte and Stevens, 2009, 217). The potential for exclusion from the peer group on the basis of lower socioeconomic status was recognised by experts and school staff who mentioned that youngsters from socioeconomically disadvantaged families are more likely to be bullied than others, which is in line with the findings of other studies in this area (e.g. Due et al., 2009). Poverty is one of the strongest indicators for social exclusion from the peer group.

Social stratification among students is very visible – those who are rich and those who are poor. Then, the violence and teasing may occur because of clothing, behaviour... (School counsellor, Slovenia).
Someone thinks that somebody is inferior to himself because he/she is sometimes not of the same race, does not speak the same language, does not profess the same religion or doesn't have the same economic opportunities or a wealthy family that pampers him/her and so on. (Primary school pupil, Italy).

Lower socioeconomic position or poverty not only stimulates the potential for victimisation but is also recognised as a factor that may encourage aggressive behaviour in order to gain status within schools and on the street (National Science Foundation, 2013).

Peer violence based o*n sexual orientation* has become an important issue in education, educational psychology and psychology over the last two decades. Researchers confirm that lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender and questioning (LGBTQ) youth are at increased risk of bullying (Švab and Kuhar, 2008; Kopels and Paceley, 2012). Acceptance by peers is strongly related to conformance with hegemonic gender ideals. Inclusion of boys in the peer group depends on the congruence of their physical look and behaviour with the hegemonic ideals of masculinity and virility (Stoudt 2006, 273). Italian and Slovenian experts stressed that homophobia in the school environment is not rare.

Look, in my opinion homophobia is often present in cases of discrimination. We have been dealing with these cases since 2010 and it seems that this trend is still confirmed in the sense that in cases of homophobic bullying there is this component that is, also, a little more aggressive than the rest. We usually cope with boys, so there is also the typically more aggressive aspect of male behaviour…and, thus, since nowadays everything is based on the concept of virility and masculinity, it is evident that this trend gives rise to a very specific mode of behaviour... (Expert, Italy).
These homophobic insults come out. They are an everyday practice. (Expert, Slovenia).

Behaviour associated with gender expressions not fitting hetero-normative social expectations may encourage homophobic attitudes in the school environment. Episodes of violence connected with gender identity are quite frequent. In adolescence, the issue of gender identity is extremely important and very present in peer interactions, with those who differ from socially accepted expressions of masculinity or femininity exposed to the risk of peer violence.

He was a male chauvinist for sure and sometimes he teased a little girl who was in his group, telling her she was a tomboy, insulting her and saying that she was not part of our community because, although she was a female, she enjoyed playing male games. He told she was queer and abnormal. Since he has been saying this to her she has changed a bit: now she plays less with the boys and their toys. (Teacher, Italy).

The potential for victimisation increases based on the accumulation and intersection of circumstances that result in the individual's rejection by the peer group. Being immigrant or having a migrant background, by itself, may not determine the disposition for victimisation. What is crucial is the interplay of social categories (ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status and sexual orientation) and individual factors (family background, addiction problems, school success level, etc.), all of which influence the possibility of being victimised or becoming a bully.

DISCUSSION

At first glance, the research findings are relatively unified and even "optimistic" to a certain extent. Interethnic relations in schools are positively evaluated and cases of discrimination on the basis of ethnic background are rare. Moreover, it seems that schools in Austria, Italy and Slovenia often function as a "protected space" where peer violence is less prevalent in comparison to other, less supervised spaces where children

interact. From the participants' point of view, ethnicity is not recognised as a significant factor influencing peer violence in the school environment, although it would be misguided to assume that the phenomenon does not exist at all.

Although our interviewees assess the general social climate related to immigrants and interethnic relations in Austria and Slovenia as improved during the last period (while the situation in Italy has deteriorated), trends in EU countries overall paint a bleaker picture. Eurostat findings indicate a growing intolerance of EU member states towards immigration and strengthened support for the idea that the presence of people from other ethnic groups leads to insecurity (Eurostat 2010). Analysis of the attitudes of primary and secondary schoolchildren of the three neighbouring countries indicates the presence of a hierarchy of ethnic groups, with strong differentiation between nations from Northern or Western Europe on one side and Southern or Eastern Europe on the other side. As already confirmed in public opinion polls, the Roma are the most vilified ethnic group not only in Austria, Italy and Slovenia, but also in the wider EU context (Kirbiš et al., 2012, 37). Roma and Sinti are the most marginalised and socially vulnerable ethnic groups – habitually the target of discrimination, prejudice and stereotyping – both in everyday life and in the school environment.

A review of opinions on equality and on the right to preserve one's own language, culture or religion, together with comparisons of the recognition and/or experience of interethnic violence, revealed differences between pupils of Austrian, Italian and Slovenian ethnicity and pupils of other or mixed ethnicities. Not surprisingly, pupils of non-dominant ethnicities (ethnicities other than Austrian, Italian and Slovenian) tended to value a multicultural environment to a higher degree than their Austrian, Italian and Slovenian schoolmates. Furthermore, pupils of non-dominant or mixed ethnicities tended to support the statement about immigrants' right to preserve their own languages, cultures and religions to a higher degree than did other pupils. Having a personal migrant and/or minority experience seems to promote a general positive attitude towards multiculturalism and interculturalism, a respect for diversity and awareness of minority rights. Pupils of other ethnicities are also more aware of interethnic violence and ethnic discrimination affecting their schoolmates. Study results show that they perceive various forms of discriminatory treatment and bullying more often than their classmates of dominant ethnicity. Finally, pupils of other or mixed ethnicities were more often found to be victims of interethnic violence than pupils of dominant ethnicities.

Teasing, name calling, using ethnic slurs and gossiping are the most prevalent types of interethnic violence. Because direct displays of peer violence in the school environment are more likely to be recognised by educators and are also treated more seriously (Strohmeier and Noam, 2012, 8), it is of extreme importance not to turn a blind eye towards "subtler" forms of violence. More efforts should be made, first, to encourage recognition of the above-mentioned acts as violent (younger pupils, especially, often do not recognise name calling and ostracism as a form of violence), and second, to encourage responsible individuals to actively respond to all types of violence, not only to evident cases of physical violence.

Peer violence in schools is influenced by the interplay of several factors. For educators and staff, an intersectional approach that recognises the inter-relationship of these factors in determining the risk for peer victimisation is key. An emphasis on the complexity of peer violence will discourage the tendency to focus primarily on one factor – such as ethnicity – which risks minimising other important components.

Nevertheless, the importance of ethnic background or immigrant status in peer relations in the school environment should not be overlooked. First, because of the evident hierarchies of "others" in the study countries; second, because it is easy to overestimate the safety of the school environment merely because it is safer than less supervised environments; and third, because of numerous and persistent stereotypes and prejudices related to "others" revealed by pupils in in-depth conversations. Pupils' impressions of the unimportance of ethnicity as a factor in peer violence may also be questioned given their perceptions of some subtler forms of violence as not having the status of "real" violence.

Although interethnic peer violence doesn't seem to be recognised as a burning issue in the study countries, the phenomenon should be constantly monitored, especially in light of the pessimistic predictions regarding the levels of tolerance towards ethnic and religious minorities (Eurostat, 2010). Attitudes towards "others" depend on the economic situation in the host countries (Bruβ, 2005; Kirbiš et al., 2012); in the current time of socioeconomic crisis, growing unemployment, lack of economic and social reforms and absence of equal opportunities, we may expect a growth of interethnic, inter-religious and overall intolerance (Žakelj and Kralj, 2012). For this reason, identification and analysis of both structural inequalities and various forms of interethnic violence, including presumably subtler manifestations of violence among children in everyday life, are of vital importance.

MEDETNIČNI ODNOSI IN VRSTNIŠKO NASILJE V AVSTRIJSKIH, ITALIJANSKIH IN SLOVENSKIH ŠOLAH

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POVZETEK

Izhajajoč iz rezultatov raziskave Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's rights in the School Environment/Glasovi otrok: Preučevanje medetničnega nasilja in otrokovih pravic v šolskem okolju *članek obravnava pojav medetničnega nasilja v osnovnih in srednjih šolah v Avstriji, Italiji in Sloveniji. Članek temelji na primerjavi rezultatov treh držav, ki jih ne povezuje zgolj geografska bližina, temveč tudi nekateri vidiki obravnave različnih etničnih skupin v prostoru kot npr. status narodnostnih manjšin, specifičen odnos do Romov kot najbolj depriviligirane etnične skupine ipd.*

Prispevek temelji na analizi podatkov, pridobljenimi s kombinacijo metod kvantitativnega in kvalitativnega raziskovanja. Kvantitativna metoda raziskovanja je bila izvedena s pomočjo anketnega vprašalnika med osnovnošolci, starimi med 10 in 11 let, in srednješolci, starimi med 16 in 17 let. Omenjene podatke smo dopolnili z izvedbo pol-strukturiranih poglobljenih intervjujev z nacionalnimi eksperti, z intervjuji s šolskim osebjem ter fokusnimi skupinami med osnovnošolci in srednješolci. Osrednje teme so se nanašale na oceno medetničnih odnosov v družbenem in šolskem kontekstu, normativno sprejemanje enakosti in vrstnikov drugih etničnih skupin, vprašanje prisotnosti in izkušenj nasilja med vrstniki na podlagi etnične pripadnosti ipd.

Na splošno velja, da so otroci in mladostniki, vključeni v raziskavo, pozitivno ocenjevali multikulturnost šolskega okolja in niso imeli vtisa, da etnična pripadnost sama po sebi vpliva na medvrstniško nasilje. Prav tako so, z izjemo Italije, ki v zadnjih letih doživlja izjemno hitro naraščanje števila imigrantov, udeleženci raziskave pozitivno vrednotili družbene spremembe v smeri večje strpnosti do priseljencev in sprejemanja kulturne raznolikosti. Kljub pozitivnim izhodiščem pa se je izkazalo dvoje. Prvič, sprejemanje »drugih« še vedno močno temelji na predsodkih in stereotipih, ki odražajo hierarhično pozicioniranje etničnih skupin. In drugič, medvrstniško nasilje v šolah (še posebej pa zunaj šole in na območjih z manj izrazitim nadzorom odraslih) temelji tudi na izpostavljanju etnične pripadnosti. Primerjava podatkov je pokazala, da so otroci drugih etničnih skupin ali mešane etnične pripadnosti bolj strpni in tolerantni, bolj zagovarjajo načela enakosti, pravice do rabe lastnega jezika, običajev, višje vrednotijo multikulturnosti ipd., hkrati pa v primerjavi s tistimi, ki so se opredelili za Avstrijce/Italijane/Slovence, pogosteje izkusijo različne oblike medetničnega nasilja, med katerimi so najpogostejše subtilnejše oblike verbalnega ali odnosnega nasilja. Čeprav etnična pripadnost morda ni ključni dejavnik nasilja med vrstniki v šolah, je ena od ključnih družbenih kategorij, ki v intersekciji s socio-ekonomskim položajem, spolom, spolno usmerjenostjo in individualnimi dejavniki določa predispozicijo za medvrstniško nasilje.

Ključne besede: medetnični odnosi, medetnično vrstniško nasilje, šole.

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DOING MASCULINITY, DOING FEMININITY. INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE IN THE SCHOOL ENVIROMENT

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the quantitative and qualitative empirical results of our study on interethnic violence in the school environment – conducted in Austria, Cyprus, England, Italy and Slovenia. By discussing the different experiences boys and girls make with regard to the frequency and forms of interethnic violence as well as their different options in regard to violent practices we argue that violence is always gendered. Hence, rather than analysing the causes of violent behaviour, we will discuss the dynamics of the violence itself. Our aim is to address violent practices as practices of doing gender. In this context, the article emphasises the issue of how masculinity and femininity are performed and constructed at the intersection with ethnicity.

Keywords: Interethnic violence, gender, doing masculinity, doing femininity

FARE MASCOLINITÀ, FARE FEMMINILITÀ. VIOLENZA INTERETNICA IN AMBITO SCOLASTICO

SINTESI

Questo contributo presenta i risultati di una ricerca condotta con strumenti quantitativi e qualitativi in Austria, Cipro, Inghilterra, Italia e Slovenia sul tema della violenza interetnica in ambito scolastico. Analizzando le diverse esperienze riportate dai ragazzi e dalle ragazze rispetto alle modalità e alla frequenza degli episodi di violenza interetnica, nonché le diverse opinioni e atteggiamenti nei confronti dei comportamenti violenti, il presente articolo sostiene che la violenza è sempre connotata dal punto di vista del genere. Per questo motivo, il contributo indaga non tanto le cause del comportamento aggressivo, quanto le dinamiche attraverso cui tali atteggiamenti si verificano a scuola, secondo un'ottica di genere. Partendo da questo presupposto l'articolo si focalizza su come le caratteristiche maschili e femminili interagiscono e si costruiscono intersecandosi con gli aspetti etnici.

Parole chiave: violenza interetnica, genere, fare masculinità, fare femininità.

INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE AND GENDER AT SCHOOLS. INTRODUCTION

School violence has been of scientific interest since the early 1990s, gaining momentum with each school shooting, most prominent of which was Columbine High school in 1999 (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003; Eisenbraun, 2007, 460). Over the last ten years, the issue has also received public attention in Europe. Research into school violence has been studying the causes of pupils' violence by focussing on class, race and ethnicity. Gender and violence in the school environment is still rather underexplored and existing research into gender violence in schools has focussed on sexual harassment (Leach & Humphreys, 2007, 51; Mirsky, 2003). On the other hand, gendered violence has been on the feminist agenda since the 1970s women's movements' mobilization against male intimate partner violence against women and girls rooted in hierarchical gender relations. Only recently the debate on gender violence at the intersection with ethnicity emerged around the issue of "traditional harmful practices" such as genital cutting and honour killings in migrant communities in European countries (Sauer, 2011).

The starting point for our research was interethnic violence in school environments of pupils 10-12 and 17-18 years of age in five European countries: Austria, Cyprus, England, Italy and Slovenia, countries with distinctly different histories with respect to histories of migration, gender equality and democracy.[1] We examined the frequency and forms of interethnic violence as well as good practices to deal with interethnic violence, referring to the term "violence-resilient school" (Watkins et al., 2007, 61). While concentrating on the school environment, we were aware that research shows that pupils feel safer in school than they do on their way to and from school (Eisenbraun, 2007, 461). The ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the pupils we interviewed vary among the countries under examination. In Austria we interviewed mainly pupils who perceived themselves as Austrian, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Turkish or Slovenian. Pupils in England had mainly English or British as well as Indian and Pakistani ethnic backgrounds. Pupils in Italy were mainly of Italian, Albanian, Croatian or Serbian origin while pupils in Cyprus primarily had a Cypriot, Greek, English or Russian ethnic background. In Slovenia most pupils perceived themselves as either Slovenian or Bosnian or Serbian.

Defining 'violence' was one of the major challenges of our study. We defined violence as psychological and/or physical aggression where a person or a group of persons hurts or harms or has the intention to hurt or harm another person or group of persons (Köhler, 2006, 7). Violence is conceptualized as a continuum of actions (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997, 117) and as "a multi-faceted construct that involves both criminal acts and aggression" (Furlong & Morrison, 2000, 71). In our understanding, school violence includes perpetrators, victims of violence, the practice of violence as well as witnessing it, physical and verbal violence such as rumour spreading, verbal intimidation and threats, teasing, name-calling and stereotyping (Eisenbraun, 2007, 461). Interethnic violence is understood as violence based on different ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural and national identities of pupils defined through the language spoken at home. Interethnic violence refers to both the violence of mainstream society's pupils towards ethnically different pupils as well as that of ethnical minorities towards pupils of from the mainstream. However, we observed that pupils very often did not interpret specific situations and actions as violent.

In scrutinizing interethnic violence, we included the gendered dimension of violence, as well as sexual violence (Mills, 2001), "the *fear* of violence, both *between* females and males and *among* females or *among* males" (Leach & Humphreys, 2007, 53), and specifically, patterns of violent masculinity. In general, violence "is widespread in schools, that most often such violence is perpetrated by males and can thus be understood as a violent expression of certain types of masculinity": Schools are an arena in the "making of masculinities" (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997, 118). Most of the research results on interethnic violence at schools in the countries under research – often drawn from large-scale studies such as PISA or TIMSS[2] – focus on differences in the frequency and forms of violence experienced between boys and girls. However, this research did not elaborate on the issue of unequal gender relations and their reproduction in the school environment. Our article aims to shift the focus. We will start from the idea of gendered patterns of interethnic violence and want to interpret these differences in frequency by looking at how violent dynamics not only mirror gendered differences but how violence is a means of constructing masculinity and femininity at the intersection of ethnicity.

The article is based on the argument that pupils' experience of interethnic violence is always gendered. Therefore we focus less on the causes of violent behaviour, and more on the dynamic of violence, violence as a process and practice of doing gender and on how masculinity and femininity are performed, constructed, stabilized and changed at the intersection with ethnici-

1 The article draws on research conducted in the frame of the project "Children's Voices – Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in the School Environment". The project was funded by the European Union's Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme. The project's aim was to identify the frequency, forms and factors of interethnic violence in the school environment.

2 For Austria see Bergmüller and Wiesner, 2009; Strohmeier et al., 2012; Strohmeier and Spiel, 2012; Strohmeier and Spiel, 2007; Stefanek et al., 2012; for England see Smith and Shu, 2000; for Slovenia Pavlović et al., 2008

ty. Hence, we discuss the different "options of action" of pupils due to their gender (Bereswill, 2011, 18). This perspective also allows us to go beyond the perspective on female victims and male perpetrators (see also Leach & Humphreys, 2007, 53) but to understand violence as different practices of 'doing femininity' and 'doing masculinity'.

We used two different methods to collect our data, namely a quantitative survey of pupils as well as a qualitative study. Each country team selected 16 possible multicultural schools, which were attended by pupils of different ethnic backgrounds. 3524 students in the age groups 10-12 years and 17-18 years completed our questionnaire: 1837 girls and 1664 boys.[3] The qualitative study was conducted in four schools per country, comprising focus group discussion with about 9-16 pupils per school (N=206; 100 boys and 106 girls) and interviews with two teachers per school (N= 40). Additionally, we interviewed six to eight national experts in each country (N=32).

The article has the following structure: We will first present a brief state of the art and the theoretical concepts we used to interpret our findings on (interethnic) violence from a gendered perspective. The next section discusses the quantitative results of our study, elaborating on the differences between experiencing and witnessing interethnic violence of boys and girls. Then we will discuss these gender patterns with regard to different options of action; that is as doing gender and gendered stereotypes in frequencies of experiencing interethnic violence. Finally we present examples of how violent practices construct intersections of and reinforce the unequal structures of gender and of ethnicity.

MASCULINITIES, FEMININITIES AND SCHOOL VIOLENCE. STATE OF THE ART AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Previous research has suggested that minorities are both primary victims as well as perpetrators of violence – however, depending less on the number of minority pupils but more on the "various types of racisms, classism, and sexism coming together" (Eisenbraun, 2007, 463). Studies on gendered violence in the school environment mainly focus on differences in the frequency of violent experiences between boys and girls. It is no surprise that this research – like other large-scale studies on gender violence – shows that boys engage in violence more often than girls (see for example Bruneforth & Lassnigg, 2012, 92ff.). For instance, in traditional forms of bullying as well as in the case of cyber-bullying, boys are more likely bullied than girls and more often bully others as well (Li, 2006, 4 and 9). However, to focus on the "quantitative imbalance" (Meuser, 2002, 54, translation BS & EA) between female and male violence alone turns out to be insufficient as it reproduces the view of "boys' and men's acts of violence as either 'boys will be boys' behaviour or as the […] actions of a particular individual" (Mills, 2001, 65). Such a perspective on frequency alone fails to discuss the links between violent behaviour and gender relations (Meuser, 2002, 54 ff.; Dackweiler & Schäfer, 2002, 9). Put differently: This perspective takes gender and ethnicity as given and does not take into account how both gender and ethnicity are constructed through and in processes of violence.

It has been the challenge of feminist researchers to show that hierarchical gender relations, an unequal gender regime and the subordinate position of women in Western societies give the power to use violence mainly to men (Hagemann-White, 2002, 29f.). This research further shows that hierarchical gender relations, as well as the power to be violent, are socially constructed although they tend to be naturalised (Mills, 2001). Hence, "hetero-social violence" (Meuser, 2002, translation, BS & EA) is a way to reproduce unequal gender relations and reinforce the dominance of men over women. Pierre Bourdieu (1998) describes this process of embodying and accepting social gender hierarchies as symbolic violence. Furthermore, hierarchies between men (Meuser, 2002, 57; Connell, 1995) and hegemonic masculinity are established on violent structures that exclude subordinate masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity – with the attribution of dominance over women and other men – is the normalized or idealized masculinity. In contrast, "emphasized femininity" – the normalized femininity – is characterised by female subordination and the accommodation of men's needs (Mills, 2001, 20f; Connell, 1987, 183). Raewyn Connell (1995; 2002) points out that a multiplicity of masculinities "come into existence at particular times and places, and are subject to change" (Connell, 1995, 185). Connell defines four "main patterns of masculinity" (ibid. 77), namely hegemonic, subordinate, complicity and marginalized masculinity – patterns which are not static, but always fluid and contested:

> *'Hegemonic masculinity' is not a fixed type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable" (ibid. 76).*

Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity does not primarily focus on actors who practice hegemonic masculinity but on their institutionalized gender practices, patterns and claims that enable the domination of men over women. Thus, hegemonic masculinity is

3 The survey gave first insights into the five country samples and it was further used to identify important topics for the subsequent focus group discussions and interviews.

rather than determined by certain powerful individuals defined by the characteristics they 'ideally' represent – characteristics of hegemonic masculinities as being strong and rational to name only a few – as well as their "successful claim to authority" (ibid. 77). Hegemonic masculinities do not only dominate women, but also other 'groups' of men which either profit from the hegemonic claims or are excluded from them: complicit masculinity describes the 'group' of men who are not able to live up to the pattern of hegemonic masculinity but who profit from both, from hegemony over men and from the subordination of women. Subordinate and marginalized masculinities, such as homosexuals or men of different ethnicities, are excluded from power.

While hegemony does not require violence – to the contrary, hegemony operates on the level of social practices and mutual recognition of authority and power – physical violence is always seen as an "option of action" by men and boys, hence of masculinity (Bereswill, 2011, 11). And moreover, women and subordinate or marginalized masculinities are excluded from the use of (physical) violence. Also, violence is used to sustain the gender order, which is based on hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995, 185; 1987, 184). Hence, masculine violence is a system of social order and a "means to sustain social order" (Meuser, 2002, 54, translation BS & EA). Different practices or "signifiers" (Mills, 2001) connect violence and power to dominant forms of masculinity (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997, 119). Hegemonic masculinity is a "construction that defines violence" as a "legitimate way to resolve conflict" (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003, 1440 and 1450).

When women or girls are violent, this is seen as a discredit to their femininity, while being violent for boys or men is viewed as a confirmation of their masculinity (Kessler et al., 1985, 37). The link between masculinity and violence is thus produced by the fact that women are mostly excluded from violent behaviour. However, violence is not only exclusive to men. Women and girls are included in violent practices of doing masculinity: Femininity is given a subordinate place in spaces of masculinity. Often – also as members of violent sub-cultures – they serve as observers rather than as leaders of violent situations (Meuser, 2002, 68 f.). Different forms of masculinities involve particular versions of femininity – the "compliance and service, subservience and self-sacrifice and constant accommodation to the needs and desires of males." (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997, 120) Furthermore, if women or girls do participate in violent situations 'on the front' and are able to gain social recognition through these practices, girls are still dominated by men – especially by their partners (Bruhns, 2002, 192). Thus, men and boys are not perpetrators per se and women not per se victims; neither masculinity and violence nor femininity and victimization are naturally correlated – they are gendered constructions, which "serve to make violence the property of hegemonic masculinity" (Mills, 2001, 65).

Gendered power and violence are also evident in the allocation of school space. Playgrounds or classrooms are 'controlled' by boys rather than girls (Mills, 2001, 40 ff.). Furthermore, physical violence against girls and sexual harassment are ways by which boys perform masculinity in schools.

> *The four signifiers of masculinity […] sport, work, power over women and power over other men, are imbued with the spirit of violence. Wherever one looks within institutional patterns of gender relations shaping the current gender order, one finds violence. […] It is a violence that has filled the public domain with a hegemonic masculine presence, leaving little room for those who do not fit the 'norm' […] a violence that underpins Western national political projects (ibid. 48).*

Gendered practices allow men and boys to perform institutionalized domination over women and other men and these practices enforce the connection between masculinity and violence. Sports, work, alcohol and power over women and other men are the most important signifiers and practices of masculinity (Mills, 2001, 22). In schools, especially sport and the use of power over girls and other boys are important practices which construct hegemonic masculinity and which connect violence to masculinity (Peguero & Popp, 2011). Sports activities such as football serve as:

> *a medium for the construction of a particular kind of masculinity. It celebrates toughness and endurance […] and connects a sense of maleness with a taste for violence and confrontation (Kessler et al., 1985, 39).*

Male dominance and relations of subordination are "often worked out through the use of legitimate (sport) and illegitimate (brawling, bashing) physical violence." This rests on "beliefs about the importance of aggressive and violent acts for gaining and maintaining status, reputation and resources in the male group, to sustain a sense of masculine identity" (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997, 122). Pupils who do not engage in sports but rather practice debating or other non-violent games in the school environment are often teased as 'fat' or 'unhealthy'. Sport further links violence to masculinised bodies that are often perceived as machines or weapons (Mills, 2001, 26 and 28). Moreover, experiences of violence, which are connected to school based practices, intersect on the axes of gender, race and ethnicity. For instance, while white American male pupils' engagement in sports leads to a decrease in their victimization, the engagement of students of ethnic minorities in sports leads to the opposite. Also girls' victimization – regar-

dless of their ethnicity – declines if they engage in sports (Peguero & Popp, 2011, 7). Furthermore, participation in academic activities is risky for boys, regardless of their ethnicity, and Asian-American girls in particular – once again demonstrating the gendered and ethnic dimension of school based activities (ibid.). Boys from racial and class minorities are what Connell describes as "shock troops" – those who do the "dirty work of patriarchy" by subscribing to values of aggressive masculinity (Connell after Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997, 122).

Power over other men can also be expressed through other competitive practices of gaining social recognition and prestige. Men invest in these masculine games in order to prove their masculinity (Bourdieu, 1998, 93f.). At school, boys engage in these games on the playground or the school corridors (Mills, 2001, 23; Meuser, 2002, 65 ff.). "Homo-social violence" (Meuser, 2002, translation BS & EA) is further exercised over men or boys due to their ethnic background, race, social status or sexual orientation. This form of power and violence is rather connected to dominance than competition (Mills, 2001, 23; Meuser, 2002, 65ff.). Hence, interethnic violence constructs hegemonic and marginal or subordinate masculinities.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN EXPERIENCING AND WITNESSING INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE

This section presents our findings on the gendered frequency of experiencing and witnessing interethnic violence. In general, our research shows that interethnic violence is not frequent in multi-ethnic schools and ethnic or national differences are rarely causes of school violence. However, like previous studies focussing on violence in general, we found similar patterns with respect to gender and violence: Interethnic violence in school environments is also gendered. While the figures for those who have *never* observed violent situations are similar between the two genders (44.9 % boys and 44 % girls) a larger proportion of boys (14-18.5 %) answered that they *observe* verbal forms of interethnic violence such as teasing and talking behind their back due to ethnic background 'often or very often' compared to 12-14 % of girls. Also, we found gender differences in observing that pupils were ignored because of their ethnic background: While 18.8 % of the boys observed this form of psychological aggression 'often or very often', only 14.7 % of the girls said so, while a higher percentage of girls (38.3 %) answered 'sometimes' compared to only 34.9 % of boys.

This gender pattern is even more evident in physical forms of interethnic violence, although gender difference was not significant in every given situation. 75.3% of girls in our sample stated to have never observed that pupils hit or spit at other pupils because of their ethnic background, while 69 % of boys in our sample indicated so. A higher percentage of boys (10.7 % compared to 6.2 % of girls) witnessed such situations 'often or very often'. Also, a lower percentage of girls (20.3 %) than boys (27.2 %) indicated that they 'sometimes' or 'often or very often' witnessed pupils destroying a classmate's property because of their ethnic background.

Our results show that both boys and girls have experienced interethnic violence as offenders as well as victims, although it is a rather small percentage compared to those who witnessed violence. In accordance with other studies (e.g. Eisenbraun, 2007, 463), boys were more often victims of verbal violence than girls in our sample. While 20.2 % of boys claimed that peers insulted or teased them because of their ethnic background, only 14.1 % of the

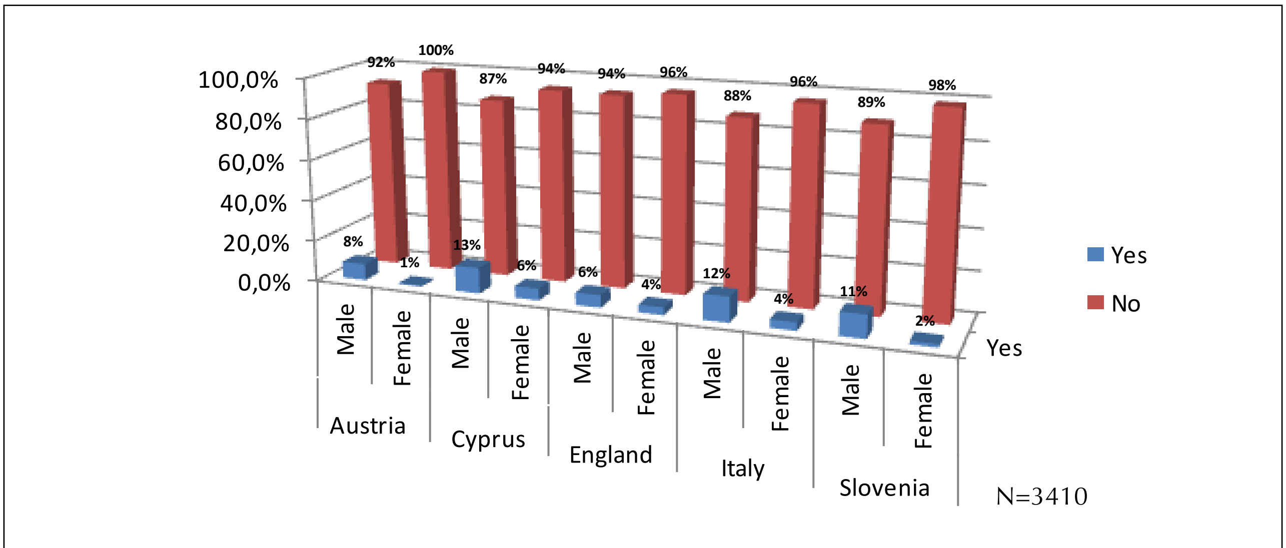


Figure 1: "Have you ever treated anyone badly because of his/her ethnic background?"
Slika 1: "Ali si kdaj grdo ravnal z nekom zaradi njegove/njene etnične pripadnosti?"

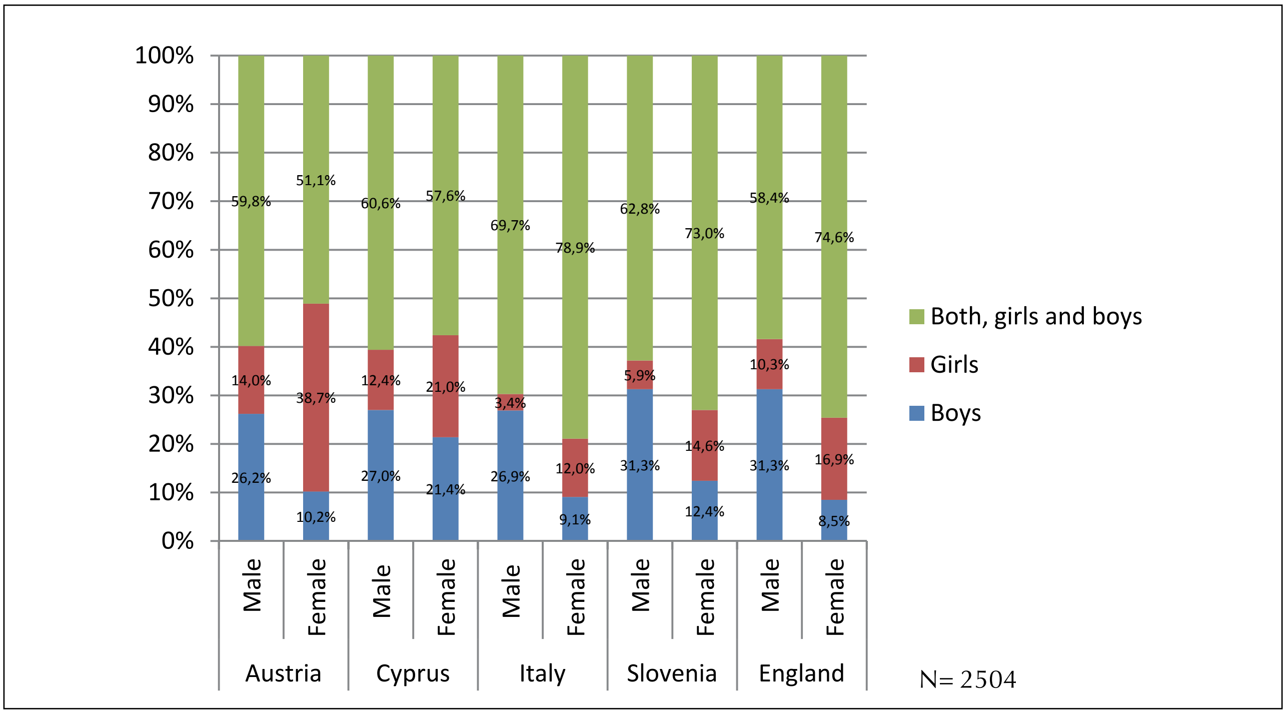


Figure 2: Victims of interethnic violence
Slika 2: Žrtve medetničnega nasilja

girls said they experienced the same. Similarly, while 6 % of boys said that 'other pupils talk behind my back because of my ethnic background' 'often or very often', only 3 % of girls say that this happened to them. Regarding the experiences of physical forms of violence such as being hit or spit at, a higher share of boys (4 %) than of girls (1 %) stated to experience it 'often or very often'. 6.3 % of boys said they experience this form of violence sometimes, compared to 4 % of girls. Furthermore, while 8 % of boys indicated that others destroy their property 'sometimes, often or very often', 5.4 % of girls experienced this form of aggression.

Our sample shows gender differences with respect to offenders as well: More boys than girls have (at least) once treated someone badly because of his or her ethnic background. While 10.2 % of the overall male sample had treated somebody badly, only 2.9 % of the girls did so. Figure 1 (below) shows the country-sub-sample results for this question.

We further asked pupils whether boys or rather girls are victims of the above-discussed forms of interethnic violence. The majority of boys and girls see both genders equally as victims of situations of verbal or physical violence (see figure 2). Our sample shows a slightly gendered pattern in perceiving victims of violent behaviour: In general girls more often see girls as victims of violent behaviour than boys, while boys see boys as victims of interethnic violence much more often than girls.

Responses to the question "who usually does these things" reveal more similarities between the groups. Between 44 % and 60 % of boys and girls indicated that both boys and girls usually engage in interethnic violence as offenders (Figure 3). While the majority of boys and girls in Austria, Cyprus and Slovenia agree that boys are usually the offenders, the majority of pupils in England and Italy see both boys and girls as offenders in interethnic violence situations (see Figure 3). Only between 2.2 % and 7 % of pupils of our sample think that girls are usually the offenders in the aforementioned interethnic violent situations.

Those pupils who indicated that they were victims of interethnic violence were further asked to share their reactions to such experiences. As illustrated in Figure 4, a correlation between the reactions to experienced interethnic violence and gender is evident. A significantly higher percentage of boys than girls stated they 'fought back or did the same to the bully'. The predominant answers of boys in all countries of our sample – except for Slovenia – were 'I fight back' which 35 % of the overall male sample answered or 'I do the same to the bully' which was stated by 15 % of the boys. The girls' sample response was more differentiated: Similar to boys, a high percentage of girls (19 %) responded 'I fight back' (sub-sample figures between 18.5 % in Slovenia and 24.9 % in Italy) in most of the country samples, while 14 % of girls answered 'I put up with it' (between 12.3 % in Cyprus and 21.9 % in Austria). Furthermore, a higher share of girls than boys – except for Italian pupils – stated to 'ask for help' in such situations (12 % of girls compared to 8 % of boys in the overall sample).

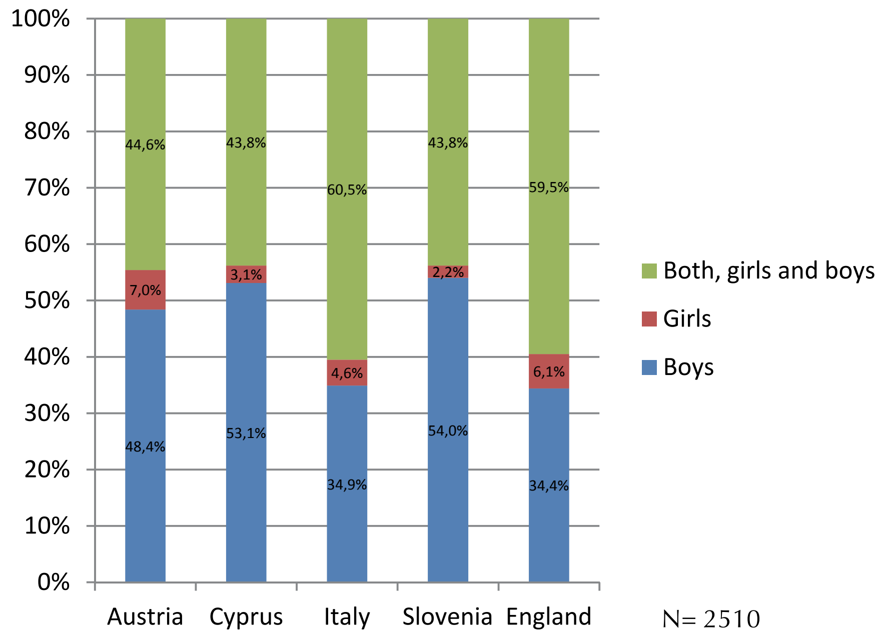


Figure 3: Offenders
Slika 3: Nasilneži

Our results show the well-known patterns on gender differences in frequency of boys being victims of, or have more fear of becoming a victim of violence more often than girls (Eisenbraun, 2007, 461). Similar to previous studies on gendered school violence, our study shows that boys are also more often perpetrators of physical as well as verbal violence (Furlong & Morrison, 2000; Cornell & Loper, 1998). However, compared to studies on general school violence, gender differences are rather small in witnessing and experiencing interethnic violence as well as being victims or perpetrators of interethnic violence.

The following section will go deeper into the gendered dynamics of interethnic violence and will carve out the options of action girls and boys seem to have towards (interethnic) violence and hence, the methods of doing masculinity and femininity. In interpreting our qualitative data, we contend that these different options of agency in violent situations not only mirror the sex of pupils, but are ways of performing gender difference, and doing masculinities and femininities at the intersection with ethnicity – that is how gender is constructed with regard to interethnic stereotyping.

DOING MASCULINITIES, DOING FEMININITIES IN SCHOOL

Our focus group discussions and interviews with teachers revealed that the ethnicity, nationality or religion of a child do not necessarily determine or cause violence in the school environment. Rather, pupils refer to these categories – as they refer to bodily characteristics – to verbally hurt someone in situations where violence has already occurred. One of the teachers stated that violence is not caused by ethnicity but that it is rather a way of expressing masculinity:

> *In my opinion, the reason why you have interethnic violence within schools […] is not because the individual boys or girls, but it is predominantly boys, is not because they look at each other and say you are Muslim and I am Indian I'm going to hit you. It's because they are boys and they've had an argument over something. […] It's rooted because they're boys and they've not received guidance from home. (Educational professional, England)*

Pupils are also aware of gender violence; they construct gender differences and reproduce gender stereotypes in describing school violence:

> *That's how it is with boys, they fight, and girls, girls are just insulting. (Girl, 10, Slovenia)*

Pupils furthermore reported that boys more often use physical violence – be it 'just for fun' or 'serious fighting'. Male pupils, especially in the sub-sample of 10-12 year olds, reported to fight 'just for fun'. They perceive fights as a game, as something acceptable to do.

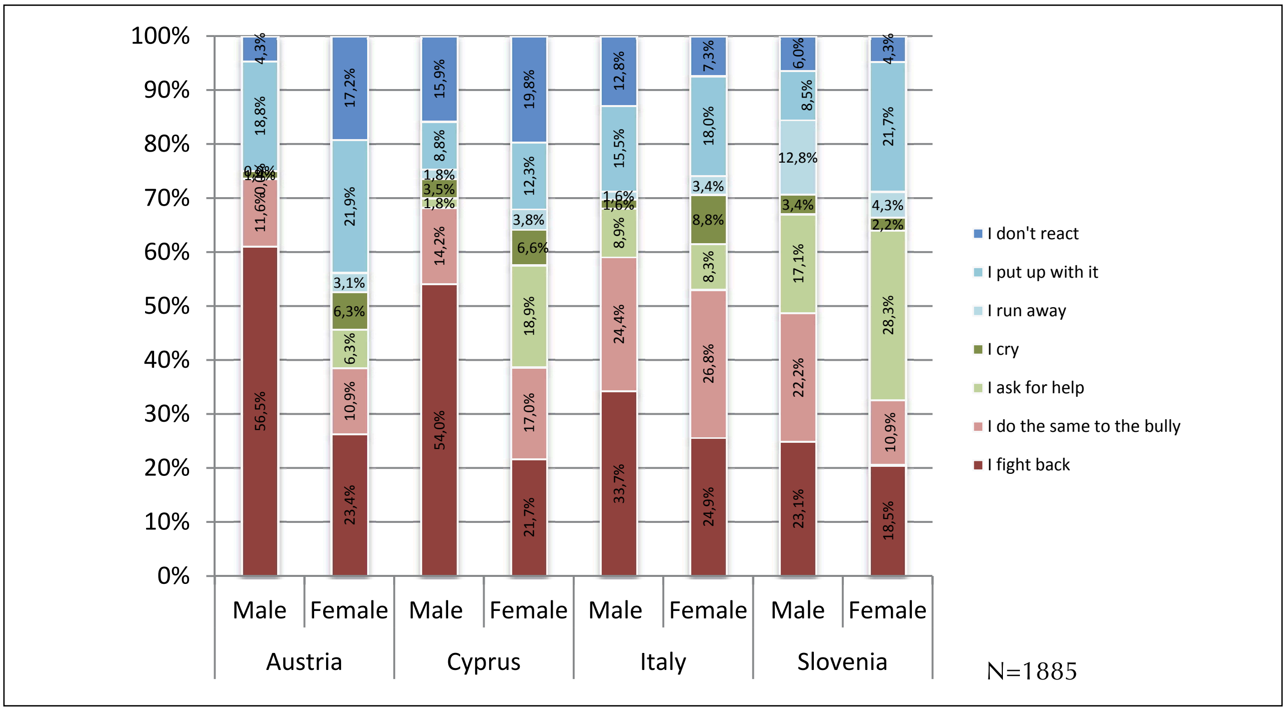


Figure 4: How do you react when you have been treated badly?
Slika 4: Kako si se odzval/a, ko so s teboj grdo ravnali?

> *We fight but only for fun, […] and nobody gets hurt. And we don't fight because of religion, culture but when it comes to a dispute then pupils insult each other with such insulting words. (Boy, 11, Austria)*

Our analysis revealed that especially physical violence seems to be an 'option' only for boys. This might be related to adolescence, a "brutalizing" period (Li, 2006, 5): Performing masculinity through violence is a function of moving "from childhood to adulthood" in a situation where "status and identity are uncertain and when inter-male violence is pronounced in the context of growing sexual interest (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997, 123).

Nevertheless, girls were also identified as participants in violent actions – not only as victims of violence but also as perpetrators in the game of hegemonic masculinity and compliant femininity. While girls very rarely indicated that they engage physically in violent situations, they do often act as observers or supporters when the boys fight – girls build the audience of the male pupils' game. Boys and girls, as well as teachers and school personnel do not link physical violence with femininity.

> *G. [m] and M. [m] arranged a fight in front of the school because they cannot fight in class, and all the boys and girls watched and also insulted G. (Girl, 11, Austria)*

Also in our sample, pupils as well as teachers report that girls are involved in interethnic physical violence. These incidences are interpreted as fights for recognition within a heterosexual matrix:

> *It's interesting, that recently we had some fights among girls. A fight breaks out between two girls; mostly it happens because of a boyfriend. (Headmaster, Slovenia)*

Moreover, when girls fight physically, it is perceived as something not socially accepted, something which 'the other' girls do.

> *They [girls of other ethnic backgrounds] mainly fight because of dudes. (Boy, 17, Slovenia)*

While boys' violence is seen as somehow 'natural' behaviour, girls' fights are seen as 'deviant', something which is 'interesting to observe' and in the case of the Slovenian boy, attributed to 'the other' – girls of other ethnic backgrounds – not to 'Slovenian girls'. Thus, also in the school environment, certain perceptions of femininity and masculinity are adopted and schools are spaces where certain images are reproduced, also by viewing and assessing boys' and girls' violence differently. Violence and the perception of aggressive behaviour within the school context can be understood as doing gender since it seems to be linked to certain performances of masculinity. But violence is moreover a means to reproduce a heterosexual matrix as well as the ethnic "Other".

However, we also found transgressive behaviour: In the Austrian focus group, one of the girls claimed the right to physical violence when she was sexually attacked:

My friend and I are being touched by some boys and then I hit them. But otherwise I feel good at school. The girls are nice, and some boys too. (Girl, 11, Austria)

A situation in which interethnic violence occurs can be caused by a lost football match for instance, which then provokes violent verbal practices, here others are insulted by referring to their ethnic or religious differences. Thus, interethnic violence must be contextualised within the dynamics of violence. Additionally, the dynamics of violence involve certain 'masculinised' and 'feminised' practices and activities in the school environment such as sports. Sports are a highly gendered arena and an arena of physical and verbal violence at the same time. Teachers and pupils in our study link (interethnic) violence to sports activities. This was, for instance, especially evident in one Austrian focus group where pupils and teachers described that fights – including verbal insults on the grounds of ethnicity or nationality – occur after football matches during Physical Education (PE). This seems to be a boys' issue. In Austria, pupils reported that following PE, boys – mainly from former Yugoslavia – fought with each other by referring to the wars in that region and their different ethnic identities.

This happens only among boys, mainly when they have sports […] it happens when they have sports, and after that they fight in the class and insult each other. (Girl, 12, Austria)

As emotions are also transferred from the football field into the classroom, girls who were originally not involved also become participants. Female pupils – girls and boys are taught PE separately in Austria – would only get involved in the dispute after all pupils come together in the classroom again. The conflict would spread as other boys and girls would take sides for one nationality or ethnic identity and support the groups verbally.

This conflict [verbal insults on ethnic grounds of two groups of pupils] happens every three months I would say and always when they play football. [It] is a boy's issue when it gets brutal but the girls are not innocent because they also are taking one side before it gets brutal. (Teacher, Austria)

In England and Italy, similar situations linked the emotions following sports events were identified between boys.

Most of the fights start when there's like a competition, like in a football game when like […] Football's the biggest problem. […] Yeah because they start kicking and chanting. And then they talk about their religion and background and it goes up. That's when it all starts. (Girl, primary school, England)
Yes, but it can also occur when the Serbian team won and the Italian team lost the game. Then in class acts of violence, that weren't there before between the kids, are unleashed. […] Mohammed, for example, shares the desk with Ivan. But after having watched something on television, they come back as two boys who feel to belong to different and opposing nationalities. (Teacher, Italy)

From the focus group discussions and interviews it is evident that sports activities are able to unleash certain emotions and can be a trigger for interethnic violence between boys. Sports activities can be perceived as activities where ethicised masculinities compete with each other. Hence, certain masculinities are able to claim space for their issues or disputes and thereby determine the class culture and claim power over other boys and girls.

Another way of exercising power over others is to shape the image of 'masculine' and 'feminine' bodily practices. Sports activities or being athletic is perceived as being 'cool'. Those who do not engage in sports are not accepted and exposed to (verbal) victimization because of this.

G [m] and J [m] are both fat but G will be insulted more than J they always are angry but they do nothing about to get thinner, they don't make any sports eat unhealthy and the others insult them and I think this is ok, because they don't want to get thinner." (Boy, 11, Austria)

On the other hand, girls are verbally attacked due to their gender if they do not accept gender norms:

He made fun of a little girl who was in his group telling her she was a tomboy; insulting her saying that she wasn't truly part of our community because being a female she liked male games. (Pupil, primary school, Italy)

Furthermore, schools are places where power over girls and women is also demonstrated through sexual violence. Sexual harassment is an option of aggressive behaviour only for boys – and a way to challenge hierarchical school settings:

As a female teacher you also have to be strong, when young boys say things like 'Oh Miss you look beautiful today, do I get an A now?' That's too much for me although I have a good relationship with my pupils." (Teacher, Austria)

There are huge problems in my class of 13-14 old pupils. There are problems between boys and girls, teachers and pupils and among boys. They use ethnic insults or call the girls 'bitch, slut'. Austrian and Asian girls are mainly being insulted. (Teacher, Austria)

In conclusion: Within the school environment, 'accepted' masculinities and femininities are constructed by framing 'accepted' and 'non-accepted' practices and bodies through verbal and physical violence by engaging in certain activities and not in others, and by (verbally) victimizing certain groups on grounds of their gender and ethnic or national identities. As a result, interethnic violence cannot solely be understood as being caused by different ethnic or national identities of children who happen to share a classroom or school. Rather, it evolves out of different 'logics' where gender identity and construction is often one of them.

INTERSECTIONS – GENDERED STEREOTYPES

Interethnic violence – although often not caused by the ethnicity, nationality or religion of a child – does refer to certain ethnic, national or religious stereotypes. Our focus group discussions and interviews with pupils, teachers and experts revealed that these prejudices are also gendered as they are linked to certain assumptions about the 'female' and 'male' body or practices. The following section discusses this issue by presenting two cases from our sample.

'MUSLIM GIRLS' – THE HEADSCARF ISSUE

As public institutions, schools were in the spotlight of the debates on whether the veiling practices of female pupils and teachers should be approved or not (Rosenberger & Sauer, 2012).[4] Our study revealed that the headscarf played a central role in girls' experience of interethnic stereotyping. Girls who reported to have been insulted on the grounds of their ethnicity, nationality or religion were often Muslim girls wearing a headscarf.

But this is weird isn't it? Because when we go to their country, women have to clothe and wear headscarves; here they can just walk around in headscarves, can't they?
I: Mhm, do you think this is not right?
No, because if they come here, they should get used to our customs (Boy, 17, Slovenia)

Although our overall results show that schools are places where pupils learn to deal with multiple cultures and where prejudices seem to be dismantled, resentments towards certain (religious) practices are also present in the school environment (Sauer & Ajanović, 2012; Sedmak & Medarić, 2012, 12). Girls who stated to have experienced interethnic violence in the school environment mentioned to do so most often within the context of their veiling practices. Hence, mainly Muslim girls reported experiencing direct insults in reference to their ethnicity, nationality or religion.

Because I wear a headscarf in year five, one of the teachers they said to me oh you have to take it off or you're not doing PE but I won't take it off so I ended up sitting out.
I: Was that a school rule or something?
No it wasn't a school rule. No. Miss just made it up. […] Because with school you're allowed to wear your culture. (Girl, primary school, England)

The headscarf is not only negotiated from a religious dimension but a gendered dimension as well. As it addresses 'the female body' and, moreover, as it links both the absence and the presence of this particular religious practice to images often attributed to 'femininity', namely 'victims' or 'sinners', the power relations behind these negotiations are evident: Girls' and women's practices are evaluated from an androcentric perspective, which in this case, is applied both by their male schoolmates and female teachers.

I see that some of our Turkish boys have a negative opinion towards women and often say that if a woman does not wear a headscarf she is a whore. And I mean, I don't wear one and for some it's obviously difficult to respect me because of this. (Teacher, Austria)

In the following section we will discuss that while girls in our sample were confronted with gendered stereotypes on their religious practices, a particular group of boys was confronted with gendered images prescribed to their ethnic or regional back-ground.

'SOUTHERN BOYS' – COOL AND DANGEROUS

Male pupils who migrated to Italy and Slovenia from southern Ex-Yugoslavian or the Balkan countries are also confronted with gendered stereotypes. These boys are commonly referred to as 'southerners', (Slovenian: 'ćefur' or 'bosanac'), expressions which again are linked to certain (bodily) attributes and performances. These boys are seen as aggressive, physically strong and therefore as exerting a different from of masculinity.

Typical appearance of »ćefur« is supposed to be a tracksuit, and, and, and…. And this little bag … and sunglasses, and this shining hairstyle, and a

4 For the debates in Austria see Hadj-Abdou et al., 2012, 134 f. and in UK Andreassen et al., 2012, 174 f.

necklace, a metal jewellery chain. This is typical (Girls, 16-17, Slovenia)
Bosanci are more, well, pesky, and they well, compete with others. (Girl, 10, Slovenia)
[T]hen they compete, if the southerners will get more girls, cuz them nerds can study all they want, but we'll take their girlfriends in the meantime. In here, there's more fun, it ain't terrible, but definitely interesting. This is how they're sending a message that the Slovenian boys are clumsy, that they're a bit more like »yodel yodel« and make Austrian jokes. »We're, like, hotshots, we rule in football...« In this sense … not like, I even find it sweet sometimes, it's not rough or anything. (School counsellor, Slovenia)

This type of masculinity is thus connected to violence and feeds into the construction of dangerous masculinity.

People think that all Serbs and Albanians are dangerous people walking armed with knives. (Boy, 19, Italy)
I do not think so [media influence attitude towards nationalities]. To a certain extent it is their responsibility. Because they are a bit more aggressive, but that's just the way they are. (Boy, 17, Slovenia)
[I] noticed […] that […] migrants from the former Yugoslavia, that these boys are very popular among Slovenian boys, which we can see from the fact that Slovenian boys are trying to copy their speech, behaviour, their coolness, even style – that famous blue sweatshirt with a white line, their music is also popular. (NGO representative, Slovenia)

'Southerners' are perceived as show-offs, as those who always appear in groups – which makes them more 'dangerous' – but also as those who are cool, who know how to deal with girls. They are seen as physically strong, as heterosexual and as embodied marginalized masculinity. Again, it is evident that masculinised attributes and practices are linked to these boys. What is further interesting is that their 'attitude' is hated on the one hand yet admired on the other. A certain contrast – the one who is dangerous but also knows how to perform his masculinity – becomes apparent in this case again. Violence is also the practice of competition between different masculinities based on interethnic stereotyping.

Boys and girls are confronted with different stereotypes – either in reference to ethnicity, religion or regional background. Moreover, these stereotypes refer to accepted 'male' and 'female' bodies, practices and characteristics. Through violent and aggressive behaviour, 'accepted' femininity and especially an accepted 'female body' are negotiated while on the other hand, male agency is reconstructed and negotiated – even within structures of inequality between men. Hence, violence helps to draw borders between different masculinities.

CONCLUSIONS

Our research shows that boys' and girls' experiences with regard to frequency and forms of interethnic victimization differ. The quantitative results indicate that boys in all five-country samples are more often engaged in these situations – especially when it comes to physical violence. Furthermore, (interethnic) violent practices can be understood as a way of performing masculinity: Girls are not given the option to use physical violence. Their participation in such situations is perceived as 'deviant', while boys' engagement in such is often seen as 'normal boys' behaviour' and girls are attributed the role of spectator of male activities. Hence, a binary gender order is reconstructed through violence.

Our findings suggest to "reconsider the female/victim - male/villain dichotomy" (Leach & Humphreys, 2007, 61). However, gender and ethnicity are interlinked and intersecting – they are co-constructed in violent practices: If girls are physically violent they are seen as 'the other' – those of another ethnic background. Moreover, our analysis discussed different practices and performances that help to 'do masculinity' in the school environment and which are also linked to violence – as a male activity for instance, sports can be a trigger for interethnic violent situations. To sum up, these activities are competitive practices among boys, the exertion of power over other boys due to their 'non-athletic physique' or their different ethnic background. Moreover, these practices are also a form of power over girls that is exerted in different subtle and direct ways: such as by exclusion from certain practices or games – perceived as 'male games' – and by sexist comments or even harassment.

Finally, we discussed cases of gendered stereotyping and demonstrated how ethnic, national or religious prejudices are connected to the 'female' and 'male' bodies and gendered practices. They can be understood as a means by which different masculinities and femininities compete, while revealing unequal gender relations through negotiating 'accepted' and 'non-accepted' female and male practices. While violence is a way of doing masculinity and femininity at schools, schools are also an environment where violence, as well as gendered stereotypes, might be overcome.

USTVARJANJE MOŠKOSTI, USTVARJANJE ŽENSKOSTI. MEDETNIČNO NASILJE V ŠOLSKEM OKOLJU

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POVZETEK

Prispevek obravnava spolno dimenzijo medetničnega nasilja v šolskem okolju. Preko predstavitve empiričnih rezultatov iz Avstrije, s Cipra, iz Anglije, Italije in Slovenije prikaže razlike med fanti in dekleti pri izkušnjah nasilnih praks v šolah in obravnava (medetnično) nasilje kot prakso "ustvarjanja spola". Z razpravo rezultatov prikazujemo, kako se moškost in ženskost oblikujeta v šolskem okolju preko nasilja in drugih praks in kako sta konstruirana na intersekciji etničnosti in etničnih stereotipov. Kvantitativna in kvalitativna raziskava, izvedeni med učenci in dijaki, starimi 10–11 in 17–18 let, kažeta na razlike v izkušnjah z vikimizacijo in zaznavami nasilnih praks: fantje so pogosteje vključeni v fizično nasilje. To lahko pojasnimo z dejstvom, da je fantom, bolj kot dekletom, dodeljena tovrstna "možnost delovanja". Sodelovanje deklet pri nasilnih dejanjih je – tudi v šolskem okolju – označeno kot "deviantno", zaradi česar lahko fantje ustvarjajo moškost z nasilnimi praksami, medtem ko dekleta tega ne morejo. Vendar to ne pomeni, da dekleta v tovrstne prakse niso vključena. So, vendar jim je običajno dodeljena vloga "opazovalke" ali "podpornice". Rezultati kažejo tudi, da medetnično nasilje med drugim sprožijo predstave "ustvarjanja moškosti", kot na primer šport. Te prakse ne le vodijo k tekmovanju in včasih nasilju, temveč tudi izključujejo – na eni strani dekleta iz "moških iger" in na drugi strani tudi fante, ki na primer zaradi svojega telesnega videza ali etničnosti ne sodijo v koncept "hegemonične moškosti". Ustvarjanje moškosti ne vključuje le moške dominacije nad dekleti, temveč tudi tekmovalnost med različnimi "moškostmi". Podobno velja za prakse ustvarjanja "ženskosti", kjer različne "ženskosti" tekmujejo med seboj. Slednje – različne moškosti in ženskosti – so dalje razvidne iz dejstva, da so etnični, narodnostni ali religiozni predsodki povezani z "ženskimi" in "moškimi" telesi in spolnimi praksami. Ko gledamo na etnične stereotipe kot povezane s spolom, pokažemo na enega od načinov, kako izpogajanje "sprejetih" in "nesprejetih" ženskih in moških praks in teles deluje v šolskem okolju.

Ključne besede: medetnično nasilje, spol, ustvarjanje moškosti, ustvarjanje ženskosti.

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THE EFFECT OF AGE IN THE WAY ADOLESCENTS REPORT AND EXPERIENCE INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE IN FIVE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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SUMMARY

The aim of the article is to examine the effects of age in the way adolescents experience and report interethnic relations with emphasis on interethnic violence in the school environment. The methodology followed a two-stage sequential mode combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. This mixed method mode started with a survey which was contacted using a common questionnaire in England, Slovenia, Italy, Austria and Cyprus followed by group interviews with students aged 11-12 and 17-18. The survey data were analyzed with the help of statistical tests in order to reveal differences between the way the two age groups have responded to the survey questionnaire. More in-depth comparative analysis was carried out with the interview transcripts of the two age groups. There were differences in the way the two age groups have responded in the survey on interethnic violence but these were frequently small and do not signify major shifts in the way younger and older adolescents deal with issues of interethnic violence. More visible differences could be observed in the way the two age groups articulated their positions during the interviews.

Keywords: interethnic violence, adolescence, European integration, multiculturalism

L'INFLUENZA DELL'ETÀ SUGLI ADOLESCENTI CHE ESPERISCONO EPISODI DI VIOLENZA INTERETNICA: L'ESPERIENZA DEI CINQUE PAESI DI CHIDREN'S VOICES

SINTESI

Lo scopo di questo paper è quello di analizzare come l'età influisce sul comportamento degli adolescenti che esperiscono episodi di violenza interetnica, con particolare riferimento a quanto accade nei contesti scolastici.

Lo studio è stato condotto attraverso l'uso combinato di una metodologia quantitativa e qualitativa. Sono stati analizzati i risultati di un questionario quantitativo somministrato in Austria, Italia, Inghilterra, Slovenia e Cipro a due gruppi di studenti dell'età di 11-12 anni e 17-18 anni. L'analisi statistica dei dati quantitativi ha consentito di approfondire le differenze che intercorrono tra i singoli gruppi intervistati. Tali risultati sono stati approfonditi grazie al materiale raccolto dall'esplorazione qualitativa che ha previsto una serie di interviste e focus groups con i ragazzi interessati dalla ricerca. Sono state evidenziate delle differenze nelle risposte date dai due gruppi di intervistati. Non vengono tuttavia riscontrate notevoli discrepanze tra i bambini e i ragazzi più adulti rispetto al tema della violenza interetnica. Maggiori differenze, al contrario, vengono evidenziate nel modo in cui i bambini e i ragazzi hanno espresso le loro posizioni durante le interviste.

Parole chiave: violenza interetnica, adolescenza, integrazione europea, multiculturalismo

INTRODUCTION

The way adolescents experience and report a variety of issues relating to their everyday life is usually the product of the social contexts within which they are socialized and to the developmental stage they are in the formation of their identities. Consequently, this affects the way they develop ideas about themselves and others. Through the process of transition from childhood to adolescence and to adulthood individuals internalize values and norms which become an integral part of their personalities and social identities. Two key moments in this process is the beginning of adolescence when children experience rapid cognitive and identity development and the end of adolescence when this process more or less come to an end. This was in fact the rationale behind the strategy that was adopted in a EU funded project titled: "Children's voices: Exploring Interethnic violence in the school environment" which investigated issues of interethnic relations in the school environment at the two aforementioned key transition points in the lives of young individuals; namely at the age of 11-12 (primary schools) and at the age of 17-18 (secondary schools). This investigation was carried out in five quite diverse European contexts (Slovenia, England, Cyprus, Italy and Austria). Thus this paper investigates differences and similarities that may be observed in the way primary and secondary school students responded to various issues relating to interethnic relations in schools and particularly to violence. Importantly, the investigation, as will be examined in detail below, adopted a mixed method mode combining a quantitative and qualitative approach in order to get both a macro and a micro-level perspective of the issue of interethnic violence so as to have a multi-faceted understanding of the relevant factors involved. Even though the study was conducted in five different European contexts where the issue of interethnic violence takes distinct perspectives in this paper we often treat the sample as a unified sum. This is because social context differences are examined in other publications (i.e. Medarić & Sedmak, 2012). On a number of variables, however, country data are also presented.

The paper starts with a brief overview about the issue of interethnic relations in multicultural school environments which can potentially create grounds and conditions for interethnic violence. Importantly, however, we shall examine the socio-psychological process of individuals transition from childhood to adulthood and we will examine how this process may affect the way young individuals perceive and report relations with Others possibly as a way with which they try establish their own social and ethnicity identity. In this process a major issue will be whether the contemporary multicultural structures and rhetoric adopted in most European societies has been internalized by the youth in all societies. Next, the paper will present the rationale for adopting a mixed method approach in a research project that set out to investigate interethnic violence in schools at different levels. We will focus on the findings that relate to a survey and focus group interviews with students in all five countries that participated in this project[1]. The paper will conclude with a discussion on what these findings tell us about the prospects of ethnic co-existence in a social and cultural environment that while it keeps changing in a post-modern reality its multicultural character will be its most unique facet in the next few decades.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Multiculturalism and interethnic relations in education in Europe

In recent times, Europe witnesses wide sociopolitical and demographic changes as a result of increasing migration and transnationalism which have also an impact on interethnic relations and social cohesion. One of the consequences of these demographic changes has been the creation of the notion of multicultural societies and the need of education to respond to this new reality. While this was particularly true for many European societies for much of the past two or three decades, recently, and possibly as an indirect consequence of the global economic crisis, the political goal of cultivating multicultural policies has suffered significant blows by an emerging changing attitude towards multiculturalism exemplified by the realization of many European leaders (such as German Chancellor Merkel) that the multiculturalism project has in fact been unsuccessful in Europe[2]. This realization could likely point in the near future to shifts in national policies and specifically in changes in the direction of educational policies away from the goal of multiculturalism. The way multiculturalism changed the face of European societies had inevitable effects on the way education systems operate. Below we make a brief reference to several studies that looked into this issue.

In a book edited nearly a decade ago, Smith (2003) brings together a collection of studies that point to the fact that the increase in the number of students from immigrant groups in schools could potentially lead to racial tensions in some countries. When migrant groups are targeted due to unrelated to education reasons (i.e. economic crisis, unemployment or crime) this may produce adverse effects on the well-being of young indi-

1 It has to be noted that the qualitative phase of the project included a number of other groups that were investigated such as teachers, head teachers, administrators, experts etc.

2 Merkel says German multicultural society has failed, 17 October 2010 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451

viduals from migrant or ethnic minority backgrounds. Ethnic minority and immigrant children can experience racial harassment as young people themselves may bring different expectations and experiences of deprivation and frustration into the school.

The problem of inter-ethnic relations in schools was the focus of a 2004 project led by the Italian Centre for Research in Social Affairs with partners in Spain, Germany and Latvia (cited in Smith 2004). The partners aimed to identify and analyse examples of good practice in dealing with inter-ethnic conflict labeled as 'inter-cultural' in secondary schools. They found that when young people of migrant background are involved in school violence, it is often assumed that cultural identity is the cause of the conflict. Because the young people concerned have often experienced exclusion and discrimination, they expect and so emphasise cultural differences and attribute the conflict to them. In reality, the analysis found that the reasons for conflict among adolescents in school do not markedly differ when the protagonists include migrant children.

Interethnic relations in schools could be the product of wider social conditions in a country. Danesh (2008) reports the experiences of a program in post-civil war Bosnia and Herzegovina (from 1992-1995). She describes how the concept of the culture of healing has developed and implemented in 112 primary and secondary schools. The participants in this large undertaking were tens of thousands of students, teachers, staff, and parents/guardians from all three main ethnic populations—Bosniak (Muslims), Croat (Catholic), and Serb (Orthodox Christianity)—who experienced tragic events from 1992–1995. During an Education for Peace program, the process of creating a culture of healing within and among the participating schools involved a period of intense questioning and listening whereby students, teachers, school administrators, support staff, and some parents asked questions that revealed their actual state of mind and heart. Within the Balkan context inter-ethnic violence appears to be the result of inter-ethic antagonisms and historic bitterness between ethnic groups after the dissolution of the Federal State of Yugoslavia. In this case language appears to play a major part as to whether it could become a divisive or connecting issue. In the case of FYR of Macedonia for example, the recognition of the Albanian minority language in higher education appeared to sooth tensions according to Czaplinski (2008). Similarly in an equally divided society and slightly at the margins of the European context but interesting in this framework nonetheless, Israel, interethnic relations present many challenges especially in education. Among other highly sensitive issues, the product of a long history of war, the issue of language and of alternative historic narratives of similar events, keeps the two historically conflicting communities (Jews and Palestinians) in a state of protracted conflict (Bekerman & Horenczyk, 2004).

In Greece as Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides (2010) reports that despite the fact that Albanian migrants have for at least two decades been part of the Greek society and the majority of them have integrated well in the society there is still a lot of political resistance and animosity towards them. This hostility which has grown recently as a consequence of the economic crisis in Greece is frequently carried within schools. This attitude as an expression of symbolic violence towards Albanian youth is evident when many Greeks refuse to accept high achieving Albanian youth in Greek schools to act as flag bearers during national days. This symbolic violence has serious negative effects in the schooling of Albanian youth and acts as a negative example for other ethnic and migrant groups.

Lastly, an issue that currently is a source of difficult interethnic relations in schools is one which related to religious background and refers to Islamophobia. According to a survey carried out in 2006 in the UK by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) across four different age groups, almost all pupils of minority ethnic background had been verbally abused because of their ethnicity (DfES 2006). The same report made reference to Islamophobia as a form of bullying. The increased Islamophobia in schools was a direct consequence of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York (Crozier and Davies, 2008; Shain, 2011). Likewise, Smith and Shu (2000) found only 14 per cent of the sample of primary and secondary school pupils in England responded that they had experienced racial name-calling. Institutional racism towards Muslims in education has been found to be a problem in several other studies (Weller et al., 2001; Shah, 2006; Hill et al., 2007; Crozier & Davies, 2008; Meer, 2009). Crozier and Davies (2008) in particular in a study in schools in the Northeast of England found that, for the majority of South Asian young people from a Muslim background, racially motivated abuse, harassment and subsequent violence was a central feature of their school experience.

Promoting policies of multiculturalism

It is a fact that many European countries appear not well prepared to actually meet the needs of long-established or recently-arrived ethnic communities. In spite of the multitude of measures available to address inequality, such as curricula intended to foster cultural diversity, the instruction of the native language as well as second language courses, and anti-discrimination legislation, what is evident from the literature is that the end result of such attempts is not integration. Rather, it is segregation and social exclusion. In developing a successful recipe to support the integration of European societies education plays a central role. Yet, Paul Connolly (1994), Gill Crozier (1989), Ghassan Hage (1998) and Herne Varenne and Ray McDermott (1998) accept that intercultural education has not only failed to fulfill its predetermined

goals but has paradoxically achieved to reproduce racist stereotypes. Rather than eliminating racial discrimination and strengthening diversity, or at least help educate pupils, intercultural education policies and practices have actually reinforced segregation. Hage (1998) suggests that the kind of multiculturalism countries endorse today only contributes to perpetuating society's current power relationships. Defined to serve the dominant ethnic group, intercultural education appears to perform a political function in that it masks intolerance while maintaining resistance to all things foreign. The sheer categorization of pupils based on their nationality or citizenship status, their subdivision into non-nationals and aliens, as well as the likely distinction between refugees and asylum seekers, for example, essentially render education susceptible to discrimination. When pupils from a distinct background are all together placed into special, minority classes, the racialization of these groups is inevitable, thus ensuring the dominance of the host culture. Limiting their achievement and advancement in such an environment, pupils from different ethnic backgrounds are condemned to lower educational attainments. Furthermore, the placement of pupils in such classes also has a severe demoralizing effect when considering that local culture may become as dominant as to suppress the customs and traditions of ethnic communities.

So, while the majority of European countries employ policies of multiculturalism as far as education is concerned interethnic and intercultural violence in the school environment, as a direct consequence of the above, are visible in schools. The conditions of interethnic and interracial relations among children and youth across European Union (EU) states are highly heterogeneous due to the diverse conditions that exist in each country. On the whole, school violence especially in subtle forms of violence (verbal harassment, rudeness) has been recognized as an important problem that is increasing (Kane, 2008). Despite a general recognition of the importance of school violence, there is presently no EU legal or policy framework regarding violence in schools. There were, however, at EU level, various recommendations and resolutions concerning interethnic school violence such as Recommendation no. 10 on combating racism and racial discrimination in and through school education, issued by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance General Policy. The overall lack of such focus prompted an investigation by five partners in order to highlight the ways with which violence may occur at two key stages of adolescence. The issue of transition in adolescence was thought to be very important and merits further elaboration.

The transition to adolescence

The rationale behind examining two distinct age groups in the project presented in this paper stems from the fact that through this examination we could mark the transition process whereby young teenagers go through certain stages in life where several physiological and psychosocial changes take place which prepare them to become young adults. Many theorists, psychologists, biologists, sociologists and anthropologists have provided a plethora of studies regarding the transitional phase through adolescence. These studies suggest that the process relates to sociological factors (i.e. changing of attitudes, role and responsibilities) and psychological factors (i.e. cognitive development) that play a vital role on how children become young adults. Explicitly, social entities, such as family, school, and society can direct the child to cultivate his/her character and personality. During the transitional period of childhood to adolescence, social interactions between individuals and social entities (family, friends, school and society) are considered by some sociologists as the stepping stones for someone to develop and establish his/her identity. During this phase children's understanding of various societal concepts, such as ethnicity and race, is formed and evolved over time.

Quintana (1998) presents various studies that examined and explained the "developmental transformation" on ethnic understanding. According to the author, to explain how children's understanding of ethnicity differs with the passage of time, one must understand how children comprehend their social environment. Influenced by Selman's theory (1980), Quintana argues that there are four developmental stages that explain the development of children's attitudes regarding the concept of ethnicity. Selman's (1980) theory of social perspective-taking ability, models children's understanding of their social environment in the context of human individuality, parent-child relations, friendship formation, and peer-group dynamics. According to Quintana (1998) even though Selman's model was developed entirely independent of the ethnic domain, there were salient parallels in the rhythm of development in the social and the ethnic domains reflected in four levels, namely 1) Integration of affective and perceptual understanding of ethnicity, 2) Literal understanding of ethnicity, 3) Social perspective of ethnicity and 4) Ethnic-group consciousness and ethnic identity. Related to our own research are what he describes as Level 2 which is named "Social and Nonliteral Perspective of Ethnicity" (Approximately 10-14 years) and Level 3 which includes "Ethnic Group Consciousness and Ethnic Identity (Adolescence).

The above are very important conceptual tools to help us investigate the way adolescents understand and experience interethnic relations in schools.

Research question

The main research question that we explore below is:

What is the effect of age in the way adolescents experience interethnic social relations and report violence in all shapes and forms in the school environment?

METHODOLOGY

The methodology followed in the project followed a two-stage sequential mode combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. This mixed method mode started with a survey which was contacted using a common questionnaire slightly modified to meet the specific characteristics of each national setting in the England, Slovenia, Italy, Austria and Cyprus. The questionnaire consisted of around 40 questions covering demographic data, normative statements on equality and multi-ethnic background, experiences of violence, perceptions on violence, etc. and addressed two age groups (11-12 year olds and 17-18 year olds) separately. All countries translated the questionnaire in their national languages and carried out pilot studies in order to test its appropriateness in their national contexts. In a second phase a qualitative research followed group interviews with students aiming to provide in-depth understandings about the way young people perceived, experienced and felt about the issue of interethnic violence.

The Survey

The sample that was selected in each country was not representative of the student population of the participating countries. It was rather a purposive sample that met certain theoretical prerequisites that were specified by the project and agreed upon between the partners. Thus, the schools were selected according to specific criteria in the project description which were:

'The survey will be conducted in four ethnically mixed regions in each country. In accordance with the literature, the following criteria will be used for identifying these areas:

- closeness of the border (border region),
- the urbanity of the area (highly urban areas), and
- the "attractiveness" of the region for migrants (region with high level of migration – economic migrants' (University of Primorska, 2010)

The implication of this mode of sampling is that any direct comparisons between country data from the five participating countries should be done with extreme caution. Even in cases when such comparisons are made results need to be treated as indicative of trends that exist in each national setting. Regarding the questionnaire it sought information that would be used as data for descriptive rather than correlational or inductive analysis.

The focus groups interviews

The qualitative stage of the research with the two age groups in all participating countries was conducted with focus group interviews. All participating partners carried out eight focus group discussions with children (four in with primary school children and four with secondary school children). The researchers followed interview schedules translated in the national languages from a common version that was prepared in English. All the interviews were recorded, transcribed word for

Table1: Normative statements on equality
Tabela 1: Normativne izjave o enakosti

	Age	N	Mean	T	Sig
All people are equal, regardless of the language that they speak, their religion or culture.	Primary	1752	1,70	,983	,325
	Second.	1754	1,67		
People who come to (country) from other countries should have the right to follow the customs of their countries, e.g. food, clothing, language.	Primary	1755	1,83	-15,333	,000
	Second.	1754	2,39		
I like the fact that there are people of different ethnic backgrounds (who speak another language, have a different religion, culture, etc.) in the country where I live.	Primary	1752	1,93	-11,446	,000
	Second.	1753	2,32		
Children that come to (country) from other countries should give up their language and culture	Primary	1748	4,23	5,454	,000
	Second.	1753	4,04		
I like the fact that there are pupils of other nationalities/ethnic backgrounds (who speak another language, have a different religion, culture, etc.) in our class/at our school.	Primary	1748	1,94	-10,941	,000
	Second.	1749	2,30		
I think that children that come to (country) from other countries should follow (country) language and (country) culture.	Primary	1751	3,24	14,711	,000
	Second.	1749	2,62		

word (verbatim) and translated in English. The transcripts were then coded and analysed in categories that were determined in advance by the research partners and were believed that they would best describe the full range of views and experiences related to the issue of interethnic violence in schools.

Data analysis

The quantitative and qualitative data will be presented in an integrated manner in order to provide a multi-level perspective of the issues under investigation. In essence, for both modes of analysis age is regarded as the main "independent variable" and we try to identify similarities and differences in the way they have responded. The survey data were analyzed with the help of statistical tests in order to reveal differences between the way the two age groups have responded in the various parts of the questionnaire.

Attitudes toward equality

In order to examine the way students responded to the normative statements of equality, independent samples t-test were carried out. As can be seen in Table 1 in the general equality statements both age groups responded in a similar fashion whereby basically both agreed with the view that all people are equal, regardless of the language that they speak, their religion or culture. For statements 2, 3 and 5 (Table 1) primary school children adopted more positive attitudes than secondary school children whereas in statement 6 the trend was reversed.

Table 2 presents the mean scores for the normative statements by country. As may be seen in all countries primary school pupils on the whole adopt a more positive attitude towards multi-ethnic differences. The variation between countries appears to be small.

In the focus groups with children, almost in all countries students of both age groups more or less reported similar views on issues relating to equality. The trend was that younger children tended to speak more in terms of interethnic relations within the school environments whereas older teenagers could draw references to wider social conditions i.e. the role that politics played into the issue of multiculturalism. The following was characteristic in the way younger children have responded

> *There are different cultures in our school but this is no issue or problem*. (Austria, male,11)
> *Yeah its good this school because it has a mixture, it's not like there's …like…if you're the only black person in a school you'd feel uncomfortable but it's like we've got lots of black people, lots of white people, we've got different religions and no one will feel oh I'm the only one with this'* (England, primary school student)

whereas in the case of an older female student she was able to draw current economic hardships in the economy in Cyprus with the presence of migrants regardless of the fact that they though that in schools things were different

> *We have 20% unemployment rate in Cyprus. Why does a foreigner have certain benefits and that he could easily find a job…to show that Cyprus defend our foreigners? Who is going to help the Cypriots* (Cyprus, female, 17-18)

Or even to old ethnicity divisions such as the case of Slovenia.

> *I, personally am,… My nationality does not matter. Anyway, relatives, caretaker, and all those people I know in the block of flats… everyone who is Slovenian does not like »those from below«, namely Bosnians, Croats and so on. I do not know why. You grow with it, and it seem others would like I would have the same opinion. But I do not [soft laughter of others]. I do not know why, and I ask: »Why you do not like this person or that person?« and they do not know how to*

Table2: Normative statements on equality by country
Tabela 2: Normativne izjave o enakosti po državah

Country	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cyprus	Primary	1,59	2,14	2,27	4,23	2,20	3,15
	Secondary	1,47	2,19	2,63	4,13	2,46	3,07
England	Primary	1,73	1,81	1,84	4,29	1,86	3,61
	Secondary	1,30	1,82	1,60	4,30	1,69	3,16
Italy	Primary	1,54	1,85	1,89	4,46	1,79	3,41
	Secondary	2,01	2,99	2,64	3,93	2,55	2,52
Slovenia	Primary	1,71	1,77	1,84	4,15	2,06	3,14
	Secondary	1,62	2,48	2,48	3,80	2,47	2,41
Austria	Primary	1,88	1,71	1,94	4,01	1,88	2,77
	Secondary	1,88	2,39	2,15	4,10	2,22	2,04

answer. And it probably comes with the family. /…/ But here in Jesenice others like Bosnians, Croats, Serbs prevail…./…/ Probably also because of that Slovenians feel endangered or so, I do not know…. Are so intolerant because of that. (Sovenia, Female, 17)

Predispositions towards the Other

Students were asked in the survey to indicate whether they would be happy to sit in class next to students with various kinds of differences and then to respond to the question whether they would be friends with such students.

The analysis of the way the two age groups have responded in the countries that participated shows a similar pattern of responses. More than half of the primary and secondary school students responded in a similar fashion that that they would be happy to sit next to a pupil who was unable to speak (well) his or her mother tongue (Table 3). Regarding the same question referring to pupils who have different religion, secondary school children had a more positive position compared with younger children. The pattern of responses was similar in all participating countries in the survey. What is a noticeable difference is the fact that secondary school students had slightly but statistically significant more positive attitude towards the position that they would be happy to sit next to a pupil whose skin colour was different from theirs. The following are responses from secondary school children from England

I think we do mix well as a college. We, there's like, there is no point where there's you know, there's just black people for instance, or just Asian people or just white people, we really do mix well. There's a group where there's Asian people, black people, white people, mixed together. Everyone just gets along'

….

'Everyone mixes well because I don't think anyone in this college is racist. … everybody mixes well because our school promotes, multicultural ethnicities to work together, to strive together to play together.

Overall, however, language appears to be the characteristic that may make students less open to difference compared with religion and skin colour. This was in fact a re-occurring theme during the interviews which revealed that students who commanded the language fluently could not just integrate easier in the school environment but there were cases when this integration was becoming assimilation. In one visit to the schools during the interview face in Cyprus the researchers in a focus group were unable to make out the ethnic origin of the participants. Another similar example from a Slovenian secondary school female student is

Mainly they [students in school] are Slovenians, you can find someone of other nationality,but

Table 3: Predispositions to difference
Tabela 3: Odnos do različnosti

	I would be happy to sit next to a pupil who is unable to speak (well) my mother tongue	
	Yes	No
Primary	55,1%	15,5%
Secondary	57,6%	14,3%
	I would be happy to sit next to a pupil who has a different religion from me	
Primary	66,9%	8,6%
Secondary	72,1%	5,7%
	I would be happy to sit next to a pupil whose skin colour is different from mine	
Primary	68,3%	9,4%
Secondary	73,9%	7,3%

Table 4: Building friendships
Tabela 4: Sklepanje prijateljstev

	I would be friends with a pupil who has a different religion from me	
	Yes	No
Primary	75,3%	6,0%
Secondary	79,3%	4,2%
	I would be friends with a pupil whose skin colour is different from mine	
Primary	79,8%	5,1%
Secondary	85,5%	3,4%

Table 5: Feelings of safety
Tabela 5: Občutek varnosti

	Age	N	Mean	t	Sig
Safe in the classroom	Primary	1743	1,56	1,802	,072
	Secondary	1754	1,51		
Safe in the toilet	Primary	1731	2,29	12,834	,000
	Secondary	1750	1,83		
Safe in the school playground	Primary	1710	2,07	10,620	,000
	Secondary	1722	1,73		
Safe at the school canteen	Primary	1698	1,75	3,499	,000
	Secondary	1570	1,65		
Safe in the school corridors	Primary	1732	2,04	11,333	,000
	Secondary	1749	1,68		
Safe in the gym	Primary	1626	1,64	-,404	,686
	Secondary	1701	1,65		
Safe in bus stop	Primary	200	3,04	7,930	,000
	Secondary	332	2,20		
Safe in the locker area	Primary	1293	2,06	8,327	,000
	Secondary	1719	1,75		

mainly they all speak Slovenian. Recently, we got one student from Bosnia, but as I notice she gets used to it. So in fact they all accepted our language, so you do not even notice, if they are of different nationality by chance (Slovenia, Female, 16)

Similar analysis of the survey data relating to friendship reveals a similar pattern of responses whereby older children on the whole had more positive attitudes compared with primary school children (Table 4). During the interviews with teenagers it was clear that older students were in a better position to identify political correctness when it came to external characteristics of difference.

Feeling safe in the school environment

Regarding feelings of safety within the school environment there were noticeable and statistically significant differences in the way students of the two age groups have responded in the survey. On the whole younger students indicated that they felt less safe in certain areas in the school environment compared with older students. Interestingly, the areas that all students felt less secure where the ones that school staff and teachers exercised less control and surveillance. This notion of schools as "protected spaces" when such control is present was a frequent reference in the focus group discussion with students of both age groups. As can be seen in table 8 which was also confirmed by the focus group interviews these areas were toilets, playgrounds and school corridors.

The reason why some spaces are safer that others is very vividly articulated by the following primary school student from Italy.

… because there are teachers and janitors who watch them ... and then because they know they must behave in a different way.

Table 6: Feelings of safety by country
Tabela 6: Obč utek varnosti po državah

Country	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Cyprus	Primary	1,56	2,47	1,95	2,07	2,15	2,01	-	2,31
	Secondary	1,70	2,18	1,80	1,90	1,88	1,97	-	2,15
England	Primary	1,44	2,27	2,05	1,73	1,93	1,78	-	2,21
	Secondary	1,33	1,71	1,61	1,47	1,50	1,50	-	1,56
Italy	Primary	1,62	2,26	2,19	1,61	2,13	1,60	3,04	2,07
	Secondary	1,62	1,77	1,83	1,65	1,74	1,71	2,20	1,72
Slovenia	Primary	1,56	2,17	2,14	1,63	2,15	1,54	-	2,03
	Secondary	1,49	1,81	1,78	1,63	1,68	1,60	-	1,71
Austria	Primary	1,64	2,33	1,95	1,84	1,87	1,49	-	1,91
	Secondary	1,40	1,68	1,61	1,55	1,57	1,51	-	1,60

Table 7: Observing violence
Tabela 7: Opazovanje nasilja

	Age	N	Mean	t	Sig
Other pupils tease them, call them names, or insult them because of their ethnic background?	Primary	1747	1,77	,929	,353
	Secondary	1745	1,74		
Other pupils talk behind, say untruthful things behind their backs because of their ethnic background?	Primary	1730	1,81	2,783	,005
	Secondary	1745	1,73		
Other pupils send insulting SMS (text messages on their mobile phones) or e-mails, post insulting comments on Facebook, Twitter, and similar because of their ethnic background ?	Primary	1683	1,41	1,006	,315
	Secondary	1732	1,39		
Other pupils ignore them, avoid contacts with them because of their ethnic background ?	Primary	1734	1,75	,660	,509
	Secondary	1739	1,73		
Other pupils hit them, spit at them, or express other forms of rude physical behaviour because of their ethnic background ?	Primary	1735	1,52	9,848	,000
	Secondary	1744	1,28		
Other pupils hide, destroy their things, property (notebooks, mobile phones, clothes …) because of their ethnic background ?	Primary	1715	1,39	6,017	,000
	Secondary	1740	1,25		

Observing interethnic violence

When asked in the survey about their experiences of observing interethnic violence in the school environment there were no major differences observed in the way younger and older students responded (Table 7). Minor but statistically significant differences were observed in behaviours that related to forms of rude physical behaviour and distraction of private things, and property (notebooks, mobile phones, clothes …) with younger children indicating more frequent instances. On the whole, however, such observations were not particularly frequent occurrences something that was also verified during the qualitative interviews. Indeed what was a common narrative in the way secondary schools in all countries talked about these behaviours was the fact that on the whole violence was often connected with a number of youth culture issues and not necessarily with ethnicity background. The following is an extract from a focus group with primary school students from England.

Res: Does it [bullying] happen a lot or not very often?
Pupil: Not very often
Res: Not very often you say?
Pupil: Yeah not very often but some children erm,...think of it as, taking a joke and some people think well no it's not a joke.
Res: Okay. Yeah what does everyone else think does it happen a lot, or not very often?
ALL Not very often.

While secondary school female students from Cyprus and Slovenia commented for the same issue that:

Table 8: Observing violence by country
Tabela 8: Opazovanje nasilja po državah

Country	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cyprus	Primary	2,09	2,33	1,58	2,08	1,81	1,47
	Secondary	2,06	2,14	1,58	2,27	1,61	1,38
England	Primary	1,86	1,93	1,55	1,75	1,66	1,47
	Secondary	1,72	1,66	1,42	1,52	1,23	1,25
Italy	Primary	1,67	1,60	1,22	1,65	1,29	1,20
	Secondary	1,78	1,68	1,39	1,81	1,22	1,21
Slovenia	Primary	1,84	1,83	1,42	1,98	1,61	1,57
	Secondary	1,72	1,69	1,41	1,65	1,25	1,34
Austria	Primary	1,45	1,52	1,31	1,35	1,29	1,23
	Secondary	1,43	1,49	1,14	1,38	1,06	1,09

Table 9: Personal experience of violence
Tabela 9: Osebna izkušnja nasilja

	Age	N	Mean	T	Sig
Other pupils tease me, call me names, or insult me because of my ethnic background ?	Primary	1748	1,29	7,890	,000
	Secondary	1734	1,15		
Other pupils talk behind, say untruthful things behind my back because of my ethnic background ?	Primary	1732	1,35	8,854	,000
	Secondary	1728	1,17		
Other pupils send me insulting SMS, e-mails, comments on Facebook, Twitter, and similar because of my ethnic background ?	Primary	1725	1,13	5,419	,000
	Secondary	1734	1,05		
Other pupils ignore me, avoid contacts with me because of my ethnic background ?	Primary	1740	1,23	8,323	,000
	Secondary	1731	1,09		
Other pupils hit me, kick me, spit at me, or express other forms of rude physical behaviour to me because of my ethnic background ?	Primary	1740	1,18	8,514	,000
	Secondary	1735	1,05		
Other pupils hide or destroy my things (notebook, mobile phone, clothes ...) because of my ethnic background ?	Primary	1732	1,15	7,558	,000
	Secondary	1732	1,05		

> *"Nowadays is not common in public schools to observe incidents of interethnic violence but as far as I know it happens outside of the school" (Cyprus)*
> *I personally haven't noticed any problems of this kind, or that someone would say he is not feeling good among us because of nationality or religion. /…/* (Slovenia)

Minor but statistically significant differences were also observed when students were asked about personal experiences of violence. Slightly more frequently younger students experienced violence against them compared with older students. The fact that violence in schools takes more frequently non-physical forms but tends to be associated with psychological violence was verified during the discussions that all research teams had with students in the focus groups. The following extract from a focus group with a secondary school student from England is very interesting.

Res: Were you going to say something? You said you experienced racism yourself, no?
M Yes once.
Res In this school?
M Yeah.
Res Is that recently?
M No about a year, two years ago.
Res And can you tell us what happened, if you don't want to tell us we understand but do you want to tell us about it?
M People make fun out of our religion and saying stuff about turban and saying different, unkind things about my beliefs and my religions.

From Cyprus:

… I experienced discrimination once … and I felt anger and became aggressive [...] I would get into fights for minor issues… and I saw that this was the result of the feelings that are produced

Table 10: Personal experience of violence by country
Tabela 10: Osebna izkušnja nasilja po državah

Country	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cyprus	Primary	1,41	1,61	1,21	1,29	1,19	1,20
	Secondary	1,15	1,29	1,07	1,13	1,09	1,07
England	Primary	1,42	1,55	1,23	1,36	1,38	1,24
	Secondary	1,26	1,20	1,09	1,15	1,08	1,05
Italy	Primary	1,19	1,19	1,05	1,12	1,07	1,07
	Secondary	1,12	1,14	1,01	1,07	1,01	1,01
Slovenia	Primary	1,29	1,25	1,10	1,25	1,13	1,15
	Secondary	1,15	1,15	1,09	1,09	1,06	1,09
Austria	Primary	1,18	1,21	1,05	1,13	1,08	1,08
	Secondary	1,08	1,08	1,01	1,02	1,00	1,01

Table 11: How do you feel when you see that a pupil is treated badly because of his or her ethnic background (cultures, languages, religions)?
Tabela 11: Kako se počutiš, ko z nekom slabo ravnajo zaradi njegove/njene etnične pripadnosti (culture, jezika, vere)?

	I feel angry and upset	I feel uneasy	I am not sure	I don't care	I feel ok with it	I feel pleased	Other	That has never happened to me
Primary	501	530	186	72	9	11	47	15
	36,5%	38,7%	13,6%	5,3%	0,7%	0,8%	3,4%	1,1%
Secondary	417	490	131	99	4	19	18	9
	35,1%	41,3%	11,0%	8,3%	0,3%	1,6%	1,5%	0,8%

out of this. When I hear such incidences I get really mad because I think of myself. If someone I knew was experiencing racism I might get out of control. (Secondary school student, female)

Again it has to be pointed out that during the interviews especially with older students such behaviours were often linked to other issues of youth life such as rivalries about peer group power relationships, sports etc. Hence, one might suggest that ethnicity background could act as an additive factor in the overall violence rather than being the source of tensions.

Feelings and reactions to interethnic violence

When asked in the survey about how students felt about these events when they occurred there were minor differences between older and younger students (Table 12). There were, however, noticeable differences in what students indicated that they do when they observe such incidents. As can be seen in Table 7 secondary school students tend to adopt more passive behaviors (one fourth of them would do nothing about it) whereas younger students would most often resort to their teachers to report it (35,7%). When personally being the victims of violence primary school students would more frequently ask for help (Table 13). During the qualitative interviews primary school children indicated that their primary response to dealing with such incidences was to report it to the teachers and to their parents and this could be the product of the more dependent stage in their development phase,

Some pupils are laughing; others might say that this is not right or fair…
and

Table 12: What do you usually do when you see that a pupil is treated badly because of his or her nationality/ ethnic background (cultures, languages, religions)?
Tabela 12: Kaj ponavadi storiš, ko z nekom slabo ravnajo zaradi njegove/njene etnične pripadnosti (kulture, jezika, vere)?

	I help him or her	I tell a teacher or another staff member what is happening	I tell another adult what is happening	I tell them that this is not right	Nothing but I think I should help him or her	Nothing but I stay and watch	Nothing and walk away because this is none of my business	I join the ones who treat him or her badly
Primary	470	490	72	141	68	48	58	7
	34,2%	35,7%	5,2%	10,3%	5,0%	3,5%	4,2%	0,5%
Secondary	263	98	60	252	268	58	119	15
	22,8%	8,5%	5,2%	21,9%	23,3%	5,0%	10,3%	1,3%

Table 13: How do you react when you have been treated badly?
Tabela 13: Kako si odreagiral, ko so s teboj grdo ravnali?

	I fight back	I put up with it	I do the same to the bully	I cry	I ask for help	I run away	I don't react	No answer
Primary	244	125	121	29	147	43	82	126
	25,6%	13,1%	12,7%	3,0%	15,4%	4,5%	8,6%	13,2%
Secondary	180	69	93	24	9	6	73	131
	29,9%	11,5%	15,4%	4,0%	1,5%	1,0%	12,1%	21,8%

> *I disapprove. I feel bad about it.*(Primary school, Slovenia 10)

compared with adolescence who often try to be more self-reliant or resort to the help of peers.

> *they may have been insulted about their appearance, color, religion (and therefore, they react in the same way* (Secondary school student, female, Cyprus)

One other issue where very noticeable differences were observed between primary and secondary school students in the survey relates to the question whether teachers step in when someone gets bullied by his/her schoolmates. It appears that more often primary school teachers intervene in such events compared with secondary school teachers. Indeed during the interviews there were references about the challenges teachers face with older children and the fact that interventions are sometimes very difficult.

Teachers interfering

Clearly there are differences in the way the two age groups perceive the power of teachers to intervene when instances of interethnic violence occur. It younger ages it is easier for teachers to control situations as their assertive power is more unchallenged. In older age, however, things become more complicated. As one teenager put very elegantly

> *I believe that most teachers would intervene but if they over-react this might turn against them. There are limits to what teachers can actually achieve* (Cypriot, male, 17)

But for primary school students teachers is the obvious adult to turn to.

> *The reason I turn to my class teacher is because she's the one who can understand me the most. She knows how I feel, she's like...she's like the person I can talk to. And she'll believe me.*
> (Primary school student, England)

Table 14: Do teachers step in when someone gets bullied by his/her schoolmates?
Tabela 14: Ali učitelji odreagirajo, ko se izvaja nasilje nad sošolcem/ko?

	Always	Sometimes	Never
Primary	764	570	75
	54,2%	40,5%	5,3%
Secondary	296	728	143
	25,4%	62,4%	12,3%

How do schools deal with interethnic violence

There were also noticeable differences between primary and secondary school students on how they have responded to normative statements about how their school deals with interethnic violence. It appears that secondary schools deal with this issue more organized than primary schools though in some primary schools there were initiatives such as the following in England

> *Res: If you saw somebody being treated badly because they were being bullied for any reason? If it was race or religion or anything, what would you do?*
> *Pupil Erm, in our school we have erm, some anti--bullying ambassadors. So like if you see somebody being bullied and you're not sure what to do, you just go up to them and tell them and they'll act for you. Or you could just go and tell an adult.*
> *Res: So the anti-bullying ambassadors they're the children are they?*
> *Pupil I'm one.*
> *Res: Oh right okay. Can you tell me a bit more about that? How did you get to do that?*
> *Pupil Well erm, you get chosen to be one, and you go to different workshops so there's like training so you know what to do if you see someone being bullied and how to act, and you get a little badge.*

This was pretty much verified during the interview phase of the project where secondary school children made references to a number of school strategies involving for example organizing discussions on multiculturalism and co-existence in class and helping students integrate in the school environment. The way secondary school students articulated such issues during the interviews in fact revealed a picture of them being more conscious about ethnicity issues compared with younger children whose responses reveal more "innocent" approaches to issues of ethnic differences. Again from England

> *… our bullying policy is very open, and we've got religion in there as well. Erm, and we've got... you know steps that if it happens… if its racist or erm, or religious or nationality or homophobia, different categories, if its serious then it's to go to [the Head] and it's to be documented. Erm, and if [the Head] deems it to be serious then the parents are to be involved and then there's to be, where possible and where it will benefit the students, there is to be some, conflict resolution between the two of them.*

To sup up we could contend that the survey findings relating to observed differences in the way the two age

Table 15: Normative statements about schools dealing with interethnic violence
Tabela 15: Normativne izjave o šolah glede soočanja z medetničnim nasiljem

	Kind of school	N	Mean	t	sig
Teachers treat pupils the same way regardless of their nationalities/ethnic background (cultures, languages, religions)	Primary	1733	4,08	15,839	,000
	Secondary	1729	3,42		
My school is a place where everybody can be themselves whatever their ethnic background is	Primary	1735	4,19	11,854	,000
	Secondary	1728	3,76		
In the classroom we learn about different cultures and religions	Primary	1726	4,10	15,268	,000
	Secondary	1725	3,57		
In the school we have special activities that encourage us to be equal and understand our differences.	Primary	1734	4,04	26,039	,000
	Secondary	1725	3,01		

groups have responded were in most cases confirmed by the interview data. This served as an excellent way of data triangulation and increased the validity of the findings enormously. There were cases of clear and distinctive differences in the way primary and secondary students responded in the survey and during the focus groups in all the participating countries and this could be the product of cognitive and personality development. Specifically, one might argue that the developmental stage of teenagers relating to their ethnic identity formation allows certain ambivalences and uncertainties to be resolved and thus are more conscientious about their observations and experiences compared with younger children.

DISCUSSION

There were noticeable differences in the way the two age groups have responded in the survey on interethnic violence albeit these were frequently small and do not signify major shifts in the way younger and older teenagers deal with issues of interethnic violence. Whereas no major trends were visible in the way they responded to the questionnaire what was more visible was the way with which the two age groups articulated their positions during the interviews. It appeared that older teenagers were in a better position to a) understand the social contexts and issues of political correctness of educational and social policies towards multiculturalism. On the other hand, younger children's answers were more spontaneous but at the same time less conscientious of complicated issues of multi-ethnic co-existence. This of course has implications and connects with the way identities are shaped. Older teenagers' identities are more installed, assertive and conscious of the social contexts within which they are embedded.

The policy implications for the age perspective in the analysis of the data on issues of multiculturalism and specifically on issues of interethnic violence points to the direction of early interventions during the very early stages of schooling. It was very interesting that in the case of England when students were asked to proposed solutions to the problem of peer-to-peer violence primary school pupils cited a classroom activity "the circle time" as an effective hands on way of dealing/ preventing interethnic violence as well as the rights-based initiatives, such as the UNICEF"s Rights Respecting Schools Award. Such activities bring the issue to a more practical solutions and possibly more effective. For the older age group, however the approach was more theoretical; namely it was the overall school ethos and implementa-

Table 16: Normative statements about schools dealing with interethnic violence by country
Tabela 16: Normativne izjave o šolah glede soočanja z medetničnim nasiljem po državah

Country	Age	1	2	3	4
Cyprus	Primary	2,60	1,89	1,91	2,12
	Secondary	2,69	2,43	2,53	3,04
England	Primary	2,01	1,83	1,73	1,95
	Secondary	2,18	1,66	2,57	2,68
Italy	Primary	1,86	1,50	1,58	1,68
	Secondary	2,78	2,40	2,45	2,66
Slovenia	Primary	1,77	2,33	2,18	2,02
	Secondary	2,63	2,58	2,42	3,31
Austria	Primary	1,55	1,50	2,11	2,10
	Secondary	2,57	2,01	2,22	3,19

tion of a code of conduct that was thought to be an effective mechanism for dealing with interethnic or other peer violence. The latter appears to be more prone to external social influences that the education system and the schools possibly do not control.

The present research has also verified that the rhetoric that sees language as key in the implementation of good interethnic relations. The comments that Chancellor Merkel made with reference to this issues (see theoretical framework) hold some truth. Language is a key instrument of integration and sometimes it can become an instrument of assimilation as well. On the whole when language issues are resolved, issues of interethnic relations become less complicated. Having said the above we need to recognize that violence within the school environment connected with behavior such as bullying will not be eradicated from schools in the near future. However, when violence tends to be based on ethnicity differences it can become an explosive phenomenon particularly at times when racism and xenophobic behaviours appear to be on the rise throughout Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

Given that the content of society's supreme cultural norms and values are the framework within which adolescents are socialized, one should expect that these will affect not only young individuals' personal lives but also the prospects of ethnic co-existence in a social and cultural environment that while it keeps changing its multicultural character will be its most distinctive facet in the next few decades. Many European countries have long-established ethnic communities and often adopt a multitude of measures to address cultural diversity, inequalities and discrimination. Despite such policies, however, interethnic violence in schools appears to be a reality experienced directly and/ or indirectly by students of all ages. Most often the consequences on the educational experiences, especially of ethnic minority students, are negative. When such experiences are negative, academic achievement suffers and social marginalization follows with adverse effects on social cohesion and social justice.



Sl. 1: Educational equality for all, Thinkstock
Fig. 1: izobraževanja za vse, Thinkstock

VPLIV STAROSTI NA NAČIN KAKO MLADOSTNIKI POROČAJO O IN DOŽIVLJAJO MEDETNIČNO NASILJE V PETIH EVROPSKIH DRŽAVAH

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POVZETEK

Namen članka je preučiti vpliv starosti na način, kako mladostniki doživljajo medetnične odnose s poudarkom na medetničnem nasilju v šolskem okolju. V raziskavi je bila uporabljena dvostopenjska sekvenčna metodologija, ki je združevala kvantitativen in kvalitativen raziskovalni pristop. Pristop »mešanih metod« je vključeval raziskavo z enotnim vprašalnikom v Angliji, Sloveniji, Italiji in Cipru, ki so mu sledili skupinski intervjuji z otroki in mladostniki starimi 11–12 in 17–18 let. Podatki so bili analizirani s pomočjo statističnih testov z namenom prikazati razlike med dvema starostnima skupina. Poglobljena primerjalna analiza je bila opravljena s pomočjo transkriptov intervjujev obeh starostnih skupin. Med dvema skupinama se kažejo razlike v odgovorih na vprašanja o medetničnem nasilju, vendar so bile le-te relativno majhne in ne kažejo na razlikovanje v načinu, kako se mlajši in starejši mladostniki spopadajo z vprašanji medetničnega nasilja. Večje razlike med starostnima skupinama so bile opazne v mnenjih, izraženih skozi intervjuje.

Ključne besede: medetnično nasilje, adolescent, evropska integracija, multikulturalizem.

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GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORIES IN SLOVENIA: DILEMMAS AND CONTRADICTIONS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to analyse the relationships among the different actors involved in educational trajectories in Slovenia, to understand their different perspectives, and to describe the constellations of factors of relevance, responsibility and support in students' educational trajectories. The research instruments are semi-structured interviews with different actors (students, parents, teachers, counsellors, experts). Since the 1970s, Slovenia has managed to strongly raise the educational level of especially disadvantaged groups of young people, such as women and children from socially weaker families and milieus. This kind of system has supported the social integration of disadvantaged, socially vulnerable and handicapped groups of young people. However, today and especially in the light of the increasingly serious economic and social crisis this system is under threat from both the outside and inside. Externally, it is threatened by the lack of financial and material resources, the neoliberal austerity policy and the weakening of the institutions of the welfare state; internally, it is weakened by the imbalance between key educational agents, students, parents, teachers and experts. While the external pressures are weakening the strength and position of schools as the key educational institutions, the internal pressures are diminishing the professional authority of teachers and their professional competencies.

Key words: relevance of education, educational aspirations, social integration, atypical educational transitions, self-responsibility, individualism

IL GOVERNAMENTO DELLE TRAIETTORIE EDUCATIVE IN SLOVENIA: DILEMMI E CONTRADDIZIONI

SINTESI

Lo scopo di questo articolo è quello di analizzare le relazioni tra i diversi attori coinvolti nelle traiettorie educative in Slovenia. L'articola aspira a capire le loro prospettive diverse, e di descrivere le costellazioni di fattori di pertinenza, responsabilità e sostegno nelle traiettorie educative degli studenti. Strumenti di ricerca sono interviste semi-strutturate con studenti, i loro genitori, insegnanti, consulenti ed esperti. Dal 1970 del secolo scorso la Slovenia è riuscita ad aumentare fortemente il livello di istruzione di gruppi svantaggiati in particolare di giovani, i bambini provenienti da famiglie socialmente più deboli. Questo tipo di sistema ha sostenuto l'integrazione sociale dei gruppi svantaggiati, socialmente vulnerabili e dei giovani portatori di handicap. Tuttavia, oggi e soprattutto alla luce della sempre più grave crisi economica e sociale, questo sistema è in pericolo, sia dall'esterno che all'interno. Esternamente è minacciata dalla mancanza di risorse finanziarie e materiali , la politica di austerità neoliberista e l'indebolimento delle istituzioni del welfare, internamente si è indebolito dallo squilibrio tra agenti chiave educativi, studenti, genitori, insegnanti ed esperti. Mentre le pressioni esterne stanno indebolendo la forza e la posizione delle scuole come istituzioni educative fondamentali, le pressioni interne indeboliscono l' autorità professionale degli insegnanti e le loro competenze professionali.

Parole chiave: la pertinenza dell'istruzione, aspirazioni educative, integrazione sociale, transizioni educative atipiche, auto-responsabilità , l'individualismo

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to analyse the relationships among the different actors involved in individual educational trajectories in Slovenia (students, teachers, parents, experts), to understand their different perspectives, and to describe the constellations of factors of relevance, responsibility and support in students' educational trajectories. The focus is on the educational period between the end of primary education and the early stages of secondary education, vocational education and training. Educational transitions from primary to secondary school are considered decisive as they considerably shape the future life courses of students. Safeguarding transitions to the next educational level is considered the most important task of primary school. The main research topic is the relationship between education and the life course and how this is connected to the process of social integration. In modern societies, individual lives have been standardised by institutionalising distinct life phases and the transitions between them (Walther et al., 2006).

The empirical and contextual data which this article and others in this thematic issue draw on were collected in various parts of the project Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe (GOETE – see www.goete.eu). While the participating countries included Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia and the UK, we focus here on Slovenia and Italy as Mediterranean countries with comprehensive education systems. In this article the analysis is based mainly on qualitative data obtained in semi-structured interviews with teachers, principals, internal and external experts, parents and students of our case study schools1 (Walther et al., 2010).

In European knowledge societies the adequacy of education means a balance of individual, social and economic aspects. This is operationalised by exploring how educational institutions conceptualise and organise individual educational trajectories (Walther et al., 2010). Whereas up until the end of the last century institutionalised *educational trajectories* were intended to prepare children for adulthood, and the phase of youth was understood as a kind of "educational moratorium" (Zinnecker, 1991), in the last 20 years we can speak of "new learning life courses" which extend over the whole life span and are no longer specially restricted only to youth (Chisholm, 2008). The ongoing differentiation and de-standardisation of life courses have extended the perspective of school learning towards *lifelong learning*. Accordingly, life courses are addressed as *lifelong educational trajectories* (Walther et al., 2010).

While education today has an ever more important role in the social integration of individuals, at the same time the contribution of education to social integration is no longer self-evident in the sense of providing individuals with meaningful and secure life chances, the economy with a well-prepared workforce and society with responsible and active citizens. While public and scientific debate in the past two decades has focused on lifelong learning, *school* education continues to be the formally institutionalised and certified backbone of lifelong learning careers (Walther et al., 2010). Success or failure in education is increasingly ascribed to individual decisions and performance. Apart from leading to unequal status positions, individual learning achievements are ever more related to inclusion or exclusion at each single transitional step within the education system (Furlong and Cartmel, 2006). Simultaneously, school failure is no longer only addressed in terms of social justice but increasingly also in terms of the costs of school failure (EC, 2008).

However, the adequacy of education is being questioned not just by the external factors but also through the dilemmas that emerge within schools (OECD, 2008). Teachers feel overburdened by societal challenges, which are perceived as 'invading' the school from the 'outside', such as poverty, violence and bullying, bad health and risky lifestyles of students (Peček Čuk and Lesar, 2011). Students' well-being is affected by stress, uncertainty, competition or alienation; parents often express a lack of satisfaction with education. Employers refer to the mismatch between school qualifications (lacking basic skills or key competencies) and labour market demands as reasons for not employing or training school leavers. All of this raises questions regarding the effectiveness of school education. It is no longer self-evident what makes skills and competencies relevant for social integration and for meaningful working and personal experiences (Robertson, 2009).

Education policies apparently often underestimate this complexity of education and educational transition by prioritising economic criteria over social criteria of quality, as a review of educational research suggests (Power 2007, 10). Especially the effects of intersecting inequalities require a shift from one-dimensional benchmarking approaches in terms of 'more' or additional education towards approaches to managing diversity with-

1 The qualitative field work was carried out in two phases, in spring and autumn 2011 (in the second phase in-depth interviews were carried out with ex-students who had already participated in the first phase) in three Slovenian primary schools located in three cities: Ljubljana, Koper and Murska Sobota. The research methods employed were semi-structured individual interviews, focus group discussions and unstructured observations. In total, 102 interviews and 12 focus groups with 135 individuals were carried out: 3 interviews with principals, 9 interviews and 3 focus groups with teachers, 12 interviews with internal (school) experts, 15 interviews with external (local) experts, 28 interviews and 9 focus group with students, 18 interviews with parents and 17 interviews with ex-students. For detailed information about the sampling, data collection and analysis methods, sample characteristics and research instruments, see Ule et al., 2012 (Slovenia) and du Bois-Reymond et al., 2012 (comparative perspective).

in mainstream education: a diversity of strengths and weaknesses, of learning rhythms and speeds, of available support, of individual learning biographies across formal, non-formal and informal learning contexts. "In recent years there have been concerns that its national education systems are insufficiently flexible to respond to contemporary challenges" (Power, 2007, 4).

These circumstances are a challenge for both students, who seek their own way to adulthood, as well as for the main agents of education and transitions to adulthood (parents, teachers, peers, advisers, experts etc.). The question is how these agents should act as a medium for the individualised socialisation of young people, for instance beyond stereotypical conceptions about age, gender, family or school roles, and still provide significant support for young people in their educational decisions and achievements.

MAIN TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS OF EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORIES IN SLOVENIA

In comparison with the other EU member states, the position of young people in Slovenia in terms of educational opportunities is relatively favourable. This assessment is chiefly based on the large share of young people who are integrated into the education system and the large share of those, who after completing compulsory education, obtain at least basic qualifications. In Slovenia compulsory education starts at the age of 6 and lasts for 9 years. After completing the 9-year compulsory programme a student selects a secondary school. This decision is, in principle, voluntary. The choice is, however, restricted by the number of places available. Access to general schools seems to be satisfactorily regulated. In the last five years, approximately 95% of students in primary education (aged 6–15) finished school. There are no data on the remaining 5% of children (Kobolt et al., 2010). The transition from compulsory to secondary education is regulated at the national level through the national joint application system. It is estimated that in 2011/12 all students who had completed basic school continued their education at the secondary level, i.e. 41% opted for grammar schools, 39% for technical and 20% for vocational schools (SORS, 2012). In secondary education the drop-out rate is between 6–10%. The most important objectives of secondary education in Slovenia are: to provide all residents with opportunities to acquire the ISCED 3 level of education; to enable all residents to acquire the highest level of education possible while maintaining high standards of knowledge; to increase the creativity of the greatest possible number of residents; and to foster the development of society (Kobolt et al., 2010).

Available data on enrolments in all levels of education show a high level of inclusion in education, which is also a result of governmental policy on state grants for education (Kobolt et al., 2010). However, some research studies, such as for example the research "Life of young immigrants of the second generation in Ljubljana" (Dekleva and Razpotnik, 2002), show that students who do not identify themselves as Slovenians (in most cases as another ethnic group from ex-Yugoslavia) more often than the rest enrol in lower, less demanding two- or three-year programmes and significantly less in gymnasiums. The same is true for those with a low family socio-economic status. Of course, this information is not available through official statistics since data about ethnic origin are not gathered. The data suggest (Dekleva and Razpotnik, 2002) that the stratification regarding the demands of schools taking the socio-economic status (SES) of students into account is obvious: less demanding schools have statistically significantly more students with a lower SES, and students with a higher SES are significantly more often enrolled in more demanding schools, which promise better future social positions.

All students who have completed a general secondary or vocational secondary education programme and passed the final 'matura' examination may enrol in tertiary education programmes (academic, professional or higher vocational programmes). In the 2011/12 academic year, the share of students who enrolled in post-secondary, professional and university courses amounted to somewhat more than 42% of the generation aged 19 to 26, and somewhat less than 35% of the generation aged 19 to 27. More than 72% of all students were full-time students (SORS, 2012). In this regard, Slovenia displays similar trends as the whole of Europe: there is a general trend (demand) to participate in education also on tertiary levels, and the number of enrolled students is growing on a yearly basis. The result of this is the exceptionally high enrolment levels in gymnasiums. A gymnasium is a general upper secondary school, which subsequently offers the easiest entry to universities. As one policy expert at the national level stated:

> *the wish to enrol in a gymnasium is produced already by the value system in society… Parents simply have a negative attitude to physical work, crafting knowledge, skills. … And of course, in children, in these growing-up persons, this works, they assume this logic. This is the way tertiary education is increasingly seen as a goal, where a gymnasium needs to be skied through to get there* (National policy expert, 10).

Enrolment in gymnasiums can also be understood as a sort of 'non-decision' regarding a specific educational programme since in this way students keep opportunities open for their future education and also 'gain time' to make a choice on their future vocation/career. Thus, enrolment in gymnasiums is considered the 'safest' transition because all opportunities for a future career remain open to students, while this is not considered the case when enrolling in technical and especially vocational schools (Vezovnik, 2013).

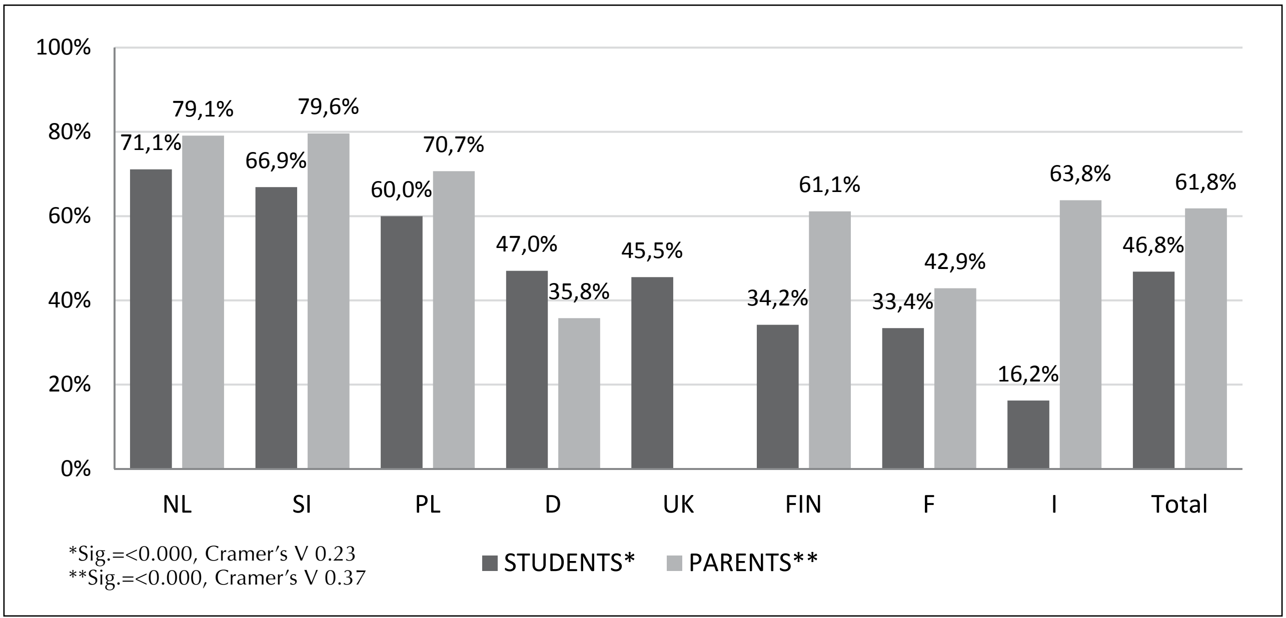


Figure 1: Proportions of students expecting to achieve a tertiary education and proportions of parents wanting their children to achieve the tertiary level of education (country[2])
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As far as the perceptions of the experts are considered, they also understand the high enrolment levels in gymnasiums as a certain time postponement, "a refuge", because the students do not have explicit ideas and desires for the future either because they are too young or have yet to recognise their own desires and what they enjoy. For example:

> *This is precisely why so many students go to a grammar school – this is to postpone a decision for four more years* (KP-experts-interview-pedagogue).

This trend towards the majority enrolling in non-vocational general education programmes in Slovenia can also be attributed to the high aspirations of parents who see education as the most important factor in their child's life success. As we have established by quantitative research on students and parents, educational aspirations in all countries are very high. In the overall sample of the GOETE research, 46.8% of students and 61.8% of parents expect students to achieve the tertiary level of education (McDowell et al., 2012). However, parents' educational aspirations are the highest precisely in Slovenia, where 79.6% of surveyed parents wish their children to attain the tertiary level of education.

The discrepancy between the students' and parents' aspirations is around 10–15 percentage points in the majority of countries, while it is clearly the biggest in Italy at 47.6 percentage points. The aspirations of students are also very high in Slovenia, which indicates that children have strongly internalised the aspirations and wishes of their parents. This also means that parents have a strong influence on their child's educational trajectory. For example, as one student stated:

> *I would really like to be a photographer, but my parents won't let me, saying that this school is not good enough, the salary and this vocation. ... We had a discussion one day and we came to this conclusion (that this school is not ok for her). … I was thinking a lot and then decided that they (her parents) are right about that* (KP-interview--student-Zvezdica).

Further, one of the primary concerns held by both parents and students are limitations regarding enrolment: notably, not so much about whether the child will manage the selected educational programme, but whether they will be able to enrol in it or not. Consequently, figuring out how to enrol in the chosen programme and

2 The figure is based on the quantitative survey data with students and parents collected in eight countries (Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia and the UK). To ensure equivalence in the national samples' data structure for the purpose of the statistical analysis, the data were weighted according to the country sample size and the national school sample distribution; UK parental data were excluded following a consideration of the small and biased sample. The weighted samples include 6,390 students and 3,290 parents. For detailed information about the survey, sampling, data collection and analysis methods, and sample characteristics, see McDowell et al., 2012.

how to collect enough points thus proved to be the main preoccupation of all actors involved in the educational process: students, parents and teachers. The experts report that many children "overestimate" themselves and thus feel the consequences of these decisions later in life. One principal reflected on this:

> *And this is also evident in enrolment in secondary schools, when they overestimate themselves and the parents unfortunately also support this somehow and we find almost all of them and tell them in a friendly manner that they will be disappointed… /…/ Yes, concretely, this year 18 children enrolled in gymnasium and more than half had overestimated themselves* (MS-experts-interview-principal).

One of the consequences is that many students find out that gymnasium is too demanding for them and they therefore either drop out or try very hard and end up with a general education with no profession and no real options for furthering their education at the tertiary level. These kinds of transitions may be considered <u>unsuccessful transitions</u> (Ule et al., 2012).

Moreover, deriving from the above stated assumptions of normality and reflecting on the most desired educational transitions, we can say that these days <u>atypical transitions</u> in Slovenia are all transitions to vocational schools with a 3- or 2-year programme.

> *Fifteen to twenty years ago, children were happy and proud to enrol in vocational schools. And not because they were unsuccessful, but because certain vocations were already present in their families. Today, only unsuccessful students enrol in vocational schools. Therefore, it is happening, what is happening is that 75% of children go to a gymnasium* (KP-experts-interview-principal).

There are many reasons why vocational schools became so unpopular, among which the small selection of programmes in vocational and technical schools as well as their low status in society in general are the most prominent. This is related to the expected low income of vocational jobs, the low cultural and social capital of students enrolled in vocational schools and, moreover, the general perception that associates these schools with more violence, vandalism, alcohol and drug abuse.

> *We need the best teachers for vocational schools, who would also have to be additionally financially motivated, like they are for example in Scandinavia* (National policy expert, 10).

Considering the low evaluation of certain vocational levels we can assume that the choice of secondary schools is based on a negative selection. Lower vocational schools are chosen by students with a lower school performance and lower social markers, maybe even to a greater extent among citizens whose mother tongue is not Slovenian and, finally, persons with special needs, or lower intellectual and learning abilities. In addition, children of economic immigrants 'fill classes' in less demanding, vocational secondary schools.

Another <u>atypical transition</u> in the Slovenian case is the absence of a transition to secondary school – a specific characteristic of the Slovenian education system is that virtually everybody is included in secondary education. However, this does not mean that all students also finish the secondary level of education as the drop-out rate is between 6–10%.

TEACHERS' VIEWS ON EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The main actor of changes in the education field in Slovenia is the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport. The consequence of this kind of top-down approach is the formation of such frameworks for the functioning of schools that do not allow the flexibility of schools and teachers that could be derived from their own experience and perspective. All local schools depend entirely on the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport and on the local communities that provide some of the financial support for the schools.

Teachers had many complaints about school reforms which in their opinion are too many and too often. They change the good and the bad things, and often with no insight about the long-term consequences and no knowledge of the agency of the school system in practice (Peček Čuk and Lesar, 2011). In sum, the teachers' most frequent critiques of the education system were: the fast, unnecessary and premature reforms in the field of primary school education; the top-down approach to policy making; the complete detachment of governmental policy makers from everyday school life and practices; politically charged reforms, especially when it comes to planning enrolments in vocational schools vs. gymnasiums and when adopting new reforms as such.

> *I think that a very crucial reform would be the one about which the policies speak of the least. They always speak about structural reforms. That is, about how to remodel the whole system, how to make different ratios between vocational and professional education, between general and vocational education… But I think that it would be very urgent to reform the process of teaching itself. That is, the process that takes place in the classrooms… I think it is essential how to motivate the students so that they would work, not in a way that they would learn by heart in torment, but that they would understand that learning can be something great* (National policy expert, 7).

Further, teachers are having difficulties keeping track of all these changes as they have to adapt their work all the time. Teachers believe that they are left out of the decision-making process on reforming since decisions are taken at the national, high institutional level, often without asking for their opinion (Peček Čuk and Lesar, 2011). This means going without the opinion of those who are actually doing the job in practice.

But the laws are written in such a way that without parental consent you cannot do anything. Not even a transition from one level of difficulty to another; I cannot even do this as a teacher, who nevertheless knows [the child] more, because I follow him in the subject course so I can direct him so that the student could feel better, if he would at least get some praise […] I can only advise, the parents have the final say (MS-teachers-interview-class teacher-English).

Teachers also feel that their autonomy is partially taken away by parents who frequently interfer with the school, making criticisms of and demands on schools. In their opinion, this pressure comes from the parents'/students' 'rights and duties' adopted on the governmental level and consequently implemented in schools.

The school has, the teacher does not have free hands, he is not allowed to do anything. The students know they have only rights, about their duties, some are good students, they know, the rest: they cannot suffer any consequences (MS-teachers-interview-class teacher-English).

Moreover, according to several principals and teachers, the teacher training is also insufficient for the good functioning of the educational process. Especially young and newcomer teachers lack practical experience. Teachers frequently reported having a lack of knowledge, especially when dealing with disadvantaged students, or students with behavioural problems. In their opinion, the problem is that they learn the practical level of teaching only when they already start working as a teacher. This often leads to various problems (educational, conflicts in class etc.) since teachers are incapable of efficiently solving such problems in the classroom.

Teachers feel frustrated by the education system that is in place. In their opinion, students are under too much psychological and time pressure. Teachers also find the system of learning is based too much on 'factographic' knowledge that tends to be quickly forgotten. One of the reasons for this is the lack of interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary connections among different subjects taught at school. Some experts and teachers claim that knowledge is no longer "what is was before", that there is a fierce competition for titles, diplomas and grades, which means that knowledge today is often considered as a means to achieve something else (career, status, money) and is no longer a value in itself.

If I compare previous generations with this one, I can see that … this generation is empty, without values. This is a mistake on our part, on the part of society, and I'm sorry for this. They [students] don't have ideas anymore, no enthusiasm, and I don't really know where they can get that. … It's hard to get motivation after what's going on in society (KP-teachers-interview-class teacher-arts).

Teachers believe that the main task of primary schools is to provide knowledge, to prepare students for further education and especially in relation to transitions, to inform and advise students. They believe the role of the school is to teach students how to search for information and how to differentiate between quality and non-quality information; teachers also pointed out that the role of upbringing is mainly kept in the background of the tasks.

We are especially short of time given that we also have other obligations besides teaching in class. We do a lot for this but it's never like there's nothing more to be done. Therefore, we could do absolutely more for these children. And the differences will probably become even greater (LJ-interview-teacher-teaching foreign students Slovenian language).

In general, the teachers feel powerless in front of the systemic changes to education and the growing impact of parents. However, when trying to suggest solutions based on their practical and professional knowledge they seem to be ignored by policy makers.

Well, it is the culture of silence, when the teachers do not wish to expose themselves… This is essentially also a reflection of what is going on in a society; when somebody points to a problem, the usual story is to 'kill the messenger of bad news', not solving the problem. 'I will not interfere' is a very serious problem because it is becoming increasingly problematic in Slovenian education (National policy expert, 10).

THE ROLE OF SCHOOL EXPERTS IN STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL DECISION MAKING

One of the most striking findings of the empirical research is the fact that counsellors and experts in Slovenian schools only play a minor role in the decision-making processes of educational transitions, despite the well-established and wide network of counselling ex-

perts working in and outside schools (Ule et al., 2012). Namely, in primary schools and in institutions related to schools several experts are available whose duties include counselling on how to choose a proper education/vocation. Yet, as our research has shown, they have virtually no real influence since students and parents do not avail themselves of their services.

Despite all of the professional knowledge that is available, these important choices are decided within the shelter of the home. Many experts state that the role of the family and parents here is very strong. Some contend that the influence of parents is even too big as students rely considerably more on their opinion and guidance than on those of experts who are trained to advise on transitions. They also report that the influence of experts on these decisions has been decreasing in recent years.

> *I'm afraid there is no counselling for development, for transitions, for planning of the school career… Because this is, because it is considered as part of the job, counselling services in primary and secondary schools, this is a reason why this is so, because this is not performed by teachers, but by counselling workers* (National policy expert, 11).

Regarding transitional support, students mostly have experience of a vocational test they are all involved in and possibly feedback given on its basis, but they rarely look for more support regarding their transitions from supporting professionals. They mention external professionals even more rarely. School experts mainly see their task as supporting students in their transitions and informing students about their possibilities and options. They feel their role in the transition process is not important enough and not really decisive in students' transitions to secondary schools. The school experts notice that parents have a bigger impact on students' decisions than they used to have in the past and are quite critical of this fact. They believe it is the other side of the passivation of students:

> *Counselling takes part [in school], but our role here is not so important any more, the parents' role has become more important. Parents have become so strong and ambitious for their children that they do not allow the school to suggest something. So, here we have loosened up, but it was the only way for us* (MS-experts-interview--principal assistant).

Thus, the empirical findings show that parents are the first people students rely on or would rely on in the case of problems at school (Žakelj et al, 2013). The next important groups on which students would rely in the case of school or other problems are friends and siblings. Finally, teachers (mainly class teachers) are also perceived as those on whom one can rely when they have problems. However, this does not imply trust in school personnel in general as at the same time there is a low level of trust in school experts. They are not perceived as trustworthy in this respect (students gave some examples about cases where they had entrusted some problems to school experts but when they saw that nothing happened, they felt no support but accusations etc.). It seems that students rely on those agents with whom an intimacy level that enables trust is achieved. As one of the national experts pointed out in an interview:

> *The school staff has to be available to children… It is also difficult to expect that a child would come and say like an adult person that he or she would like to make an appointment at 15:15. The child will come if he or she knows that the teacher or experts has a free hour and if they are also otherwise responsive, emphatic. In short, this kind of help, which a child, a teenager or even a younger child could use, does not exist* (National policy expert, 11).

Views of students and parents on school and educational transitions

One of the most unanimous findings of the qualitative empirical research is the *great importance and its obviousness* of education for students and parents. The majority of surveyed students and parents thus agree that education is very important for the future lives of students. Nevertheless, there are different specific reasons for the relevance of education; while some are more personal (identity, happiness), others are more socio-economic (employment, socio-economic status status) (Živoder, 2011).

For example, many students believe that education brings a special identity or social status because being well versed or having good knowledge about different things is considered to be a value, an attribute of personal self-image, for example: *"Education is very important because without it you are nothing"* (LJ-students-interview-Matej).

Further, a good education is considered by some students as a sort of precondition for having a happy, fulfilled life. They emphasise it is crucial to enjoy your work and that work should be more than just earning money.

> *Well, to me it seems veeeery important, right. Considering the influences on your life, right… for example, on how you feel in your vocation and if you have enough money, you can buy whatever you want and you are happy…* (KP-students-interview-Andrej).

Students and their parents also believe that education will bring them opportunities to be able to choose

the desired vocation which they will enjoy, instead of *being chosen* by the labour market and doing the jobs that are available/offered. They believe that education is important chiefly because it offers a better starting position in the labour market and/or consequently a better economic position in general. Students and parents often think that, without education, it is simply impossible to get a job. Education is also understood as a means to become (economically) independent. Yet, especially in the light of the current employment crisis in Slovenia (a high youth unemployment rate, among whom many have a high education), respondents are aware that education is the basis, but not a guarantee for secure employment or success in life. For example:

> *Yes, very, there are more people who are without a job and so I think it is important that you finish at least university so that you then have more possibilities, because I think that with secondary school you have no possibilities for a job. At least if you want to have a good job* (MS-students-interview-Klara).

The majority of students are generally very satisfied with their school so the school itself was not often a subject of criticism by either students or parents. More often criticised were teachers and their "unfairness". Some teachers were also criticised because they do not treat students equally and sometimes because they are not prepared for the lessons. Students often complained about being overburdened with school demands. They spoke about great pressures experienced in school and about the overload of study material. They have a lot of activities after school, they are lacking leisure time (some even sleep), they lack time to meet all their responsibilities. There is an all-present use of having special private lessons at home, to help with school work and learning.

Regarding the curriculum, students mainly complained about the lack of practical subjects (which would prepare them for work and life), they believed that school gives them too much theoretical knowledge which they do not find useful. It therefore seems that the education system is unable to satisfy the present and immediate needs of students as they feel schools are excessively focused on the quantity and amount of knowledge instead of its depth or the compatibility of study materials with an individual child and their interest in it (Ule et al., 2012). Thus, they feel that the existing education system does not allow them to develop their 'natural' abilities, interests and inclinations.

Another of the more often expressed complaints was the lack of community; many students believe there is too much individualism in schools (everybody takes care of themselves first and foremost) and express a wish that students would be more connected in class and that a class should be more like a community.

> *Well, I can't really remember [about the problems in everyday school life], but my biggest problem was that they [classmates] didn't accept me, and then if I miss school, e.g. I'm sick, and then when I come to school and ask for notebooks, nobody will lend them to me; but it's not just me – everybody is so competitive in our class* (LJ-students-interview-Metka).

In general, the students also pointed out that teachers prefer to use negative sanctions than positive ones which in their opinion leads students to lose their self-confidence:

> *Sometimes it seems to me that teachers are too, they tend to bring down our self-confidence, you are not good, you do not study enough, you will not succeed in life, sometimes even if we do some little thing well, they should praise us, so we could get a... / ... / Inspiration to continue trying, but not if they are always humiliating us we cannot be golden sunshine* (MS-Students-focus group-girls, Patricia).

On the systemic level, they are critical of school rules that are constantly changing. Parental critiques mostly address ability grouping as a teaching method. In their opinion, differentiation leads to individualism instead of building a group spirit and to social differentiation among students.

> … *Well, now they are jealous, they watch if they are overtaking you, they don't give you notes to make a copy, they look as if they would throw you completely on the ground. I mean, it is not how it used to be, then you were a classmate, I mean, all these and friends… For example, then the classmate came and asked you things, such as if you were at home ill, gave you her notes, now this is no longer so* (LJ-parents-interview-mother-child with special needs).

Similarly to the students, the parents also think that teachers appear to be focusing on the lack of knowledge instead of searching for knowledge. However, the parents also think teachers should have more authority in class but, at the same time, they see the school as too demanding and time-consuming, which is why they have to hire and pay for extra teaching lessons. They think students are burdened with too much information, frequently factographic knowledge. They report the lack of in-depth knowledge and classrooms that are too big, not allowing teachers to work with students individually.

Even though the teachers do not see certain ethnic groups as being marginalised or having fewer possibilities for educational success, the students themselves report they feel they are not being treated equally, es-

pecially when marks are in question. Roma students, immigrants and those with lower marks mainly report this issue.

> *For nine years I have been attending this school, I feel all right here, just some teachers are rude to us. They behave in a different way to others than to us [note: Roma students]. And concerning school marks too* (MS-students-focus-group-Roma-students-Rihana).

CONCLUSIONS

Since the 1970s Slovenia has managed to strongly raise the educational level of especially disadvantaged groups of young people, such as women and children from socially weaker families and milieus. This was made possible by the introduction of the extended network of schools and an inclusive educational policy (Krek, Metljak, 2011). However, today and especially in the light of the increasingly serious economic and social crisis, this system is under threat from both the outside and inside. Externally, it is threatened by the lack of financial and material resources, the neoliberal austerity policy and the weakening of the institutions of the welfare state; internally, it is weakened by the imbalance between key educational agents, students, parents, teachers and experts. While the external pressures are diminishing the strength and position of schools as key educational institutions, the internal pressures are weakening the professional authority of teachers and their professional competencies.

Through the analysis of the interviews with all key agents in the educational process, i.e. national policy experts, teachers, parents and students, we have found a number of dilemmas and contradictions both in the educational trajectories as well as in the roles of each of these actors engaged in the process. Among all the reference groups we interviewed, one issue was very strong, namely they all agree that education is regarded as very important for students' life courses. An international comparison reveals that the aspirations of parents and children in Slovenia are among the highest in Europe. One of the most important reasons for this that we can highlight in this respect is education's perceived high level of importance and influence on the life chances of individuals and, conversely, the lack of alternative options which would enable satisfactory or propulsive positions to be reached in society (Ule et al., 2012). Nevertheless, these different actors have diverse views on how students should achieve a good education and how young people should be motivated to meet school requirements.

The dominant discourse regarding the role of the school in students' transitions is to offer all the necessary information and to provide good career advice. Experts, teachers, parents and sometimes even students themselves pointed out that at the end of basic school they are still too young to make such important life decisions. This discourse about students being too young to make informed decisions about their life is in fierce contradiction with the expectation of experts, teachers and parents that students will manage their educational transitions with a high level of awareness, self-responsibility and commitment. These differences raise occasional conflicts among agents, for instance between teachers (schools) and parents or students regarding teaching methods and demands.

Another important finding is that there is a prevailing and underlying conviction in Slovenia that the general education offered by gymnasiums is by far a better foundation for a future vocational career and life path than a specialised and concrete vocational education. In recent years this has led to the hyperextension of gymnasiums and to the neglect of vocational secondary education. What is more, most students do not have clear wishes about their future vocation and experience difficulties when choosing, yet these difficulties are not always recognised as such, or are even not 'conscious'. Students thus enrol in gymnasiums precisely because they wish to gain some time in order to get to know themselves better over the next four years, to define their wishes more clearly, to acquire sufficient information and wisdom to be able to take this important decision in the following years. Yet, when many of these students come to gymnasiums they often realise that the level of education is too demanding and they can hardly manage the workload. This leads such students to either put in even more effort to meet the minimum standards or to transfer to another school or, in some cases, to even drop out of school. Any of these scenarios can negatively affect their self-image, their identity; they might feel inadequate, not smart enough.

Another important finding of the research is that teachers feel vulnerable in their professional competence from two sides, on one hand because of the increasingly informed and interested parents and, on the other, because of the education and school policy which often plans, designs and implements changes to the education system without the input of teachers. As we have seen, in the last few decades the Slovenian education system has undergone many reforms whose primary goal was to improve the quality of the education. Although many positive effects have indeed been achieved, a distinctive negative aspect of these positive efforts is the mainly top-down approach to reforming the system and the schools, the growing bureaucratisation of the school system, together with the excessive emphasis on knowledge as the key achievement of education, and the side-lining of experience-based learning which in this period has primarily become a family duty (Kobolt and Rapuš Pavel, 2010).

Further, another common view found in all the respondent groups is that of the individual responsibility of students (and their parents) for their school performance, success and consequently also for their access

to education and later employment. The teachers, experts and students seem to use the discourse of 'individual responsibility' in quite a harmonious way. The topic of individual responsibility (of students and their families) and the emphasis placed on their internal motivation results in overlooking the structural causes of inequalities in success, transitions and prospects. Individualism in terms of self-responsibility is visible in how students and parents cope with everyday school life and achievements, such as good grades, learning difficulties and similar (Mencin Čeplak, 2012).

The individualistic and familialistic orientation leads to another characteristic that was found in our study, namely that there is a lack of solidarity among students in school. It seems that school is not an environment where students are encouraged to cooperate with and help each other, which is especially seen in competitiveness and a lack of willingness to help and support classmates. Students from de-privileged groups in particular lack such support. This is particularly important for further discussions as the school seems to be an ideal social environment that could, in the everyday life of young people, provide 'competition' to the over-emphasised parental support and influence, offering students a way out of parental control on their way to personal autonomy, and could at the same time, by promoting peer cooperation and solidarity, be some sort of a buffer zone that could alleviate the negative effects of individualism and prepare students to cope with them successfully. According to our study, it seems that the situation is in fact the opposite. Instead, we face a wide gap between the school and its strategies in coping with the educational (and life) demands of students on one side and students and parents on the other who do not trust the school and strive to find their own strategies for coping with such demands and problems.

Thus, we can say there is an overlap of two essentially different ideological discourses in the contemporary education field in Slovenia: on one hand, the discourse of equal opportunities or social integration, and the discourse of individualisation and personal responsibility for educational trajectories on the other. While the first discourse is mainly part of the official policy, the second is part of the hidden curriculum which is present in both the consciousness of students and parents as well as teachers and experts. The contradiction between these two discourses produces misunderstandings and problems in the interactions between different actors. The discourse on individualism is increasingly shifting the burden for societies' social and economic reproduction on to the shoulders of individuals: students and their parents. The particular ways in which the redistribution of property has been occurring over the past two decades have also considerably increased the differences in the starting positions of young people who are becoming ever more dependent on family capital, support and familial social networks.

Jeremy Rifkin ascertains that in the process of economic liberalisation many of the substantial social rights have been replaced by rights of "access" (Rifkin, 2000). This trend has been caused by both neoliberal interests as well as the diminishing power of national welfare states. It seems as if the increased globalisation and the greater complexity of self-responsibility in the activation and policy of lifelong learning are an expression of the embarrassment of state institutions that are no longer capable of assuring their sovereignty in the form of the social inclusion of their citizens. Within such a framework, the right to equal and universal access of all people to various educational levels is manifested as a moment of individual choice regarding one's own life and career path, which does not assure the social integration of individuals. It is true that in the real circumstances of the labour market and capital distribution, the individual includes, engages and enters into various forms of socio-economic relations but hardly, if ever, reaches a more permanent and stable social role. In the transition countries with a weak economic basis and feeble democratic tradition, such as Slovenia, these forms of uncertainties affect young people from socially deprived groups and environments the most. These are the young people who most often 'choose' non-prosperous and or socially stigmatised educational and vocational paths. However, the rest of the young generation, who choose educational paths with supposedly greater prospects, often also cannot 'find themselves' in their school achievements and certificates, but lean on random and often only temporary opportunities for self-confirmation. Thus, in these cases, the education system as an institution for the social integration of young generations is turning into an institution of social segregation.

Otherwise, a positive trend of the democratisation of education, i.e. to enable each citizen to attain an education that matches their abilities, has today transformed into something else. Mass education in Slovenia has become an open path whose chief negative consequence is the lowering of the quality of knowledge, particularly at the higher levels of education. This means that the finishing of an educational level, as visible through school-leaving certificates and diplomas, no longer holds the value it once had. When these certificates and diplomas are produced, the key decisions about employment are transferred to employers. What was previously one of the roles of the school, i.e. to limit the arbitrariness of employers, is now slowly vanishing and the school more or less only performs its negative function of selection; namely, without the school-leaving certificate an individual can neither continue education nor become employed. With so much decision-making power and choice, employers are in a way reducing the value of education and hold much greater power in determining working and payment conditions. This leads to the so-called freedom of the servant; that is the freedom of someone who depends on the good or bad will of a person who decides about their individual destiny. All of this puts young people who are finishing their education in fully subordinate positions.

UPRAVLJANJE Z IZOBRAŽEVALNIMI POTEKI V SLOVENIJI: DILEME IN PROTISLOVJA

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POVZETEK

V Evropskih družbah znanja ustreznost izobraževanja pomeni ravnotežje med individualnimi, socialnimi in ekonomskimi aspekti izobraževanja. To lahko operacionaliziramo v vprašanje, kako različni akterji izobraževalnega procesa konceptualizirajo in organizirajo individualne izobraževalne poteke šolarjev. Namen članka je analizirati razmerja med različnimi akterji vključenimi v izobraževalne poteke v Sloveniji, razumeti njihove različne perspektive in ugotavljati porazdelitev aspiracij, odgovornosti in podpor v izobraževalnih potekih šolarjev. Ključno raziskovalno vprašanje, s pomočjo katerega bomo analizirali podatke, je: kaj različni akterji menijo o pomenu izobraževanja; kakšni so pogledi in izkušnje različnih akterjev na prehode v izobraževalnih potekih. Raziskovalna metoda so polstrukturirani intervjuji z različnimi akterji (učenci, starši, učitelji, svetovalci, eksperti). Skozi analizo intervjujev z vsemi bistvenimi akterji v izobraževalnem procesu: eksperti na nacionalni ravni in lokalni ravni, učitelji, starši in učenci, smo ugotovili vrsto dilem in protislovij v odnosu do izobraževalnih potekov pa tudi do vloge posameznih akterjev v tem procesu. Vsi akterji, ki smo jih intervjuirali, so si bili enotni v eni točki, da je izobraževanje zelo pomembno za življenjski potek učencev. Mednarodna primerjava pokaže, da so aspiracije staršev in otrok v Sloveniji med najvišjimi v Evropi. Obstaja vrsta razlogov za to. Najpomembnejši je pomembnost izobraževanja in vpliv izobraževanja na življenjske priložnosti šolarjev ter pomanjkanje alternativnih možnosti,ki bi šolarjem omogočale doseči zadovoljive in stabilne položaje v družbi. Vendar se akterji razlikujejo glede tega, kako naj šolarji dosežejo čim boljšo izobrazbo, predvsem kako motivirati mlade za izpolnjevanje šolskih zahtev. Kar je sicer bil pozitiven trend demokratizacije šolstva, se pravi vsakemu državljanu ali državljanki omogočiti šolsko izobrazbo, ki ustreza njegovim sposobnostim, je danes prešlo v nekaj drugega. Ugotovili smo, da s tem, ko šola producira ogromno število spričeval, diplom, omogoča, da se ključne odločitve glede zaposlitev prenašajo na zaposlovalce. To, kar je včasih bila vloga šole, da je omejila samovoljo zaposlovalcev, to funkcijo počasi šola izgublja. Opravlja le bolj ali manj negativno funkcijo selekcije; brez spričevala, diplome posameznik ne more niti nadaljevati šolanja, niti se zaposliti, vendar diploma me odloča o tem, ali bo zaposlitev dobil ali ne.

Ključne besede: pomen izobraževanja, izobraževalne aspiracije, socialno integracija, atipični izobraževalni poteki, samo-odgovornost, individualizacija

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CHILDREN WHOSE FIRST LANGUAGE IS NOT SLOVENIAN IN THE SLOVENIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NORMALISATION

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents an analysis of discourses on children whose first language is not Slovenian and their integration into Slovenian primary schools. The research is based on a critical discourse analysis of in-depth interviews and focus groups conducted in 2011 with primary school teachers, local experts and high-level government experts in two Slovenian towns – Koper and Ljubljana. The paper shows how the lack of language proficiency of children whose first language is not Slovenian becomes constructed as a problem within specific regimes of truth. The paper claims that inclusion through language works as a governmental technique where language proficiency represents a symbolic threshold for the cultural and social integration of children whose first language is not Slovenian. This preconditions their acceptance in the hegemonic culture and society. Therefore, the paper shows how policy, experts and teachers declaratively aim for the democratic inclusion of children whose first language is not Slovenian in Slovenian schools, but at the same time they reproduce ethnocentric arguments creating an assimilationist discourse.

Key words: immigration, children whose first language is not Slovenian language, problematisation, governmentality, education

ALLIEVI SCOLASTICI LA CUI PRIMA LINGUA NO È SLOVENO NELL SISTEMA D'EDUCAZIONE SLOVENO: UN'ANALISI CRITICA DELLA NORMALIZZAZIONE

SINTESI

l'articolo presenta un'analisi dei discorsi sui allievi scolastici la cui prima lingua non è sloveno e la loro integrazione nelle scuole elementari slovene. La ricerca si basa sull'analisi del discorso critico di interviste e focus groups condotti nel 2011 con gli insegnanti della scuola primaria, esperti locali, ed esperti al livello governativo in due città slovene - Capodistria e Lubiana. Il documento mostra come la mancanza di conoscenza della lingua dei allievi la cui prima lingua non è slovena diventa costruito come un problema all'interno di specifici regimi di verità. l'articolo sostiene che l'inclusione attraverso il linguaggio funziona come una tecnica governativa dello stato in cui le conoscenze linguistiche rappresentano una soglia simbolica per l'integrazione culturale e sociale dei allievi la cui prima lingua non è slovena. Questo precondiziona la loro accettazione nella cultura egemone e nella società. Pertanto, l'articolo mostra come discorsi politici, esperti e insegnanti all livello dichiarativo mirano alla inclusione democratica dei allievi la cui prima lingua non è slovena nelle scuole slovene, ma allo stesso tempo riproducono argomenti etnocentrichi creando un discorso assimilazionista.

Parole chiave: Immigrazione, allievi la cui prima lingua non è slovena, linguaggio, problematizzazione, governamentalità, educazone

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960s, Slovenia has been a land of immigration. Nowadays almost 417,000 residents of Slovenia (one in five) are first-, second- or third-generation immigrants. More than half of all immigrants are first--generation immigrants, i.e. people whose first residence was outside Slovenia (Razpotnik, 2012). The second and third generations of immigrants were born in Slovenia but have at least one parent or grandparent whose first residence was abroad. In terms of legal status, immigrants and their children might or might not have Slovenian citizenship and/or a permanent residence permit. Immigrants and their children are also considered to hold special statuses – those with temporary protection, asylum seekers or refugees. Irrespective of which category immigrant children belong to, they are all children whose first language is not Slovenian (henceforth CwFLnS).

The majority of immigrants in Slovenia are people with ethnic origins in other (ex-)Yugoslav republics. Although Slovenia's attainment of independence in 1991 saw the introduction of several discriminatory laws[1] that eroded the rights and benefits of ex-Yugoslavs living in Slovenia, immigration rates from former Yugoslav republics have stayed almost the same, with a peak in the early 1980s and the largest growth occurring between 2000 and 2009. For instance, in 2006 ex-Yugoslav immigrants represented around 88 percent of the entire immigrant population (Ilić et al., 2008, 59).

In 2012 almost 417,000 inhabitants of Slovenia were immigrants, mostly male, manual low-skilled workers. While economic immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia still constitute the lion's share of the immigrant population, newcomers also include other nationalities, e.g. Russian, Albanian, Ukrainian, Chinese, Moldavian[2] etc. (Dolenc et al., 2013, 21). The stronger flow of immigrants in the last decade has been a consequence of favourable economic conditions, Slovenia's entry to the EU, and the process of family reunification – the secondary migration of family members of immigrants already living in Slovenia (Dolenc and Šter, 2011).

The Slovenian census from 2002 showed that 14.6 percent of adolescents aged under 15 did not declare themselves to be Slovenians, but some other nationality or they did not specify their nationality (Medvešek, 2006, 125). According to Slovenian legislation on education, immigrant children have the right to attain a primary school education on the same conditions as Slovenian children[3]. Although this right is formalised and implemented, immigrant children remain perceived as ethnically and culturally different from the majority population of Slovenian pupils in schools and are therefore frequently discriminated against by teachers and schoolmates (Skubic Ermenc, 2006).

Another reason for their disadvantaged position is the lack of language proficiency that becomes a problem once CwFLnS enter educational institutions. Language proficiency appears to be a problem for schools, experts as well as CwFLnS themselves. While language barriers most commonly overlap with ethnicity, scarce socio-economic resources, class, gender etc., the inequalities between CwFLnS and Slovenian pupils are becoming reinforced (Skubic Ermenc, 2006). Razpotnik (2011) states that exclusion in the education system even negatively influences the individual learning achievements of CwFLnS. Therefore, CwFLnS are considered a disadvantaged group in the Slovenian education system (Barle Lakota et al., 2007, 4; Skubic Ermenc, 2006, 152) and are hence a frequent topic of expert debate.

However, so far almost no policy documents or laws have efficiently addressed the inclusion of CwFLnS in the Slovenian education system. One exception is the Strategy for the inclusion of immigrant children in the Slovenian education system (Barle Lakota et al., 2007) that specifically views CwFLnS in Slovenian schools as a problem:

> *Example 1: »Every year the Slovenian education system includes children of immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and people with temporary protection. It has been shown that these children, pupils and students (immigrant children) have more difficulty following classes and other happenings at school or in kindergarten and are less keen on integrating into the wider social environment.[4] This is a consequence of their lack of knowledge (ignorance) of the Slovenian language (they are mainly children whose Slovenian is a foreign or a second language), the lack of developed strategies and instruments for ensuring the inclusion of immigrant children and the insufficient inclusion of children and their parents in the scholastic and wider Slovenian environment«* (Barle Lakota et al., 2007, 4).

Therefore, according to the mentioned Strategy language proficiency is becoming a precondition for the social and cultural integration of CwFLnS and is presented as being in the best interests of CwFLnS. The issue of CwFLnS is only briefly touched on in various other

1 For instance, the Aliens Act that in 1992 legitimated the illegal erasure of 25,000 ex-Yugoslavs living in Slovenia from the Register o Permanent Residents, depriving them of citizenship rights.
2 Cf. http://www.zrsz.si/trg_dela/trg_dela_v_stevilkah/zaposlovanje_tujcev
3 Resolution on immigration policy in the Republic of Slovenia (2002); Elementary School Act (1996), Article 10.
4 Underlined parts were added by the author of this paper in order to emphasise important points.

Slovenian (legislative) documents[5]. Some of these form part of Slovenian legislation, others are based on EU directives descending from the strategy on migration policy and the integration of immigrants and their children in the EU through the education system adopted at the Lisbon European Council in March 2000 (Medvešek, 2006, 126). Despite Slovenia being part of UNESCO, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and the United Nations that all promote intercultural education through their initiatives (International Association for Intercultural Education, International Bureau of Education), it still does not have a comprehensive educational or policy solution to the problem of CwFLnS (Razpotnik, 2011, 1453, Grobelšek, 2010, 164, Skubic Ermenc, 2006).

In the Slovenian education system efforts to ensure the inclusion of CwFLnS in schools mainly involve additional classes of Slovenian language that CwFLnS take in the first year after they start primary school or when they first move to Slovenia. However, the legislation offers different definitions of what such additional classes should consist of and for how many hours a year CwFLnS have the right to attend those classes. Schools can apply for funds for a certain number of additional classes of Slovenian language, with a maximum of 35 hours per year (Barle Lakota et al., 2007, 12). Taking the knowledge and circumstances of each individual CwFLnS into account, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport determines the number of hours of classes of Slovenian language schools should later provide when carrying out the language teaching. How the classes are implemented depends on the policy of an individual school. There are no directives on the special education or profile of teachers who are conducting such classes, teaching and learning methods etc.

This is problematic when we consider that previous research studies in Slovenia have shown teachers are not educated to adopt and implement intercultural values in pedagogical approaches (Grobelšek 2010, 171, Kobolt, 2005). In addition, the data gathered in the GOETE research project (Ule and Vezovnik, 2012) led to similar findings regarding intercultural education and revealed that schools have different approaches to coping with the language barrier of CwFLnS. Due to the lack of appointed officially supported hours some schools rely on volunteers to work as teachers of Slovenian language or use the school's internal financial or human resources in order to help CwFLnS. Therefore, schools decide how much language learning is needed for an individual CwFLnS and how much time is given to them to learn the language before starting to overlook the language barrier and to evaluate and grade the knowledge of CwFLnS. It almost entirely depends on the school personnel how and to what extent an individual child will be helped with the language (ibid.).

In the rest of this paper I will focus on the language issue and attempt to show how the lack of language proficiency is problematised in discourses of teachers and school experts, local policy experts and high-level government policy makers and experts. I will show that for all of these agents the expectation of language proficiency provides the most significant condition for the integration and/or assimilation of CwFLnS into the Slovenian education system. However, I will try to demonstrate how the requirement of language proficiency can also be interpreted as a technique for disciplining or normalising CwFLnS/immigrant children. I will show why regarding language proficiency as a symbolic precondition for the social and cultural assimilation of CwFLnS so as to influence the acceptance of CwFLnS in the hegemonic cultural environment is problematic in the context of seeking to implement a more democratic and intercultural notion of the inclusion of CwFLnS.

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The main empirical data were collected for the GOETE project (Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe, 2010–2013) (Walther, 2010). This paper takes one thematic aspect of the GOETE research project into consideration – the coping of and support for CwFLnS in primary schools (de Bois-Reymond et al., 2011, Ule, 2013). However, this paper does not focus on pupils' individual coping strategies but explores institutional governance[6] oriented to helping CwFLnS cope with language barriers. The data presented in this paper were gathered in 2011 in Koper and Ljubljana, with each town population comprising 7–8 percent of immigrants. In each town we conducted interviews in a primary school that was selected on the basis of a presupposed higher enrolment rate of immigrant children. The data presented here are based on qualitative methodological approaches – in-depth interviews and focus groups (de Bois-Reymond et al., 2011). The analysis that follows includes:

- Ten in-depth interviews with high-level government policy makers and experts from the field

5 Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (Articles 11, 61, 62); Resolution on immigration policy in the Republic of Slovenia; Public Use of the Slovenian Language Act (Articles 2, 5, 12, 13); Organisation and Financing of Education Act (Article 2); Elementary School Act (Articles 2, 6, 8, 10); Gimnazije Act (Articles 2, 8, 9); Vocational Education Act (Articles 2, 6, 7); Aliens Act (Article 82); Temporary Protection of Displaced Persons Act (Article 29); Asylum Act (Articles 19, 43, 47); Regulations on rights and obligations of refugees in the Republic of Slovenia (Articles 8, 9, 10, 33); Rules on manners and conditions to guarantee the rights of asylum applicants (Articles 24 and 25); Rules on secondary school enrolment (Article 3); Guidelines for the education of alien children in kindergartens and schools (2009), The National Education Institute of the Republic of Slovenia), The White Book on Education, 2011.

6 The current debates on *educational* governance address different dimensions of the education system and are concerned with new ways of planning, steering, organising and coordinating actions and actors within the system (de Bois-Reymond et al., 2011, 141).

of education. At the national level, we have involved those experts who have had a crucial influence on the formation of educational policies in Slovenia in the last two decades as either policy makers, analysts and/or commentators. Policy experts in Slovenia appear in several roles, for example as policy makers and policy commentators; therefore, they are passing from decision-making positions to scientific-research positions (Ule and Vezovnik, 2012, 11-12, Ule, 2013). The interviewees were sampled amongst those involved in governmental educational policy making (the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, governmental bodies and working groups preparing policy documents on education such as the mentioned Strategy (Barle Lakota et al., 2007), and the White Book on Education), academic experts and researchers in the field of pedagogy and education. Two topics were addressed in the interviews: problems with immigrant children in primary schools and problems with the enrolment of pupils in vocational schools and gymnasiums.

- Ten in-depth interviews with external local experts collaborating with schools when immigrant children are involved. The actors listed below provide institutional guidance and support especially for pupils in 9th grade about to enrol in vocational schools and gymnasiums (career consultants, a priest, social workers at the Centre for Social Services, a psychologist at the Counselling Centre for Children, Adolescents and Parents, a representative of the project Learning for Young Adults – PUM, representatives of the Adult Education Centre – Primary Education).
- Two in-depth interviews with school principals, one from a school in Koper, the other from a school in Ljubljana
- Eight in-depth interviews with school experts who provide institutional support for immigrant children, i.e. social integration, economic support, language learning support. School experts also support (immigrant) children in their process of enrolment in vocational schools and gymnasiums (psychologists, social workers, special educators, librarians, social pedagogues, school counsellors).
- Two focus groups and six in-depth interviews with 9th grade teachers. Teachers were sampled amongst those involved in mentoring/tutoring and teaching 9th grade children. The teachers who participated in the interviews did not participate in the focus groups, and vice versa.

In order to analyse discourses on CwFLnS in the empirical material presented above, I will be leaning on Foucault's notion of problematisation complemented with the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA). The notion of problematisation overcomes essentialist ways of understanding the dynamics of the formation of social subjects/objects. It allows a methodological perspective on the subject/object construction in relation to regimes of truth and discourses. As Foucault (1983) states, problematisation means the analysis of how and why certain things (behaviours, phenomena, processes) became a *problem* in a certain epoch. When Foucault says he is analysing the problematisation of madness, sexuality and criminality, he does not deny the existence of these phenomena prior to their problematisation, but treats phenomena as socially existent only when subjected to social regulation that is grounded in specific regimes of truth. Foucault explains that "/p/roblems are not always already there – not *as* problems, anyway. It has taken the work of hundreds and thousands of people for problems like the prison, medical power, and the like to come onto the agenda" (Caputo and Yount, 1993, 8). Problematisation "…makes something enter into the play of the true and false, and constitutes it as an object for thought (whether under the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.) (Foucault, 1989, 296).

Similarly, CwFLnS enrolled in Slovenian schools in the past decades only recently became part of the agenda and were constituted as a problem within a specific regime of truth and knowledge[7]. In this sense, a new knowledge on the integration of CwFLnS emerged within specific discourses. Therefore, the construction of CwFLnS as a problem is grounded in a specific discourse, institution or even policy document. "This development of a given into a question, this transformation of a group of obstacles and difficulties into problems to which the diverse solutions will attempt to produce a response" (Foucault, 1984, 389) is brought up by several discourses (legal, policy, expert etc.) that this paper intends to analyse with CDA.

Drawing on specific authors working with CDA – namely, Fairclough, De Cilia, Reisigl, Wodak, and Richardson – will allow me to illustrate the relationship between socio-cultural practices and the textual level of interviews and focus groups. CDA is in line with Foucault's notion of discourse and therefore discourse is considered to be an empirical category. According to Foucault (1971) and Fairclough (1992), a discourse or several discourses only represent one of the possible objects within society, where the others could be concrete social practices, economics, law, various institutions and so on. Discourses are closely linked to notions of normalisation, discipline, knowledge, power and truth. According to Foucault (1977, 93), in a society "… there are manifold relations of power which permeate,

7 In this case, this might be framed within the broader engagement of EU and EU-related institutions in shifting towards a more democratic, inclusionary and tolerant discourse towards immigrants.

characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. /…/ We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth". Foucault (1977, 106) stated that power is above all disciplinary while disciplines have their own discourse. Disciplines may well be the carriers of a discourse that speaks of a natural role or a norm. The code they come to define is that of normalisation. Educational discourses emerging from policy documents and interviews that have CwFLnS as their object are above all aiming at disciplining and normalising CwFLnS.

In order to show how normalisation works, the vocabulary, grammar and discursive strategies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001) used by the interviewees will be taken into consideration. The exploration of discourses[8] grounded in the field of education and represented by the above-listed categories of teachers and experts disclose how social knowledge and hegemonic power relations are reproduced and legitimised (Fairclough, 1992) in order to discipline and normalise CwFLnS in the Slovenian education system.

HIGH-LEVEL GOVERNMENT POLICY EXPERTS

The abovementioned Strategy (Barle Lakota et al., 2007) along with other academic research (Razpotnik, 2011, Grobelšek, 2010, Skubic Ermenc, 2006, Medvešek 2006, Kobolt, 2005) clearly expresses the problematisation of CwFLnS in the Slovenian education system. Most of the abovementioned studies are framed in a discourse of multiculturalism and interculturalism promoting didactical approaches that include the planning, implementation and evaluation of the learning process in order to support changes in the existing hierarchy between the dominant ethnic and cultural majority and the subordinated ethnic and cultural minority. This kind of intercultural approach ensures equal chances for educational possibilities for minorities, preserves identity differences and promotes solidarity towards ethnic and cultural minorities (Skubic Ermenc, 2006, 152). Although the expert debate on CwFLnS had clearly been initiated, the high-level government experts and policy makers (henceforth HGPEs) who participated in our interviews seemed not to explicitly detect CwFLnS as a problem. In the examples 2 and 3 that follow, the HGPEs were asked to freely express their opinions on the issue of immigrant children in Slovenian schools. Since the study sought to determine the HGPEs' sensibility to the problem, at first no broader contextual framework was provided by the interviewer. Interestingly, when the issue was addressed during the interviews the HGPEs showed an almost complete absence of expert discourse on CwFLnS and immigrant pupils.

> *Example 2: /…/ when it comes to migrants, I think, that we (Slovenia)[9] did not encounter this so much yet, we have some individual problems, we encountered this in that period during the war in the Balkans when we had more of such refugees* (HGPE interview 1).
> *Example 3: I don't have one (an opinion), I don't deal with this issue, I think, for Slovenia this is at the moment a relatively new question, that is not such a burning issue, according to the numbers* (HGPE interview 2).

It is important to stop here and contemplate this lack of HGPE's problematisation. As mentioned, according to Foucault problematisation is an analysis of the construction of an object of analysis. This means that empirical phenomena, such as the presence of immigrant children in schools, are constructed as a problem and then solved, regulated and discussed in different ways (Foucault, 1991, 388-9). However, what we face in the expert discourse is the opposite process, a process that could be seen as the de-problematisation of CwFLnS. It is well true that problematisation may construct specific subjectivities (homosexual, criminal, mad person, migrant etc.) and for that reason could be interpreted as an ideological operation. However, at the same time even de-problematisation might be read as an ideological operation since what is left out of a discourse is actually pushed into a semantic background and might also help to rearticulate and consolidate the actual relations of power of the social majority over the social minority.

In addition to the HGPEs not revealing a coherent discourse (such as one of multiculturalism or interculturalism), they seemed to lack a reference to any kind of discursive field in which a specific solution to the problem would potentially emerge. When the HGPEs were explicitly asked about the status of immigrant pupils in primary schools, they mostly adopted discursive strategies of detachment from the topic. They provided a moral and/or very personalised point of view on the matter. In example 4, the interviewee was asked about solutions to the problem of CwFLnS in Slovenian schools and gave the following answer.

> *Example 4: Basically, we should take better care of these (immigrant) kids* (HGPE interview 4).

8 However, discourse should not be confused with single enunciations or statements of a subject or agent. Although, personal enunciations are found in the interviews, Foucault does not reduce enunciations to a sovereign and autonomous subject, but instead speaks of discourse as the totality of enunciations that in a specific period emerge around a specific topic, object or event (Foucault, 1971).

9 All text in brackets in quotations, and parts in bold, italics or underlined were added by the author of this paper.

The interviewee in example expresses an opinion without using expert terminology and without reflecting on educational policy treating CwFLnS or making a policy suggestion as to how this "better care" should be provided. Avoiding problematisation, she/he instead adopts a personal and moral view on the matter using the first plural form. The pronoun "we" adds ambivalence to their answer. The use of indefinite pronouns such as "we" entails a metonymic operation whereby those actually responsible become de-responsibilised by not being named (Wodak et al., 1999, 164). It is unclear who the "we" refers to (teachers, institutions, Slovenians etc.). This is important because such generalisations push the relevant agents into the semantic background, leading to the de-responsibilisation of the relevant agents. In order to detach their personal views from their expert knowledge, the HGPEs even more often spoke of certain problems or adopting some measures aiming at not specifying the mentioned measures and problems. In contrast, the HGPEs also emphasised they could only provide their personal views on the issue of immigrant pupils when asked about their expert opinion. The use of definite personal pronouns (I) and attributive adjectives (my) are used in examples 5, 6 and 7 in order to emphasise the view is personal and not a professional one.

> *Example 5: This is my personal view on immigrants* (HGPE interview 1).
> *Example 6: In my opinion, schools are ready (for immigrants)* (HGPE interview 4).
> *Example 7: Let's say, as far as I know, ...* (HGPE interview 2).

Especially in example 7 the words used by the HGPE seem to leave space for other knowledge or opinion on the matter. By using "as far as I know", she/he implies that their expert knowledge might be limited, evading the question by offering a personal view before an expert opinion. If we consider the fact that the HGPEs knew they would be interviewed as experts and had agreed to that, then these strategies might be interpreted as a detachments grounded in a lack of expertise and knowledge on the matter. By pointing out their lack of articulation I do not want to emphasise the ignorance of some interviewees but wish to show that for the HGPEs CwFLnS were not framed as a problem within a certain specific discursive field. Therefore, in contrast to the Strategy (Barle Lakota et al., 2007), when CwFLnS were clearly constructed as a problem the discourse of the experts seems not to play a part in this process of problematisation.

In contrast, the HGPEs appear to critically reflect the general social position of immigrant children and are able to talk about their socially deprivileged status. Experts have been claiming that Slovenian society has been grounded in nationalist premises since the Slovenia gained its independence. When discussing the reasons for the absence of policy documents on CwFLnS, most of the experts pointed out the social status of ex-Yugoslav ethnic provenance of CwFLnS in Slovenia. It seems the experts are well aware of the broader ideological framework determining the position of CwFLnS in schools that is presumably causing the lack of policy regulating the issue. In example 9, one expert compares Western immigrants to Eastern European and Southern-Slavic immigrants and points out the deprivileged position of Southern-Slavic immigrant children. In this case, the distinction was articulated as a critique of the dichotomy between Western and Eastern/Balkan culture.

> *Example 9: There is a difference, an absolute difference, as to whether a child is from Western European countries, /.../ Whether he comes from Southern-Slavic nations this is already a big problem, a big problem, for him to learn and so on* (HGPE interview 7).

Richardson (2007, 65) states that an excessive exaggeration for rhetorical effect is made by using hyperbole. By repeating "big problem", the expert in example 9 wants to emphasise how language learning is a problem for CwFLnS coming from the Balkans and the East. However, another expert stresses a broader political context of the difficulties of including CwFLnS, blaming Slovenia's nationalism: *"Too much national euphoria" (HGPE interview 8)* has, they believe, emerged as a consequence of gaining national independence. Hence, amongst many of the interviewed experts this broader nationalist aspect was detected as the reason for a lack of suitable policy on the integration of CwFLnS in schools (referred to below as "this issue"). In example 10 this becomes even more explicit.

> *Example 10: This issue we simply did not want, in a way to face it, reflect it, find solutions and therefore in a way remains unreflect and we are living it apart* (HGPE interview 9).

The use of the indefinite personal pronoun "we" in example 10 seems random, but it again becomes important when social agents might be exposed as being responsible for important actions in the public interest. By employing the pronoun "we" the responsible policy makers and politicians are anonymised (Richardson, 2007, 194) while the reader/listener does not know who the speaker is really referring to.

However, when asked specifically about CwFLnS learning Slovenian in schools, the HGPEs do not connect the issue of language proficiency with their critique of Slovenian nationalism. Example 11 shows that experts seem not to be keen on questioning the systemic requirement that the Slovenian language is the sole learning language for all pupils included in the Slovenian school system.

Example 11: Here there are obviously immigrant children, their (teacher's) crucial problem with them is not only that classic one with other cultural backgrounds, but it moves to the level of language. …They are somehow sentenced to, somehow, a marginal path in education because they have a crucial lack, a lack of language. /…/ if we see it from the perspective of utility, from what the state benefits from, these people would somehow have better knowledge and would contribute if this lack were to be overcome (HGPE interview 9).

Therefore, on one hand we have the expert critique of nationalism remaining on the abstract level of ideological critique while, on the other hand, when experts reflect the level of social reality and everyday practices at school they believe that mastering the Slovenian language empowers and allows the full integration of CwFLnS. In this HGPE's opinion, language proficiency is the biggest obstacle and the most important threshold in the learning process of CwFLnS[10]. Further, the language problem seems to be the reason for CwFLnS being disadvantaged – *they are somehow sentenced to, somehow, a marginal path in education because they have a crucial lack, a lack of language*. The expert thinks immigrants have a lack of knowledge compared to Slovenian children, and therefore represent a deviation from normality. Foucault (1978, 85) states "Disciplinary normalization consists first of all in positing a model, /…/ and the operation of disciplinary normalization consists in trying to get people /…/ to conform to this model, the normal being is precisely that which can conform to this norm, and the abnormal that which is incapable of conforming to the norm". According to the HGPE, the state should conduct normalisation for its own benefit. At the end of the quote from example 11, the expert looks at the question of integration and language proficiency through a *perspective of utility*, claiming the state should benefit from the assimilated immigrant – *what the state benefits from*. Foucault (2000, 409) says the reason for the modern state is based on the idea that "/…/the individual becomes pertinent for the state insofar as he can do something for the strength of the state". The deconstruction of this discursive operation leaves us with at least one problem. The expert reduces the complexity of CwFLnS integration to a matter of state utility. This is made explicit in example 12:

/…/if we see it from the perspective of utility, from what the state benefits from, these people would somehow have better knowledge and would contribute if this lack were to be surpassed (HGPE interview 9).

At this point, the problem of integration is reduced to what is beneficial for the social majority and what immigrants (guests), as a minority, have to contribute to the nation-state (host). The goal of this dichotomising discourse supposedly promoting the empowerment of CwFLnS by learning the Slovenian language is not framed as an ethical act of democratisation, but as a utilitarian goal to benefit the state and the social majority. What on the denotative level seems an egalitarian discourse reveals undemocratic features on the connotative level (Barthes, 1984). This is more clearly demonstrated in example 13.

… when we received a child in the school from Bosnia, from Macedonia, and we did get them, we knew how to treat them well, during the first year we enriched them with the language (Slovenian), … we in brackets socialised him, we placed him in the space and place where he was living, in the time he was living in, then we required him to grow into an expert. And we knew how to make form him nicely, at least for now we have forgotten that (HGPE interview 1).

If we analyse example 13 we first see a clear distinction is made between *"us", "we", "our" "Slovenian"*, i.e. what is attributed to the social majority, and the 'other', i.e. the immigrant child from Bosnia or Macedonia (see Resigl and Wodak, 2001). This distinction, emphasised by the constant use of the personal pronoun "we", creates an imaginary space of nationalities and a consolidation of the power of the social majority over the social minority. Further, this relation of power is evident in how the agent or subject is linguistically positioned in the sentence in relation to the object (see Halliday, van Leuven in Fairclough, 2003, 222, Fairclough, 1995, 110, Fairclough, 2003, 145). Example 13 shows the subject is "the Slovenians"/"we", while the immigrant child takes the form of the object. While the subject is active and performative "we enriched", "we socialised", "we placed", "we required" etc. the object – an immigrant child – remains passive. On the connotative level of language use, power relations between agents are most explicitly evident in relations of subjects/objects and activity/passivity. Therefore, the active subject is always the one in power. This implies that a successful integration process, as seen by the expert, requires unequal relations of power. The social majority has complete control over the integration process while the immigrant child remains objectified and reduced to passivity as not being the holder of any action.

These examples all show how the idea of integration is in fact a one-sided process of the normalisation and hegemonisation of CwFLnS. This discursive frame is

10 Later I will show how this applies to teachers who became »gate keepers« by grading the acquired language proficiency. Language proficiency seems to be the most important feature of the successful integration of the 'Other' in the majoritarian society.

continued even when dealing with local experts and teachers who are less involved in policy making but have more experience in practical matters involving CwFLnS.

LOCAL EXPERTS, PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

When turning to local experts (those employed in the schools and those employed by external institutions collaborating with the schools), principals and 9th grade teachers in primary schools (henceforth LEPTs) we encounter a relatively homogeneous group. What the LEPTs have in common is their direct involvement with immigrant children/CwFLnS. This might explain why the LEPTs' discourse comes closer to what seems to constitute CwFLnS as a broader ideological problem. With the LEPTs the problem of language proficiency is more strongly emphasised than in the previously analysed HGPE group. This is somewhat logical because the LEPTs, in contrast to the HGPEs, are those who are directly involved in CwFLnS and their language barriers.

During the interviews the LEPTs were asked to name the groups of pupils they see as deprivileged. This question was posed in order to see which groups of pupils would be identified as deprivileged without influencing the interviewee with the researcher's prior assumptions concerning the different categories that would qualify as such. The majority of the LEPTs named immigrant children/CwFLnS along with economically deprivileged children, children with different physical, learning and psychological disabilities. Example 14 shows how CwFLnS are problematic in the LEPTs' view. Pupils who have language barriers were the most explicitly mentioned.

Example 14: Immigrants are coming, mainly Albanians. They are the most problematic because they don't know the language (LEPT interview 1).

Example 15 shows the reasoning behind the statement from example 14. In this LEPT's opinion, CwFLnS are disadvantaged because language proficiency is considered the precondition for a successful schooling process.

Example 15: Because reading and writing is the segment that determinates success in all other teaching subjects (LEPT interview 2).

Although this might seem a relevant argument, a detailed analysis shows the problem of language is not only a pragmatic obstacle that once overcome in the learning process makes CwFLnS disappear as a problem, but it is again grounded in the presupposition that language proficiency is the precondition for the social inclusion and acceptance of CwFLnS. This is demonstrated in examples 16 and 17 when LEPTs were asked why immigrant pupils represent such a problem for the schools.

Example 16: Pupils are sensitive, if somebody does not speak Slovenian they will see them as different (LEPT interview 3).

Example 17: This work (language lessons) is intended for the kid to promptly acquire the basic words of our language, to allow communication as rapidly as possible to get included in the class and to communicate with teachers, in short, to get included in this living environment.

In the LEPTs' opinion, language proficiency is a symbolic threshold for the complete integration and assimilation of an immigrant pupil in the Slovenian cultural and social environment. This assimilationist discourse is nothing but a technique of government[11] rooted in the hegemonic regime of truth resulting in concrete normalising and disciplinary practices aimed at making immigrant children in concordance with the social majority. According to Rose (2004, 214), normalisation occurred within the apparatuses of rule that proliferated in the nineteenth century – the prison, the factory, the asylum, the school and later in the military – all those places where individuals were gathered together and their conduct was made visible by being judged against institutional norms. Therefore, education, in the sense of both schooling and university sectors, has become so central in the development of new forms of governmentality, exemplifying new strategies, tactics and techniques of power to furnish what has become the major form of power relations defining institutions and individuals in Western societies. The institutions of formal education – schools and universities – have become central to the "disciplining" in most if not all other fields (Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998, 22). By connecting knowledge and power, these governmental techniques function as disciplining practices aimed at normalisation. Example 18 shows how the language that CwFLnS speak at home is, according to the LEPTs, blocking the normalisation process of immigrant pupils and therefore detected as problematic.

Example 18: However, the problem is simply this, that even at home they do not speak Slovenian,

11 Along with this line, I follow the studies of governmentality. Foucault (1991, 102) defines governmentality as the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses, reflections, calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target. Governmentality is also the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and the development of a whole complex of knowledge (Foucault, 1991, 103). Governmentality studies are "studies of a particular 'stratum' of knowing and acting. Of the emergence of particular 'regimes of truth' concerning the conduct of conduct, ways of speaking truth, persons authorized to speak truths, ways of enacting truths and the costs of so doing. Of the invention and assemblage of particular apparatuses and devices for exercising power and intervening upon particular problems" (Rose, 2004, 19). Therefore, the process of problematisation is always leading to techniques of governmentality that produce individualisation, totalisation and normalisation.

then during the holidays they nicely go back into those places and, when they come back, what they have learned is forgotten. Thus, there is a problem (LEPT interview 3).

The statement from example 18 is clearly grounded in an assimilationist discourse. The sentence "They nicely go back into those places" expresses a moral view and discloses an exalted ethnocentric view on the practices and attitudes of immigrants. Their carelessness in learning the Slovenian language is pointed out by the adverb "nicely". By using the pronoun/determiner "those" when referring to places and not naming the places implies that the ethnic provenance of immigrant children is not important. Immigrants became homogenised and presented as neglecting learning of the Slovenian language because they more highly prioritise their culture and language. In the LEPT's view, this is problematic because it hinders the process of normalisation, not only through language but also through other aspects that have to be disciplined and normalised, such as family patterns, native culture etc.

Ethnocentric arguments are evident in examples 18 and 19. These reveal how the LEPTs defend the idea of the assimilation of CwFLnS. In contrast with policy documents, the LEPTs' arguments for a multicultural and intercultural school are rare. Example 19 shows how 'otherness' should be disciplined by the norms and roles of the majoritarian society. In governmental societies, the constitution of the 'normal' is always also woven in with the hegemonic and the homogeneous, i.e. the demand to orient to the normal (bourgeois, heterosexual, Christian, white male, of majoritarian nationality) (Lorey, 2009, 192).

Example 19: Whether they are immigrants or people who come from other environments and for some time have been living with us, they lack some rules and some laws which apply to our environment and that we very much emphasise in the school for Slovenians (LEPT interview 5).

Disciplinary techniques implemented in school roles designed to suit the ethnic majority may be embodied in an external regime of structured times, spaces, gazes and hierarchies. But discipline seeks to reshape the ways in which each individual CwFLnS, at some future point, will conduct himself or herself in the space of a classroom and education where freedom is regulated (Rose, 2004, 22). Therefore, discipline here means being subjugated both under a certain specialised domain of institutional



knowledge and under a certain educational and school regime and order. Foucault also speaks of dividing practices in which the immigrant and the native are divided. Foucault (1978, 84) says: "discipline normalizes". Disciplinary normalisation consists first of all in positing a model – language proficiency, an optimal model that is constructed in terms of a certain result, and the operation of disciplinary normalisation consists in trying to make people, movements and actions conform to this model, the normal being precisely that which can conform to this norm, and the abnormal – the CwFLnS – that which is incapable of conforming to the norm (Foucault, 1978, 85).

Basically, the process of normalisation not only requires CwFLnS to follow the role of the majoritarian society but, as shown in example 20, it demands from CwFLnS to become a part of the mainstream majority. However, in order for her/his differences not to cause a disturbance a CwFLnS should become even more 'normal' than the norm itself requires. It is only at this point that normalisation will achieve its ultimate goal and CwFLnS will become a legitimate part of the majoritarian society. This is demonstrated in example 20.

Example 20: I had quite a few children who I was very impressed with because at their homes they are very, very poor, but the desire, the value, of their parents, and the parents even showed, and the children, are far more respectful of the teachers and the schools than Slovenian children. If the desire for learning exists and there is collaboration, the support of parents, such children can achieve a great deal (LEPT focus group 1).

Articulating assimilation through language learning apparently seems the most legitimate argument covering the ideological operation of social homogenisation. Building the argument on language might appear to be innocent, pragmatic and non-ideological, as presented as 'utile', 'necessary', 'good for the pupil' etc. as well as the precondition for a pupil's success in school, but it clearly discloses its connotative dimension loaded with ideas of ethnic homogeneity and ethnocentricity. This becomes even more evident in examples 21 and 22 when the ethnicity of CwFLnS is presented as an obstacle in Slovenian society.

Example 21: And basically their culture is pulling them behind, their traditions and one (teachers/experts) cannot interfere (LEPT interview 7).
Example 22: This is essentially a different social environment at home. As the environment and the rules are not adapted to those basic cultural matters. They do not consider a single rule in the school (LEPT interview 5).

However, in the teacher's view, with a proper dedication, motivation, good abilities and the support of the family, the assimilation and progress of the pupil in the new environment can be really successful. What is interesting is how the action is one-sided, the CwFLnS takes responsibility for proper assimilation, while the adaptation of the majoritarian institutions to the needs of CwFLnS is not mentioned in this process. Examples 23 and 24 explicate 'good' and 'bad' subjects.

Example 23: We get kids who are very, very motivated to learn well, to fit in the environment as soon as possible, they want to do something for themselves. Such children are very quickly integrated. They by themselves are looking for, they themselves are committed to quickly overcoming the initial difficulties (LEPT interview 4).

In contrast to the proactive CwFLnS mentioned in example 24, we encounter 'failing CwFLnS'.

Example 24: The other group of children is those who are incapable of this. Usually they also experience educational failure. They poorly integrate into the group, or they fit in but not in the proper way. This means that if they are unable to affirm themselves with positive things they start to do negative things (LEPT interview 4).

Lessenich (2011, 311) states that Western citizens are being confronted by the activation paradigm with a modified weighting of rights and responsibilities. Individual rights and (corresponding) public responsibilities are losing prominence, while "public rights" and (corresponding) individual responsibilities are coming to the fore instead. In the activation perspective, society and schools have a legitimate claim against its members to, each and every one of them individually, act in the public interest or in the interest of the school. On the whole, it seems that the governmentality revolves around the management of boundaries: states are constantly drawing demarcation lines between 'the passive' and 'the active', between 'the mobile' and 'the immobile', between 'good' and 'bad' subjects. On one hand, activation is the (social) order of the day, with public policies driving people to adopt a pro-active attitude, a self-monitoring conduct of life – for the sake of society and the common good.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Studies of governmentality open up an epistemological-political field that Foucault defined as "politics of truth". They investigate the discursive operations, speakers' positions, and institutional mechanisms through which truth claims are produced, and which power effects are tied to these truths. Studies of governmentality trace the contours of this productive power, which produces specific (and always selective) knowledge and in

this way generates definitions of problems and fields of governmental intervention in the first place (Brockling et al., 2011, 12). Of course, systems and institutions of education involve the exercise of power as the conduct of conduct[12] and the organisation of people or in our case pupils into groups and hierarchies. Indeed, these are pre-eminent characteristics within education institutions in the sense that they not only involve leading and channelling the conduct of teachers and students, and the organisation of these people into groups and hierarchies, but also produce people to fit into wider sorts of roles and organisations (Fejes, 2008, 10). The population is regulated through schooling in accordance with the needs of society (Fejes, 2008, 11). Every education system is a political means of maintaining or modifying the appropriateness of discourses with the knowledge and power they bring with them (Walshaw, 2007, 101).

Slovenian public discourses have to be understood along these lines. In the early transitional period, immigrants were portrayed as the ethnic 'other', as an explicit threat to Slovenia's ethnic and social homogeneity. Nowadays, within the EU discourse on multiculturalism, interculturalism, the promotion of tolerance, human rights and even cosmopolitism, the 'other' can no longer be reduced to a threatening enemy and pushed across the Eastern border. According to EU discourses it has to be integrated into the social majority in order to represent the minor possible threat to Slovenian national integrity. The problem we face is therefore how this integration process should be conducted or, put better, how can integration be seen differently? Maybe by omitting in a more balanced way one-way policy disciplining and normalising of whoever is perceived as 'different'. However, in the analysed discourses CwFLnS in Slovenia are perceived as a normal outcome of the present social situation and social changes, for instance the changing nature of migration flows in Europe or attitudes to various categories of 'others' seem not to be changing drastically. This was clearly demonstrated in both parts of the analysis. On one hand, respect for the differences of CwFLnS are claimed on a very general level while, on the other, the analysis of discourses uncovered a relatively ethnocentric view on how to solve the problem of CwFLnS in schools. Ideas and strategies for how to govern the problem were mainly based on the notion of assimilation.

The notions of integration and assimilation adopted by the policy documents, experts and teachers can be well contrasted with the notion of inclusion (see Young, 2000). Ideas of integration and assimilation embrace the process of normalisation. The task of integration/assimilation has always been about how to join the mainstream, how to become majoritarian. Integration/assimilation are meant as the process of integrating a CwFLnS into the structures, processes and institutions of the social majority while the adaptation of institutions, such as the school system, are random and minor. Conversely, inclusion is conceived as a process of transformation, not only of socially vulnerable groups and individuals, but it also requires a simultaneous change of procedures, structures, institutions and public discourses that include socially vulnerable individuals and groups. In other words, integration/assimilation is a process of the normalisation of socially vulnerable and excluded individuals and groups up to the point where they are able to be included in the social majority.

Assimilationist discourses all aim to integrate/assimilate CwFLnS by imposing a precondition – that CwFLnS should learn Slovenian and adopt the culture so they will be able to integrate into Slovenian society. While the language learning and cultural integration of CwFLnS is presented as a practicality (CwFLnS can only follow classes if they have mastered the language), the integration process aims at the normalisation of the ethnic and cultural differences of CwFLnS. When interpreting governmental strategies of normalisation, we should bear in mind that education is mainly a practice that first of all individualises and totalises (see Dean, 2010). First, CwFLnS are located in the education system and defined as subjects outside the curve of normality. The process of individualisation makes CwFLnS visible by virtue of their differentiation from the majoritarian population (pointing out the language barrier and different culture of CwFLnS). CwFLnS are then subjected to additional classes aimed at restoring and separating them at the same time from the social totality. This process of individual disciplining is part and parcel of totalisation. Hence, an individual CwFLnS has to be pertinent to the system and therefore integrated into the functional totality of their class, school and community (Foucault, 2000, 417, 409). The complex subjectivity of CwFLnS becomes disciplined and normalised up to the point where CwFLnS no longer appear as harmful, disturbing or threatening to the social majority included in the Slovenian education system. This process allows CwFLnS to be perceived by the majoritarian society as legitimate, acceptable and 'normal'.

According to Watney (1997), normalisation also means allowing the subjectivity of CwFLnS into the Slovenian education system only in strictly codified forms. One of these forms is certainly the language or the symbolic system it represents in our culture. Therefore, CwFLnS are allowed in the majoritarian society so long as they do not represent a threat or a disturbance to the established process of schooling. This is a typical mechanism of governmentality – to monitor the popu-

12 According to Foucault, the "conduct of conduct" is the central problem of modern government. The idea of liberal government involves a paradox: liberalism asserts the sovereignty of the free individual, yet government requires that individual behaviour be regulated and modified.

lation, normalise the 'not-normal' and achieve this by giving the subjects the illusion that this is being pursued for their own good and for the sake of the larger community or the state. However, governmental techniques such as normalisation or individualisation also aim to protect the school system from potential destabilisation. As one of the HGPEs points out: *"Teachers say to me they perceive these people (CwFLnS) as problematic, as those who bring disorder into the pedagogical process, because they do not master this basic medium, and this is the language" (HGPE interview 9)*. The language barrier CwFLnS experience in Slovenian schools has to be removed in order to re-homogenise the institution since language differences are disturbing the schooling process (see Blommaert and Verschueren, 1996). Within the neoliberal educational discourses that are also ever more present in Slovenia, and which mobilise notions of normality, progress, skills, lifelong learning, achievements, individual responsibilisation, proactivity and the like (Žakelj et. al, 2013, Mencin Čeplak, 2013, Živoder, 2013, Ule, 2010, 7), CwFLnS are constituted as something threatening and holding back the process of education in schools. In order to legitimise the presence of CwFLnS in the Slovenian education system, normalisation of the lack of language knowledge seems necessary.

However, we have to consider that this assimilation to a new language occurs in terms of a symbolic and practical consolidation and homogenisation of the Slovenian national identity. The aim of this paper was to trace the productive power of truth that produces specific and selective knowledge on CwFLnS, in turn generating definitions of problems of governmental intervention. The analysis presented an aporic situation. On one hand, discourses in the educational field (see Barle Lakota et al., 2007) seem to adopt more egalitarian and tolerant perspectives on immigrants, ethnic minorities etc. On the other hand, these patterns of EU-fashioned democratisation seem to be only working on a declarative level and not to be fully implemented in systemic policy or everyday life professional practices when dealing with CwFLnS. Assimilationist discourse was shown to be predominant, proving that the Slovenian education system is well grounded in neo-colonial ideas and strategies for the most efficient normalisation of the 'other'.



OTROCI KATERIH PRVI JEZIK NI SLOVENŠČINA V SLOVENSKEM IZOBRAŽEVALNEM SISTEMU: KRITIČNA ANALIZA NORMALIZACIJE

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POVZETEK

Članek z metodo kritične analize diskurza analizira diskurze, ki obravnavajo otroke katerih prvi jezik ni slovenščina v slovenskih osnovnih šolah. Raziskava bazira na analizi poglobljenih intervjujev in fokusnih skupin, ki smo jih v okviru projekta GOETE izvedli v letu 2011. V intervjuje in fokusne skupine so bili vključeni lokalni eksperti, eksperti, ki delujejo na državni ravni ter učitelji devetih razredov dveh slovenskih osnovnih šol v Kopru in Ljubljani. Z aplikacijo Foucaultovega pojma problematizacije članek ugotavlja, kako se različni empirični fenomeni, vezani na pojem integracije otrok katerih prvi jezik ni slovenščina v slovenskem šolskem sistemu, konstruirajo kot problem znotraj različnih režimov "resnic". Z aplikacijo kritične analize diskurza, članek ugotavlja, kako je problem integracije omenjene skupine otrok konstruiran, interpretiran ter kakšni so predlogi rešitev. S pomočjo foucaultovskega pojma vladljivosti, ki ga razumemo kot skupek institucij, procedur, analiz, refleksij, kalkulacij in taktik, ki omogočajo uveljavitev državne moči, ki si prizadeva urejati populacijo, članek dekonstruira process implementacije pojma integracija. Kajti integracija, ki se navzven kaže kot demokratični poskus vključitve otrok katerih prvi jezik ni slovenščina v slovenske šole, se v praksi izkaže za klasično asimilacijsko strategijo s problematičnimi ideološkimi implikacijami. Članek pokaže, da je integracijska politika pravzaprav oblika vladljivosti, saj zavoljo nemotenega delovanja šolskega sistema reproducira normalizacijo in totalizacijo vloge otrok katerih prvi jezik ni slovenščina hkrati pa konsolidira dana razmerja moči v družbi ter družbeni nadzor države in družbene večine nad manjšinskimi populacijami. Članek kritično postavlja problem otrok katerih prvi jezik ni slovenščina v dani družbeno-politično perspektivo kjer politika integracije nastopa predvsem kot etnocentrična ideologija implementirana skozi disciplinske prakse, diskurze in strategije.

Ključne besede: imigracija, otroci katerih prvi jezik ni slovenščina, problematizacija, vladljivost, izobraževanje

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THE ROLE OF PARENTS IN YOUNG PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORIES IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

Based on qualitative empirical data from the international research project "Governance of educational trajectories in Europe" (Goete), the article addresses the role of parents in coping and decision making regarding the schooling and education of 9th grade students. The study revealed the very important role parents play in coping with the school demands and educational trajectories of young people, which is in line with previous research on youth and education. The article strives to explain the broader social, political and cultural contexts that frame the role of parents and the family in general. Among others, these are the neoliberal process of individualising responsibility, reflected in high aspirations of parents and their children regarding education, the so-called familialisation, the protective attitude of parents to their children and the contradictions, low trust in school staff etc. The authors seek to show that it is important to study the constellation of these factors in order to reveal the complex picture of the common endeavours of Slovenian parents to do everything to give their children the best educational opportunities.

Key words: parental role, educational transitions, decision making, individualised responsibility

IL RUOLO DEI GENITORI NELLE TRAIETTORIE EDUCATIVE DEI GIOVANI IN SLOVENIA

SINTESI

Sulla base dei dati empirici qualitativi del progetto di ricerca internazionale "Governazione delle traiettorie educative in Europa " (Goete) l' articolo riflette sul ruolo dei genitori nel affrontare e decidere riguardo le traiettorie educative e la formazione degli studenti del 9° grado. La ricerca ha rivelato il ruolo importante dei genitori nel affrontare le esigenze della scuola e della traiettoria educativa dei giovani. Questo è in accordo con precedenti ricerche sui giovani e l'istruzione. L' articolo spiega i contesti sociali, politici e culturali più ampi che incorniciano il ruolo dei genitori e della famiglia in generale. Tra gli altri, si tratta di processo neoliberista di individualizzazione e di responsabilità, che si riflette in alte aspirazioni dei genitori e dei loro figli per quanto riguarda l'istruzione - la cosiddetta familisation, atteggiamento protettivo dei genitori verso i bambini e le contraddizioni, scarsa fiducia nel personale della scuola, ecc. Le autrici si dimostrano che è importante studiare la costellazione di questi fattori al fine di rivelare l'immagine complessa di sforzi comuni di genitori sloveni che fanno di tutto per permettere ai loro figli migliori opportunità educative.

Parole chiave: ruolo genitoriale, transizioni educative, il processo decisionale, responsabilità individuale

INTRODUCTION

Three important social processes are considered to influence young people's lives today, namely familialisation, institutionalisation and individualisation (Edwards and Alldred, 2000). Familialisation means that children are understood as the responsibility of their parents and are "increasingly located as supervised sons and daughters in the home, and conceptualised in terms of their familial dependency status" (Qvortrup, in Edwards and Alldred, 2000, 435). A parallel process is institutionalisation, which means that children's lives are organised in "separate and protected organised settings, supervised by professionals and often structured according to their age" (Nasman, in Edwards and Alldred, 2000, 436), where the focus is "on their educational attainment and development" (Edwards and Alldred, 2000, 436). While familialisation, studied here in the form of parental involvement in children's educational trajectories and especially educational decision making and coping, and institutionalisation seem to go hand in hand and can also be seen a process where young people are constantly under supervision and control in their daily lives, the individualisation process at first glance seems to be in opposition to them. In the context of individualisation, children are perceived as "individual social actors (not dependents) who reflexively shape their own biography, and are responsible for their 'project of self'" (Edwards and Alldred, 2000, 436; Mencin Čeplak, 2012; Razpotnik, 2011). Two aspects of the individualisation process are particularly relevant in the case of children's educational trajectories and the role of parents in them, namely that children are also considered to be able to decide about (at least some aspects) of their lives (e.g. vocation) and that they are considered to be responsible for their own educational success or failure, which also means that they themselves actually take responsibility for their lives in this respect.

All of these processes can be observed in Slovenia and have been documented by several studies in the past two decades (e.g. Kurdija et al., 2011; Mencin Čeplak, 2012; Miheljak /ed./, 2002; Razpotnik, 2011; Rener, 2010; Ule, 2010; 2013; Ule and Miheljak, 1995; Ule et al., 1996; 2000; Žakelj and Švab, 2011; Živoder, 2013).

Despite the seemingly contradictory characteristics of individualisation and familialisation, in this article we attempt to show that these processes can be seen as complementary and that it is crucial to study various social contexts that influence the role of parents in young people's educational trajectories.

The article presents and discusses results from the research project "Governance of the educational trajectories in Europe" (Goete),[1] focusing on the role of parents in coping with educational demands and in decision making regarding the educational trajectories of young people. First, we set the theoretical background in which we seek to grasp the wider social contexts which frame the role and agency of parents in young people's educational trajectories. Then we present basic information regarding the methodology used in the research project. The core part of the article presents key results from the qualitative part of the research based on interviews and focus groups with students, parents, teachers and school experts. Here we also use some data from a quantitative survey to support our arguments. In the final part of the article, we discuss the results and offer some concluding thoughts.

EDUCATION AND THE 'ENTREPRENEURIAL SELF'

Improving 'human capital' (i.e. skills, abilities and knowledge, made up of innate and acquired elements) is one of the key imperatives of neoliberal discourse on individuals as 'entrepreneurs of themselves' (Foucault, 2008). In that context, as Foucault points out, the child is seen as a potentiality, and responsible, competent parental care and education are considered as an essential 'tool' to realise that potentiality. Improving 'human capital' is a goal of various rational programmes, professional advice, training and therapies that try to encourage teachers, students and parents to improve their teaching, learning, parental skills and achievements (e.g. Rose, 1990; 1999; Holmer Nadesan, 2002). These skills are considered the most basic for successful participation in competition that is the key regulatory principle of the neoliberal "art of government" (or "governmentality") (Foucault, 2008).

Scientific investigations, professional and counselling literature treat the child as a 'project' carried out by attentive, responsible and competent parents with the support of therapeutic interventions (Holmer Nadesan, 2002, 242–426). They emphasise the importance of emotional support, intellectual stimulation and care for the child's cognitive, emotional, social development and her/his future academic, professional and social success (e.g. Walkerdine, 1984; Foucault, 2008). Careful organising of the child's daily life, offering the opportunity to attend 'useful' extracurricular activities, choosing a good school, being vigilant about the child's schoolwork, urging her or him to work hard, and involvement in the 'home-school partnership' are some of the duties of responsible parents (e.g. Lareau, 2003; Mencin Čeplak, 2012). However, hegemonic discourses of good parenting and corresponding practices are adapted to the middle class. They overlook

1 The project included 13 different institutions from eight European countries (Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, and the UK). Project co-ordinator Prof. Dr. Andreas Walter, University of Frankfurt Institute of Social Pedagogy and Adult Education; national co-ordinator Prof. Dr. Mirjana Ule, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences). For more information, see: http://www.goete.eu/.

the social, economic and political obstacles and inequities that make the norm of good, responsible parenting unattainable for families from de-privileged social backgrounds. They also (unintentionally and more or less indirectly) differentiate, exclude and blame marginalised parents for their children's low school achievements (Crozier, 1997; 2000; Edwards and Alldred, 2000; Griffith and Smith, 2005; Holmer and Nadesan, 2002; Lareau, 2003; Vezovnik, 2013; Vincent and Tomlinson, 1997; Walkerdine, 1984).

Public opinion surveys, surveys on the values and life orientations of young people, and the increasing enrolment levels in tertiary education indicate that education in Slovenia is considered as a condition for personal well-being, an important (or even crucial) factor for social success. Respondents in public opinion surveys in the 1990s and 2000s associate education with the possibility of a higher income; they treat education as a condition for "achieving something in life", for social inclusion and employability (Toš et al., 1999; 2004; 2009). At the same time, they express a high level of confidence in the education system and educational institutions, which can in part be explained by the objective features of educational policy and in part by a kind of Freudian self-depiction, an illusion that in a world full of contradictions, inequities and coincidences there exists solid, reliable support, an opportunity which – if we take advantage of it – enables certainty and a comfortable future. Namely, despite the relative accessibility of the education system, education is not equally accessible to all, and above all the education system must be selective to produce the diversified labour force needed by the market. The connection between belief in the importance of education and confidence in the fairness of the education system is the ideal effect of the neoliberal concept of individuals as 'entrepreneurs of themselves' that increases the burden of any eventual school failure, mainly borne by parents and their children. The burden resulted from the process of the individualisation of responsibility for social and personal welfare.

Soon after the political, economic and social changes of the 1990s, the share of secondary students enrolled in grammar schools (which open up the best opportunities for further study) rose from 25% in the 1996/1997 academic year to almost 40% in the 2006/2007 academic year (Statistični letopis, 2007). Due to the growing interest in grammar schools, the criteria for admission to a grammar school were raised. In such circumstances, school marks are very important especially for those compulsory school pupils who intend to enrol in a grammar school.

Surveys on the values and life orientations of young people in Slovenia (1999 and 2000) indicate that children experience performance pressure very early in their lives, that they are clearly aware of the expectations of their parents and of the importance parents assign to their achievement in school. In a survey on the social vulnerability of youth (Ule et al., 2000), 96.5% of respondents agreed with the statement that for their parents "the school certificate is very important".[2] Anxiety over school failure and a high level of discontent with school reports and school marks are two widespread problems among children and teenagers associated with school. This is not surprising; namely, the range of choices of secondary school depends on the final grades of all compulsory subjects in the last three years of primary school. In the survey mentioned above, 38.5% of respondents found the fear of school failure to be a "very big personal problem", while another 45.7% considered it a "problem"; not even A pupils are entirely satisfied with their achievement, while among B pupils only 36.6% are satisfied (Mencin Čeplak, in Ule et al., 2000).

On one hand, the child's school achievement is considered one of the most important factors for his/her future and, on the other, as a reflection of parental competence, care, maturity, responsible involvement in the child's schoolwork, an indicator of the quality of the parenting role – especially of mothers. Namely, the shift of responsibility for education from the state and schools to the family above all means an increase in hidden gendered labour and the added culpability of women, especially single mothers, as Griffith and Smith (2005) point out.

In this responsibility shared among students and their parents, students' school achievement becomes a measure of parents' competence, care and love and, at the same time, proof of the child's love for her/his parents (Mencin Čeplak, 2012). Both of them are exposed to constant tests of their love, competence and responsibility, that are made more difficult by the fundamental contradiction of their relationship, i.e. the contradiction between young people's need for autonomy and the need for parental control (Backe-Hansen, 2002). Accordingly, it is no surprise that schoolwork and school achievement often play a central role in parent-child relationships and structure their daily lives.

METHODOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

The article is based on data from the research project "Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe" (GOETE), carried out in the period from 2010 to 2012. The qualitative part of the research project was based on interviews and focus groups with students of 9th grade

2 The role of parents in the educational process was also detected by the school inspectorate. While 171 initiatives for special control were submitted in 1995, the number increased to 532 in 2012. The majority of initiatives regard elementary schools and are most commonly related to evaluation/grades at the end of the school year (Košak, 2013).

of elementary school in Slovenia, their parents, principals, teachers, school experts and external experts from the field. Three towns were included, namely Ljubljana, Koper and Murska Sobota (one school in each region was chosen). The interviews and focus groups were carried out from April to November 2011. The focus groups were conducted with pupils who were in the process of decision making for a secondary school, and with their teachers. Individual interviews were conducted with parents, school experts and students who had already been present in the focus groups and were in the second phase invited to share with us their first experiences of attaining a secondary school. The interviews were on one-to-one basis, with the exception of one interview where both parents were present. All focus groups included 3–5 respondents and two researchers were always present, one doing the interviewing and the other taking notes. The duration of the interviews was very mixed, with the student interviews being the shortest, from 20 minutes to 1 hour. The interviews with the other respondents were usually longer, lasting from 40 minutes to 2 hours. In total, we carried out 114 interviews and 12 focus groups with 135 individuals.

Coding was performed according to the five main topics that were cooperatively developed at the level of the whole Goete project (the conceptual part of the project). These were: coping strategies in the field of education, education in the life course perspective, access to education, the relevance of education, governance (educational policies at the local and state levels). In the coding process, attention was paid to common patterns (codes or topics that had great support by citations) as well as to specific 'cases' according to the principle 'every statement counts'. The coding was followed by the analysis of the contents with a categorisation whereby the meaning of long statements was rephrased into synthesised categories. With these condensations of meaning, relevant themes were defined that finally served as a subject of extensive interpretation.[3]

In the article we also use some data from the quantitative part to support our arguments. The survey was carried out on a sample of 470 parents and 725 students. It was conducted in the period from October to November 2010 in 20 elementary schools from three cities and their surroundings: seven schools from Ljubljana, seven schools from Koper and six schools from Murska Sobota.[4] In the sample of parents, there were 8.7% of mothers and 10.6% of fathers who had obtained a basic education (ISCED 0-2). More than half the parents included in the research (namely 51.4% of mothers and 52.1% of fathers) had completed secondary education (ISCED 3-4), while 39.4% of the mothers and 26.2% of the fathers had a tertiary education (ICSED 5-6).

RESULTS

In the following main section of the article, we present the key results of the described study, focusing on the role of parents in coping with educational demands as well as in young people's educational trajectories in general. Important questions are how pupils and their parents perceive responsibility for school success, what are family strategies for coping with educational demands, what is the role of key actors in the decision-making process and what are parents' preferences regarding their children's future education path.

SCHOOL SUCCESS AS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The discourse on individual responsibilities is one of the dominant discourses related to perceptions of success in educational trajectories. Both parents and students themselves regard students as being responsible for their school achievements as well as for future achievements in life. Consequently, the concept of "hard study" is mainly accepted as the best strategy for most effectively coping with school demands.

> *Well, it depends on the individual person; I mean the student is the one who is responsible for their future* (KP-students-interview-Maja[5]).
> *Well, it's your entire fault [if you don't succeed in enrolling in the school you wanted]. If you choose such school and you cannot enrol because you don't have enough points – you should know it before and that you have to work to get enough points* (LJ-students-interview-Nejc).

Success is believed to be a result of someone's effort, while all other factors are overlooked:

> *Yes, this [success] depends on coevals, the school, but the mostly on oneself. It's true, if you want to achieve something you have to make an effort. You really have to work hard because nothing comes just like that* (KP-parents-interview-mother-Tamara).
> *In order to be successful, one has to be responsible first. He has to be motivated. If someone*

3 For detailed information, see Ule et al. (2011): Exploring educational trajectories of 9th grade students in Slovenia: National case study report (WP6).
4 For detailed information, see McDowell et al. (2012): Comparative analysis individual survey: Deliverable no. 17: work package no. 4.
5 The codes for the respondents are structured to show: the city where the qualitative research was conducted (KP for Koper, LJ for Ljubljana and MS for Murska Sobota) - the group of the respondent (parents/teachers/experts/students) - the method of research (interview/focus group) - parental role (if applicable) - and a made-up name). In the case of the experts and teachers, we removed their school role to ensure the anonymity of the participants.

doesn't have the will to learn, then nobody can do it instead of him. The most he can do is to help himself. If this doesn't suit him, then he can do it in his own way. But, of course, he is responsible (KP-parents-interview-father-Tone).

On the other hand, the family offers an important support system, which has to assure everything needed for children's best opportunities (also see Ule, 2013). While the great majority of students strongly believe they are 'the creators of their own destiny', parents assure they will do everything to enable the schooling of their child as long as they are ready to study:

/…/ Let him study and then, if he'll like it, there is no problem. I am ready, he can study all his life. I'll finance it, there is no problem. Only to like it and me to see he is doing well. To see, he wants it. /…/ He'll get all the options, but again it all depends on him (KP-parents-interview-father-Tone).

Parents expect their teenagers to study hard. A protective standpoint in practice thus influences how parents often perceive school obligations as a key (or even the only) responsibility of the child:

She has no other obligations when she comes home. She only has to study. That's all. /…/ (LJ-parents-interview-father-Milan).

COPING WITH EDUCATIONAL DEMANDS

Child-centred parents invest immense amounts of effort, financial support and time for their children's education and planning of their future. On one hand, they play a protective role but at the same time place a great amount of pressure on their children, burdening them with high demands and plans about their future, and sometimes even relieving them of making these decisions themselves (Ule et al., 2011, 57; Ule, 2013).

In an attempt to cope with the various challenges they encounter during the educational career of their children, parents use a number of strategies (also see Živoder, 2013). The main strategies reported in interviews with students, parents and school staff include support with homework (direct help or supervision), arranging private lessons,[6] providing technical equipment (computers, mobile phones), increasing children's motivation to study, offering advice in decision making, offering emotional support, making contacts with school, and making use of support structures at school when needed.

In general, Slovenian parents appear to be overly engaged in their children's school obligations:

I think that nowadays parents meddle in it more than they did in the past. I think past generations had a lot more chances to freely choose… it seems as of parents have taken over everything – from points, grades, to enrolment. /…/ (LJ-teachers-interview).

/…/ of course we encourage him… in the sense of 'start with this lesson', 'if you want to have this grade you have to study, if you want a better grade you have to learn harder'. It's true we have a lot to do with this grades now he is in 9th grade and he has to strive for points and to either keep the grade or improve it. In this sense, we control the learning procedure as parents. We offer help with some lessons, like maths, sometimes chemistry, and physics, he is not the type for natural sciences, and we also prepare his exercises. His older sister is a maths genius and she helps him. We handle everything within the family /…/ (LJ-parents-interview-mother-Sonja).

Besides the direct parental involvement in providing this sort of support, the help of older siblings is also substantial. Parents who do not feel competent or are unable to provide help and support by themselves use various other strategies to help a child, e.g. they make an effort to find help in wider social networks (friends, relatives etc.):

You know, if she comes and tells me: 'I have to do this and that but I do not know how to', my boss has two daughters who have finished university. And she goes to them and they help her a little. /…/ (LJ-parents-interview-father-Milan).

How can I help (my daughter in English lessons) if neither me nor my husband speaks English? (KP-parents-interview-mother-Tatjana).

Parents who place a high level of importance on school performance are strongly motivated to make sure that their children will be able to enrol at good quality schools. Arranging private lessons seems an option when difficulties with grades occur. The social situation of the family in this case plays a smaller role (although empirical data show that the employing of tutors is more common among students attending affluent schools):

6 The survey data show that 22.9% of parents included in the survey from Slovenia already employed a private tutor, mainly for mathematics and languages. The four main reasons for employing a private tutor are to help the child catch up with school work (9.4%), the child does not learn from teachers (7.6%), to prepare the child for a test for the next school (5.8%) and because the school does not provide enough help (4.7%). The figures in this case do not seem so high but, on the other hand, more than every fourth student (27.5%) already had a private tutor, which in addition to the combined informal help options of family social network members and the school help options show that both school demands and educational aspirations are high.

I'm worried that she will not do ok in secondary school, but in this case we'll hire private lessons; this can be solved (MS-parents-interview-Danica).

School help options (additional lessons, counselling etc.) do not seem to be regarded as the best help option. While parents and students are satisfied with the help options available at school in general, they had second thoughts about using this support (Žakelj and Švab, 2011). Although parents are informed about the availability of support at school they prefer their children to use it only occasionally, partly due to the fear of a stigma attached to the use of such support. Consequently, school support is not the first option and students instead rely on family and friends when they need help.

DECISION MAKING ON THE FUTURE EDUCATION PATH

The Slovenian primary school system includes a well-developed network of experts (psychologists, social workers, pedagogues) available in each primary school to counsel students regarding school demands and vocational decisions (in the transition from primary to secondary school), yet compared to family and parental support the school experts' role and influence is minor:

No, I haven't discussed with school staff what would be the best option for my son. They offered us this option (KP-parents-interview-mother-Tina).
The school counsels but it does not have the final word. In my experience, with this year's 9th grade. I think the parents did not comply with the recommended options, maybe they did in two cases (MS-teachers-interview).

Vocational counselling in Slovenian primary schools also includes all relevant information regarding the transition to and enrolment in secondary school. The counsellors are mainly school counselling workers but class teachers are involved as well. Students also have the opportunity to visit companies to obtain detailed information regarding various vocations, although these options are limited by the availability of companies in a given region. Nevertheless, despite the well-developed system of vocational counselling, the key decision-making process happens within the family where different options are discussed with parents, siblings and other relatives:

I think in elementary school parents and their notions on the preferred educational path play a decisive role. In second place, there are children's wishes, among other factors additional information is important. But I think the influence of the parents is the biggest (MS-experts-interview).

The majority of parents is strongly involved in the educational trajectories of students either by offering support, conversation and information or by directly guiding their children in their educational transitions. It is common for parents to accompany their children to schools on their open days and inquire about the admission procedures:

Previous generations were more independent in decision making. Now, a lot of them come with parents. … There's really a lot of pressure and many times I hear children say 'Well, I would like to go to some other school!', but the parents don't let him/her go (KP-experts-interview).

Some students are aware of the importance of parents' advice and they also admit that parental opinions have an important influence on their decisions:

Yes, my mum advised me to go to pharmaceutical school because she is a nurse and she told me this, and I agreed (LJ-students-interview-Jennifer).
I also wanted to go to Ljubljana and I had already searched for a dormitory and a gymnasium which has a drama theatre programme so that I could continue to study it later, but my mother and father said no, and.. /…./ They said to me that I am too little, too young to go away. I know they would worry about me, just. /…/ (MS-students-focus group-Patricija).

Other students believe it was their decision, yet their explanation of the decision-making process points out the importance of the role of the parents or other relatives:

/…/ At the beginning yes, I wanted to enrol in secondary medicine school but then, because I want to become a paediatrician, my father asked people with experience. They advised it is better to go to gymnasium first and later to med faculty because in gymnasium there is a general matura examination but at the secondary med school there is only a vocational matura examination. / Yes (I would prefer to go to secondary med school). Because my education path would be certain, after finishing gymnasium you can enrol in whatever you want.
Interviewer: But who influenced the most about which school you will enrol in?
My decision was most influential. I wanted this from 5th or 6th grade on and the parents had nothing to do with it. They said enrol in what you want… /…/ (KP-ex students-interview-Ana).

Sometimes pressure can also come from other relatives as in the case of Nadal whose grandmother applied pressure for him to enrol in an elite gymnasium:

I would say it was my decision. /…/ I would say my grandparents are 'control freaks'. My mother said to me it is not important which school I will enrol in and that this is completely my decision. My father also said he has no plans for me. But it is true my grandma wanted to encourage me to enrol in Gymnasium Bežigrad because she decided that all three of her children, including my mom, would study there. I am lucky, my father's parents did not give so much pressure, neither did my parents. But anyway I would probably decide the same (he enrolled in the school his grandmother preferred) (LJ-ex students-interview-Nadal).

Parental gate-keeping practices are usually rooted in the belief that education improves one's life chances. Lower educational programmes like vocational programmes are rarely seen as an option. Parents influence the decision making on the basis of their perceptions about the prosperity of a specific vocation or profession. Their scruples about their child's wishes refer to estimations of the possibility of employment, the possibility of living properly on the basis of the economic aspects of the profession and estimations of the suitability of the profession/vocation in terms of the child's character:

He likes small kids very much. And he spends most of his free time with neighbours who have two small kids and he became labile, he started to change about secondary school hanging around the idea to enrol to educational secondary school but we then…. …/…/ No, I was not in favour of this. Why? I'll be honest. Each parent wants the best for his/her child but, to work as a teacher, this is one of the hardest professions. Each parent wants his/her child not to suffer so much, but these are obligations not to joke about (MS-parents-interview-mother-Jožica).

In fact, it was like this – we tried to influence his decision a bit. We considered the vocation he would attain. And, according to the current employment situation, with this selection he would have an easier way to find employment after finishing school. /…/ If you go to a four-year secondary school to have an occupation you can find employment with… (KP-parents-interview-mother-Tina).

Finally, children accept parents' arguments as the best (most rational) option:

I would really like to be a photographer, but my parents won't let me be one, saying that this school is not good enough, the salary and this vocation. ... We had a discussion one day and we came to this conclusion (that this school is not ok for her). … I was thinking a lot and then decided that they (her parents) are right about that (KP-students-interview-Zvezdica).

To sum up, with their best intentions for their child's future life parents try to influence a child's decision making regarding their education and in the majority of cases have an important indirect (if not direct) role in this process (Živoder, 2013).

PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS REGARDING SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENTS

Parents agree that education is very important for the future life of their children. The survey results show 92.5% of all respondents would like their child to stay in full-time education, and 88.8% believe that they will actually do so. Moreover, 97.1% of all respondents support children in their wishes about their further education and future education. Parents also endeavour hard to improve the motivation of their children to study and achieve good results. For this purpose, some parents discussed the importance of education with their children, and some others offered immediate rewards. Strategies for encouraging students to study hard are not always only positive and may include pressures to meet parents' expectations. The teachers and school experts noted the positive and negative sides of this. Particularly better educated parents have high aspirations for their children. One of the parents (a teacher herself) admitted she is passing on the importance of educational success to her children:

It was only yesterday that I talked with my co-worker. She has two girls and she said she always thought they have to be excellent pupils. And I also share the same perspective or idea. Primary school has to be finished very successfully. I try to hold myself back, but I do not know if I subconsciously gave these signals. Now they are both very competitive and both want to get nothing but A's and I feel a bit bad and as a culprit of it. So, I do not know, I put a burden on them with it (LJ-parents-interview-mother-Ksenija).

An emphasis on the importance of educational success was also common among families which have migrated to Slovenia for economic reasons. They expect their children to work hard and achieve good results at school, mainly to improve their chances of having a better life:

Samra is in 9th grade. I told her: 'Samra, take the book and study, do not become a cleaning lady!' 'Yes, I am studying, I am studying….' Children are not aware of the importance of education until they reach the age when they become aware it

would have been better for them to study before (LJ-parents-interview-father-Milan).

In this context, vocational programmes are devalued and considered a worse option. A common opinion on vocational programmes is that this option is only chosen by students who based on their school success cannot enrol in a gymnasium:

Today vocational programmes are sparsely selected. Less successful students enrol in vocational schools, but even they are thinking about a gymnasium and continuing studying and I think the vocational status is being devalued. And this is the reason that 75% of students enrol in a gymnasium /…/ (KP-experts-interview).

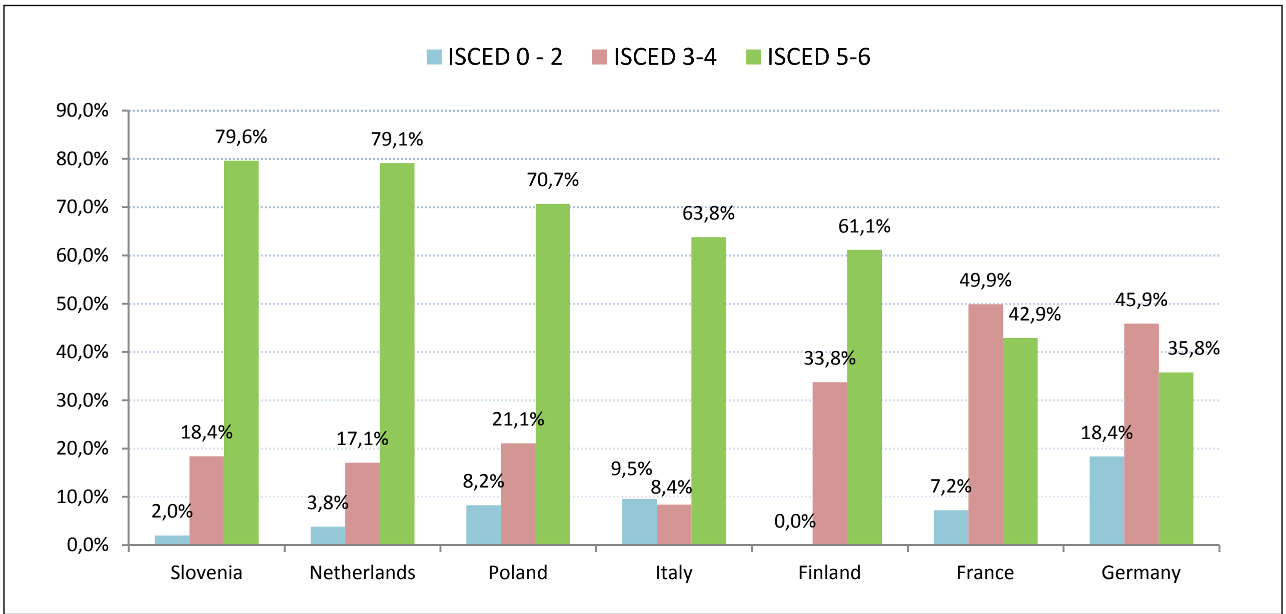
Due to the low reputation of vocational schools, some students who choose a vocational school hide their decision from their peers in order to avoid stigmatisation. Higher ambitions do not correlate so much with students' desires for their future life and career as much as parents expect:

My mother said to me: 'Enrol in whichever school you want, but I would advise you not to choose a 3-year school. Because this is a vocational school and the education you obtain is not so good', she said …. (MS-students-interview-Ronaldo).
It happened many times that a student came to us and said: 'I want to go to vocational school so much, but please you tell this to my parents.' This is an additional problem students encounter. They come here and tell it (KP-experts-interview).

The majority of Slovenian parents included in the survey (66.9%) want their child to achieve the ISCED 5 level of education, the ISCED level 3 is preferred by 18.4% and ISCED 6 by 12.7%. As seen in the figure 1, the expectations of Slovenian parents are the highest among all states included in the survey.[7]

The most common reason parents want their children to achieve the highest education level possible is the perception of education as a way to a job that gives a feeling of accomplishment (25.7%), followed by the belief that a high level of education will ensure a secure job with no risk of unemployment (22.8%). Doing a job that interests them regardless of pay is important for 17.8% of the parents included in the sample. A high income is the most important factor for 16.6% of the parents.

The general perception of finishing a high level of education is that it enables a 'better' life:



Source: McDowell et al., (2012, 87)

Figure 1: Highest level of education that parents would like their child to achieve, by country
Slika 1: Najvišja stopnja dosežene izobrazbe, ki bi si jo starši želeli za svojega otroka, po državah

7 The general opinion of society at large in Slovenia is that a higher education is directly connected to a higher income, easier working conditions, better life opportunities etc. With less restricted enrolments in gymnasiums (due to their growing number and the smaller generations entering secondary school), as well as schools that open opportunities to attend a desired university, the pluralisation of university programmes and simultaneous drop in enrolment criteria, tertiary education is today more available than before. Consequently, the state is encountering a growing number of highly educated youth with no job opportunities. Figures indicating the brain drain are rising, but higher education per se remains the aim of a middle-class parent.

/…/ Nowadays, each parent wants his/her child to finish university, a faculty, not so much because of the title but for a better life. That's why we want this so much (MS-parents-interview-mother-Jožica).
I would like my children to achieve a university education. Anything more would be even better. I found out recently, I really have to hold myself back (LJ-parents-interview-mother-Ksenija).

The degree to which the high aspirations of parents are already shared by pupils is evident in the share of primary school pupils wanting to enrol in university, where 69% of the pupils included in the research would like to attend university in the future.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The present article is based on a research project that enables an analysis of complex social contexts and multiple aspects of parental involvement in young people's educational trajectories in Slovenia. We mainly focussed on the role of parents in coping with educational demands and their role in decision making regarding educational trajectories, especially regarding the chosen vocations and schools. By taking account of different points of view (parents, students, school staff and experts), we strove to point out the complex relationship between the main actors directly involved in everyday school practices.

The data reveal several processes that contextualise the parental involvement, but two of them were expressed most clearly. These are the contradictory yet complementary processes of individualisation on one hand and familialisation on the other. The most striking finding is the persistent emphasis on the individual's responsibility regarding education that is present not only among the students who in the majority of cases are convinced that it is only up to them to achieve a good education if only they work hard, but also among the parents. Our results also confirm another side of the process of individualisation, namely that reflected in a high level of confidence in education (Ule, 2013): both parents and students agree that good education is a path to (if not a precondition for) a good future life. In this individualisation of responsibility, both of the key actors, i.e. parents and students, take their parts – and familialisation can be considered one of the effects of their 'shared' responsibility. Namely, the results also confirm the process of familialisation, which is especially seen in the perceptions that coping and decision making in the field of education is primarily a family matter. On the other side, this is also supported by the revealed low trust in school staff. The research did not go into details regarding the reasons for such low trust and so more detailed research is needed to reveal the reasons for this situation. Parents consequently apply a series of strategies to support their children in coping with school demands on an everyday basis and have an important influence on decision making regarding their educational trajectory.

A highly relevant question arises concerning the contexts that influence parental strategies and practices, especially the high level of involvement. Some of them were already mentioned in the conceptual part of the article. Namely, we believe that parental involvement is a consequence of the very demands of the culture of individualism that burdens children as well as their parents. Children are burdened by the idea of self-responsibility for the "reflexive project of the self" (Giddens, 1995) and parents for helping them in achieving this project as successfully as possible. The latter is mediated through discourses of competent parents and attentive parenthood (e.g. Holmer Nadesan, 2002) which means that parents are socially expected to carry out the parental role in the most ideal way possible (i.e. to enable a child to develop all of their potential).

Both processes, i.e. the individualisation of responsibility and familialisation, can be considered as psychological and micro-sociological aspects of the growing social and economic uncertainty and dismantling of the welfare state where competition between individuals is among the key imperatives (Ule, 2013). It is therefore not surprising that parents (and students) attach such importance to education: when unemployment is rising and more and more responsibilities are being transferred from the state to individuals, employability is considered as one of the main goals and education as the most 'effective investment' (e.g. Mencin Čeplak, 2012). Therefore, in the context of the process of individualisation, parental involvement can be seen as a form of adaptation to late modern circumstances where no other alternatives are available.[8] Parents' protective stance is probably (at least partly) a response to the demands of a highly individualised society and its demands on individuals. As already observed in the "Youth 1998" research, parental support is based on perceptions regarding the vocational and educational career of children that are at a very early stage "an object of calculative judgments and communication" between parents and children (Rener, in Ule et al., 2000, 110).

One of the side-effects of familialisation is a high level of control over a child's everyday life as well as life course (control is exercised, as already mentioned, not only in the private but also in the public sphere via the process of institutionalisation underway especially in school and other educational settings). Edwards and Alldred note that there is a paradox "that it is often children's dependency status within the familialisation and institutionalisation that is regarded as producing this individuated autonomous personhood" (Edwards and Alldred, 2000, 436). However, this creates children's

8 For an analysis of the role of individualisation on the level of governance, see Vezovnik, 2013.

dependency, limiting their autonomy. By trying to support young people in coping with the demands of late modernity, parents simultaneously also prevent them from preparing to cope (independently) with such demands in their future life course (Žakelj and Švab, 2011). This is also confirmed by our study as individualism is only present in some aspects, e.g. in self-responsibility, while (the expected) autonomy of the individual (from parents and other social actors) is rarely present in the students' statements (see Žakelj and Švab, 2011). Moreover, we should not overlook the fact that familialisation also means that families are taking over the roles and responsibilities of the welfare state, which (at least partly) contributes to social peace.

Further, a problematic part of the process of individualism is that students, parents and also school staff rarely problematise structural factors as those which influence individual student life, but instead emphasise individual responsibility, individual characteristics and abilities as being crucial for 'success in life' (being able to adjust, to be smart etc.) (Žakelj and Švab, 2011). This places the responsibility solely on individuals and does not question the broader social and economic contexts and, at the same time, it increases individual burdens caused by imperatives of competitiveness and success (Mencin Čeplak, 2012). In this way, children are directly socialised in the culture of individualism (e.g. via self-responsibility). Familialisation at least partly contributes to making young people passive whose role is only supposed to be able to adjust to whatever conditions that come along (Žakelj and Švab, 2011). This does not mean that young people do not resist parents, school order in particular and social order in general. Nevertheless, one should not ignore the problematic aspects of the individualisation and familialisation processes in their contributions to existing social (and other) inequalities.

As mentioned at the beginning of the article, previous research on young people in Slovenia has already shown the importance of the family (and family support) along with some characteristics of individualism (Ule et al. 2000; Ule, 2013). The research "Youth 1998" (Ule et al., 2000) posed a question about the reasons for the familialisation of youth that was on the rise throughout the 1990s, and wondered if this is a phenomenon of young people adjusting to an uncertain reality and events they cannot influence (Ule, in Ule et al., 2000, 12). It is clear from our study that this is even truer for today's generation of young people.

VLOGA STARŠEV V IZOBRAŽEVALNIH POTEH MLADIH LJUDI V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

Na podlagi rezultatov iz kvalitativnega dela raziskave mednarodnega projekta "Governance of educational trajectories in Europe" (Goete) avtorice analizirajo vlogo staršev v spoprijemanju s problemi ter odločanju v zvezi z nadaljnjim izobraževanjem učencev in učenk 9. razreda osnovne šole v Sloveniji. Študija je pokazala na pomembno vlogo, ki jo igrajo starši v spoprijemanju z izobraževalnimi zahtevami in na izobraževalni poti mladih ljudi, kar je tudi v skladu s preteklimi raziskavami. Avtorice skušajo pojasniti širše družbene, politične in kulturne kontekste, ki uokvirjajo vlogo staršev in družine nasploh, pri čemer izpostavljajo dva, na videz nasprotujoča si procesa individualizacije in familializacije. Rezultati raziskave kažejo na zelo poudarjen trend individualizacije v izobraževalnih poteh mladih. Visoka stopnja individualizma je najbolj očitna v dejstvu, da mladi v zelo veliki meri prevzemajo nase odgovornost za lastni uspeh (ali neuspeh) na področju izobraževanja; neposredno pa se vidi v starševskih strategijah v soočanju z izobraževalnimi zahtevami: starši se na primer čutijo visoko odgovorne, da pomagajo otrokom doseči čim boljšo izobrazbo. Slednja ugotovitev nas vodi do drugega, na videz nasprotnega procesa, to je familializacije. Rezultati raziskave kažejo visoko stopnjo starševske vpletenosti in podpore v soočanju z izobraževalnimi zahtevami (npr. plačevanje in organiziranje dodatnih učnih ur, nudenje lastne pomoči pri učenju), visoke starševske aspiracije in izdelane strategije pomoči otrokom ter visoko stopnjo vpliva staršev na odločanje mladih glede njihove izobraževalne poti. Ne nazadnje, familializacija je posredno vidna tudi v nizki stopnji zaupanja v šolske eksperte, ko gre za pomoč pri učenju (morebitnih učnih težavah) ter odločanju o izobraževalni poti. Avtorice želijo pokazati, da so različni procesi, ki se na prvi pogled zdijo kontradiktorni, v resnici komplementarni in da je pomembno, da v analizi upoštevamo prav konstelacijo različnih dejavnikov, da bi razkrili kompleksno sliko o vlogi staršev v izobraževalnih poteh mladih.

Ključne besede: vloga staršev, izobraževalni prehodi, odločanje, individualizirana odgovornost

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STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL CHOICES AND FUTURE ORIENTATIONS IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

The article examines the link between students' educational choices and future orientations within the framework of contemporary societal conditions. It draws on quantitative and qualitative data obtained in a survey, essays and interviews with 9th grade students in Slovenia in 2010–2011. The research results show that in the context of the increasing individualisation of societal risks, growing unpredictability and decreasing standardisation of life courses, the students consider education to be highly relevant for their future lives, and their anticipation of the future has a significant effect on their present (educational) choices. The article attempts to highlight the vital links between educational choices and expectations concerning the future, identify the key individual and structural factors of students' educational choices and future orientations and recognise the main difficulties and paradoxes of Slovenian students' planning for the future in contemporary circumstances.

Key words: educational choice, future, students, life course, educational transition, vocational wish, aspirations, self-responsibility, risks, unpredictability

SCELTE EDUCATIVE DEGLI STUDENTI E GLI ORIENTAMENTI FUTURI IN SLOVENIA

RIASSUNTO

L'articolo esamina il legame tra le scelte educative e futuri orientamenti di studenti nel contesto di condizioni sociali contemporanee. Essa si basa sui dati quantitativi e qualitativi ottenuti nel sondaggio, saggio e interviste con gli studenti di nono grado in Slovenia nel 2010-2011. I risultati della ricerca hanno dimostrato che nel contesto della crescente individualizzazione dei rischi sociali, imprevedibilità crescendo e diminuendo la standardizzazione dei corsi di vita. Gli studenti considerano l'educazione come altamente rilevante per la loro vita futura, e l' anticipazione del futuro ha un effetto significativo sulle presente scelte educative. L' articolo cerca di evidenziare i collegamenti vitali tra le scelte educative e le aspettative del futuro, identificare i fattori individuali e strutturali chiave delle scelte educative e dei futuri orientamenti di studenti e di riconoscere le principali difficoltà e paradossi della pianificazione del futuro di studenti sloveni in circostanze contemporanee.

Parole chiave: scelta educativa, futuro, gli studenti, corso di vita, transizione educativa, desiderio professionale, aspirazioni, auto-responsabilità, i rischi , l'imprevedibilità

INTRODUCTION

In this article, we will attempt to examine the link between students' educational choices and future orientations within the framework of contemporary societal conditions in Slovenia. The educational choice that takes place at the end of lower secondary education[1] can be considered to be highly important and far-reaching for the lives of students in many aspects. For instance, in the context of the Slovenian education system it is the first important *life transition* for many students, when they have to reflect on and weigh up their wishes, opportunities and constraints and choose one option among many for the first time and thus take a crucial step on their future educational and career paths. Choosing one alternative among many also entails assuming responsibility for the choice as well as its later consequences and the effects it has on one's life (Salecl, 2010). The more difficult and far-reaching is the choice, the bigger the burden of choosing responsibly and informatively. Thus, it is not difficult to see how crucial and decisive the educational choice of upper secondary programme is since in most cases it will vitally influence not only a student's future educational and vocational career, but also their future position and status in society, social, economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990), social identity and decision-making power, as well as their personal life and identity (Živoder, 2011).

Young people today are precisely the social group in which the contemporary risks and uncertainties are most distinctively expressed (Ule, 2008; 2010; Ule and Zidar, 2011; Ule and Živoder, 2012). They are also significantly enhanced by the contemporary "ideology of free choice" (Salecl, 2010), whereby the individual is addressed as a free, independent subject, appealed to creatively shape their own identities and life course and also assume full responsibility for their own choices. In this kind of setting, attention is diverted from the structural, social, economic and political conditions and focused on individuals, who are compelled to search for individual solutions to systemic risks (Beck, 1986; Giddens, 1991). The ideology of choice masks the radical uncertainty and unpredictability of contemporary life as an opportunity to 'freely' and actively create 'oneself' through the many choices, possibilities and opportunities offered by the contemporary way of life (Žižek, 2001). And precisely educational choice can be regarded as a present-day choice *par excellence* as they are those choices which in many respects significantly influence and mark their future life courses, their identity and their social (vocational) and private practices and thereby play a crucial role in placing individuals in the social world. The topic of educational choices is particularly significant today when the future of young people is very uncertain, while their reflections about the future, education and their particular ways of entering (or being excluded from) the socio-economic and political spheres of society are a key factor of the common societal future.

The article draws on quantitative and qualitative data obtained in a survey and interviews with 9th grade students in Slovenia in 2010–2011 within the GOETE project[2]. While the quantitative data[3] will serve as background information and a reference framework for the key indicators related to students' perceptions about the relevance of education and their future, an analysis of the qualitative data will serve to explore these issues in greater detail, allowing us to examine more subtle connections between education and the future as they are individually formed in a socially relatively strongly structured framework (e.g. the Slovenian education system). The qualitative data were obtained in interviews and focus groups[4] with students along with short essays[5] written by students. In this article, the analysis is restricted to those parts of the research material related to the issues and discourses on educational choices, perceptions of education and views on the future.

FACTORS OF EDUCATIONAL CHOICES

Within the *life course perspective,* where life course is understood as the trajectory or path of an individual through the social structure (Levy, 1997), *transitions* (such as entering school, getting a first job, marrying, becoming a parent etc.) are understood as key and critical passages in the life of individuals, whereby they acquire new social positions and related specific roles, duties and rights (Heinz, 1997; Levy, 1997; Ule, 2008). In this

1 In the Slovenian education system this refers to the end of the third cycle of basic education, that is, the end of comprehensive nine-year compulsory education.

2 Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe (www.goete.eu). For more information about the project and its international perspective, see Ule (2013a) and Walther et al. (2010).

3 The survey with students was carried out in November 2011. The sample includes 725 9th grade students (52.2 % females and 47.8 % males) from 20 primary schools located in Ljubljana, Koper and Murska Sobota. For detailed information about the survey, sampling, sample characteristics as well as data collection and analysis methods, see McDowell et al. (2012).

4 The qualitative phase of the field work was carried out in two rounds and took place between April and November 2011 in three primary schools in Slovenia located in Ljubljana, Koper and Murska Sobota. Twenty-eight semi-structured interviews, 9 focus groups (38 participants) and 17 interviews with ex-students (those who had already participated in the first round of interviews or focus groups) were carried out. For detailed information about the sampling, data collection and analysis methods, sample characteristics and research instruments, see Ule et al. (2012) (Slovenia) and du Bois-Reymond et al. (2012) (comparative perspective).

5 The essays were written in May 2011; 9th grade students from 3 primary schools were asked to freely write about their thoughts and feelings regarding their future, aspirations, wishes and fears. In total, 105 short essays were collected.

framework, the notion of *educational trajectories* refers to the individual's paths and transitions through various educational institutions that lead to different levels of educational capital and where transitions and access to educational levels are affected by the structure (of the education system, social inequality, and of the welfare state) and agency (individual choices, abilities, interests) (Cuconato and Walther, 2013).

Educational choice as a vital passage or transition within an individual life course can be considered a sort of *rupture* in an individual's life, where the perception of time plays an important role. Namely, in a time of significant life transitions, which require the taking of influential life choices and decisions, one is compelled to review both their past experience and achievements (such as school performance) that are eventually embodied within the scope of present opportunities and possibilities, as well as the perception of oneself in the future, which are then embodied in one's present wishes and aspirations about who to be in the future. As other research has demonstrated, the anticipation of the future has a significant effect on the present choices, which are thus not only limited to past and present experiences (Leccardi, 1999; 2005; 2006; Nilsen, 1999; Brannen and Nilsen, 2002; 2007). Thus, we can say that in a life transition, such as an educational transition, three times coincide: the *past* (individual, social, economic and cultural resources); the *present* (choice, dependent on opportunities, support); and the *future* (wishes, aspirations, hopes, outlook). Further, within this setting these three times can be understood as *biographical time,* e.g. the life span of the individual, while the life course perspective deals with the intersection of the biographical, *social* and *historical time* (Hareven, in Hagestad, 1997) and therefore analyses how this biographical time is intertwined, and mutually interdependent with the social and historical time, e.g. how the life span "becomes a socially created pathway" (Hagestad, 1997, 21).

Therefore, in order to grasp in what way educational choices and subjective notions of the relevance of education emerge, they have to be placed in wider societal settings and thus account for the specific contemporary conditions in which the individual lives of students are embedded. Among the contemporary societal characteristics that have also been acknowledged in other international research related to youth and education, the most important and influential trends are: individualisation and the related increasing individual responsibility for managing life choices and societal reproduction (Beck, 1986; Bauman, 2001; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Rener, 2010; Salecl, 2010), the de-standardisation and pluralisation of life courses and transitions (Brückner and Mayer, 2005; Walther, 2006; du Bois-Reymond and Chisholm, 2006; Kohli, 2007), the changing relationships between parents and children (i.e. prolonged youth, education and economic dependence on parents, rising importance of parental support) (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Biggart et al., 2002; Leccardi and Ruspini, 2006; Ule, 2013b), the insecure, precarious and rapidly changing labour markets, the unclear links between education and later job/career possibilities, and recently also the current economic recession and high youth unemployment. Moreover, educational choices and notions of relevance are also framed by the features of respective education systems. According to Allmendinger's typology of education systems[6] (Allmendinger, 1989), the Slovenian education system is highly standardised and lowly stratified, where the differentiation of students, compared to other European countries (for example Germany or the Netherlands) is relatively low[7]. In addition, the routes to higher and/or between different educational tracks are open and permeable[8].

On the basis of an analysis of the survey, interviews and essays with the students we propose and discuss the following five key factors that frame and influence a student's educational choices at the end of lower secondary school: vocational wishes; the relevance of education; employment prospects; barriers and constraints; and resources and support. Moreover, these five factors are embedded and intertwined with what we here refer to as the *future outlook,* that is, each student's subjective view and perception of their future, which contains a wide range of attitudes towards their personal future, from ignorance or distance towards the future to detailed and concrete wishes, aspirations and plans. Future outlook may be regarded as a sort of umbrella factor of educational choices and will be more specifically addressed in the next section of the article.

Vocational wishes. Vocational wishes could be underlined as the single most important factor of educational choices as the discourse about (vocational and general) wishes was (directly or indirectly) all-present in the students' thinking and writing about their choices and future. The interviewed students were in many ways very concerned and preoccupied with thinking about what they would like to do in the future. Certainly

6 According to Allmendinger's typology (1989), education systems can be classified according to the criteria of *stratification* and *standardisation*, where »*stratification is the proportion of a cohort that attains the maximum number of school years provided by the educational system, coupled with the degree of differentiation within given educational levels (tracking)*« and »*standardization is the degree to which the quality of education meets the same standards nationwide*« (Allmendinger, 1989, 233). According to these criteria, the Slovenian education system is lowly stratified and highly standardised (Parreira do Amaral et al., 2011; Cuconato and Walther, 2013).

7 For a critical analysis of the integration policies and discourse in the Slovenian education system for the case of students whose first language is not Slovenian, see Vezovnik (2013).

8 For a more detailed discussion of the characteristics of the Slovenian education system and a comparison with other European education systems, see Parreira do Amaral (2011).

this is not surprising as the interviews were purposely carried out just before and right after (with ex-students) their educational transition to upper secondary school. Nevertheless, this fact should not in any way diminish the pervasiveness and high level of importance that students ascribe to the need to find the 'right' vocation and employment in which they will be able to enjoy and fulfil themselves and have a sense of meaning. Not so long ago, a sense of meaningful, fulfilling jobs was reserved for a handful of people, while the majority of the population were 'working to live' and not the other way around, namely, 'living to work'. This means that work, employment, is more than ever before becoming a key identity factor through which one finds a purpose in life.

> For example: *»Above all I would like to enjoy what I would do, that I would not be in torments, I think it is very important that you find what gives you joy... with your soul, that you enjoy vocations, like this«* (LJ-ex-students-Nina[9]). Or, even more vividly: *»My dreams are to become an actress outside Slovenia, maybe even outside Europe. I have had these dreams since I can remember and I'm ready to do everything and more to realise them. /.../ This is what I want the most in the world. I only fear that I will not be able to achieve this goal, but I don't burden myself too much with it. This is the only thing I want to do and I will go for all or nothing«* (essay, KP-32, f[10]).

In terms of vocational wishes, we could place the majority of students in two general groups: those with a more or less clear and defined vocational wish, and those who have no specific wishes. Interestingly, the great significance of vocational wishes is actually most clearly manifested in students of the second group. This group consists of a variety of attitudes to the vocational wish (from the need to find the 'right wish' in the future through to ignorance towards such wishes, where the educational choice and future constructions depend more on other factors). Nevertheless, for the majority of students in this group the need to find their own interests and wishes in the near future (and consequently the 'right and interesting vocation' which they will enjoy and will fulfil them) is a crucial and urgent matter.

In a previous article (Živoder, 2011) where we discussed the relevance of education, we identified two strategies students adopt in the absence of straightforward, defined desires about education or a future vocation: the postponement of decisions and 'more is better'. Both of these two strategies are a mirror of how demanding the educational choices are, especially given the common contemporary assumption that education and work are one of the most crucial factors that will influence one's life course, identity, future happiness and fulfilment.

In the case of the postponement of the decision, students most often enrol in general upper secondary programmes in order to 'buy some time' in which they hope they will be able to find their wishes and interests and to 'keep their future possibilities as open as possible' as the gymnasium in the Slovenian education system opens doors to university studies. For instance: *"Because I'm in my last year of primary school I enrolled in a gymnasium so that I will have 4 years to think about my future and about work which I would dedicate to"* (essay, MS-09, f) or *"When I will finish gymnasium I want to go on to study, but I don't know where yet"* (essay, LJ-15, f).

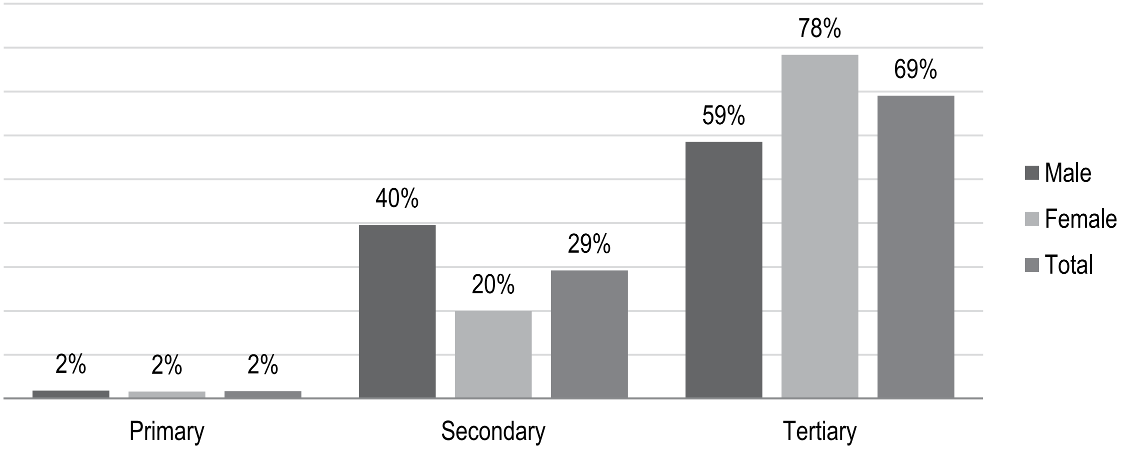
The second strategy is in a way intertwined with the first one, although 'more is better' is focused on gaining desired educational levels (and certificates) to secure the future rather than on gaining adequate qualifications or skills that will allow students to work in the profession they like, which is the key characteristics of the first strategy. Thus, in the 'more is better' strategy students aim to attain the highest and best education possible, most often in order to try to minimise the risks and secure safe and promising employment careers and socio-economic position in society. In this sense, education is often valued more as a means to achieve desired goals (through educational certificates) rather than knowledge being considered as a value in itself. This strategy, where *"higher education is a 'safer, less risky' path to take"* (Živoder, 2011, 42), is yet another reflection of the pervasiveness of the risks, uncertainties, unpredictability and related high self-responsibility in contemporary society. Further, it is sometimes used to secure a prosperous social position and/or to move up the social ladder, especially among more disadvantaged groups (also see Litau et al., 2013; du Bois Reymond et al., 2012).

Relevance of education. Students' perceptions about the relevance of education for their future educational and vocational career and future orientations generally should be understood as a contextual or implicit factor in which thinking and planning about education is embedded.

Figure 1 shows that the educational aspirations of the Slovenian students included in the research are remarkably high as almost 60% expect they will complete the tertiary level of education. Among other things, this figure speaks of the high relevance or even obviousness that students attribute to attaining an education. However, if we compare these aspirations to the national levels of educational attainment we see a distinctive

9 All names of the participants are fictitious. The citation mark of interviews (i.e. MS-students-interview-Ajša or LJ-ex-students-Nina) includes information about the city of the interview (LJ – Ljubljana, KP – Koper, MS – Murska Sobota) and the round of interview (students or ex-students), where ex-students refer to the second round of interviews.

10 The citation mark of essays (i.e. essay, KP-32, f) includes information about the city (LJ, KP, MS) and gender (f – female, m – male).



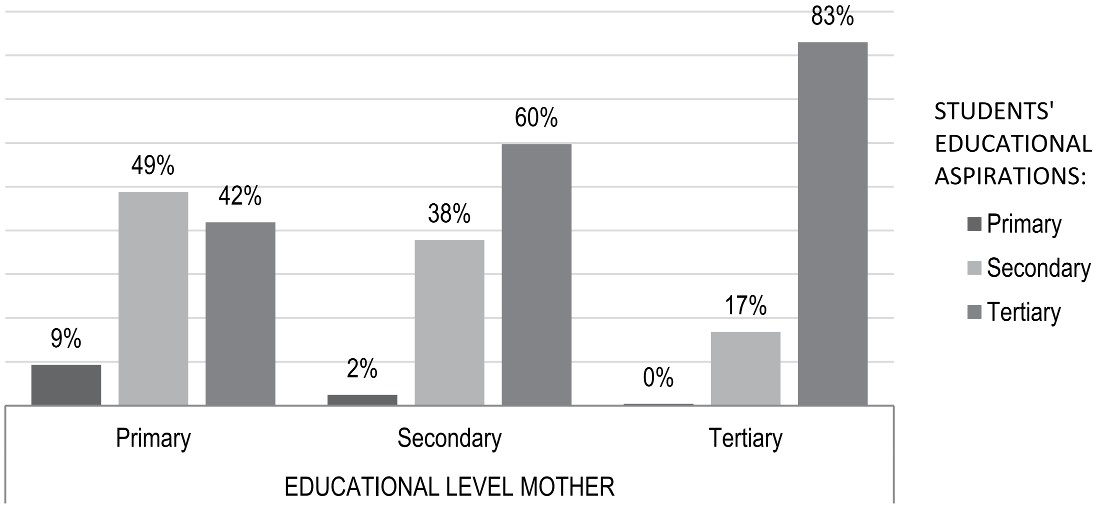
*Sig.=<0.000, Cramer's V 0.281

Figure 1: What is the highest level of education you expect to complete (by gender)?
Graf 1: Katera je najvišja raven izobrazbe, za katero pričakuješ, da jo boš dosegel/dosegla (po spolu)?

gap between aspirations and achievements: for example, 17.5% of the total population has attained at least a short-term higher tertiary education (SORS, 2011). Nevertheless, more relevant and comparable are the data on younger age groups, for example in 2011 among the population aged 30–34 23% of men and 42% of women had achieved at least a short-term higher education qualification (SORS, 2012, 32).

Moreover, the share of the population participating in tertiary education in Slovenia has been significantly increasing in the last three decades years, especially in the case of women. According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SORS), in around 1980 the share of women graduates exceeded the share of men for the first time and it has rapidly increased since then; namely in the last 30 years the number of male graduates has grown by 135 %, whereas the number of female graduates has increased by 300%; thus, in 2010 there were almost two-thirds of women among graduates (SORS, 2012, 45). This trend is also confirmed by our data, where female students reveal significantly higher educational aspirations.

Figure 2 shows the importance a family's social position and cultural capital has on the educational as-



*Sig.=<0.000, Cramer's V 0.235

Figure 2: What is the highest level of education you expect to complete (by educational level of mother)?
Graf 2: Katera je najvišja raven izobrazbe, za katero pričakuješ, da jo boš dosegel/dosegla (po izobrazbeni ravni matere)?

pirations of a student. Differences with regard to the mother's educational level are substantial and statistically significant; the higher the educational attainment of the mother, the higher are the educational aspirations of the student. These results are not surprising as the influence of the socio-economic position and capital has been well-established in international research (for contextualisation within the GOETE project, see McDowell et al., 2012; Litau et al., 2013; Cuconato and Walther, 2013). These differences in educational aspirations are to some extent no doubt a reflection of the actual educational possibilities of more disadvantaged students in contemporary societies. Their lower educational ambitions, coupled with lower support mechanisms (in terms of economic, social and educational resources), are certainly a recipe for the reproduction of the socio-economic disadvantage. Nevertheless, too ambitious expectations can also have adverse consequences for students, who could be under great pressure to perform well at school and meet the high ambitions set by themselves and/or their parents; a vivid example: *"The family, teachers and above all me have always thought and expected that I will enrol in a gymnasium, but I've been slacking at school in recent years and my school success went down. Many people have been disappointed over this because they had much greater expectations for me and also I had much higher goals. I'm determined to make much more effort in secondary school, put in more effort and goodwill and show that I can do it"* (essay, MS-04, f).

There are also numerous straightforward students' statements which testify to the great significance students ascribe to education. For instance: *"Education is actually also part of your life. It decides how you will live, what kind of life you will have. It is not only the money, but your decision, how you will live"* (MS-students-interview-Ajša) or *"Education is very important because without it you are nothing"* (LJ-students-interview-Matej).

Other vivid examples of statements that speak about the importance of education are those related to future employment[11], both in terms of working in desired professions or getting secure and sufficiently well-paid employment. Here are some exemplary statements: *"In the next five years, I want to become a successful woodwork technician because I like to work with wood"* (essay, LJ-14, m) or *"No, even if the work is poorly paid, but you like it, you will prefer doing that than a certain job where you get a lot* [note: of money] *and you don't like it"* (KP-ex-students-Zvezdica) or *"In five years I see myself in Ljubljana or Maribor at the Medical Faculty, but there is still a long, long way until there and God knows what is still waiting for me. My big dreams are to become a paediatrician, but not because there are not enough paediatricians, but because I like that job and I very much like to work with children"* (essay, MS-13, f) and *"When I finish studies, I hope I will get a well-paid vocation, which I will do with at least a bit of good will"* (essay, LJ-12, f).

Further, we can also find a number of more indirect statements or frames of thinking where the high relevance of education is evident, most clearly for example in students' effort and worries about their school performance: *"At the end of the school year I expect an excellent school achievement because I made a lot of effort for good grades during the school year and above all I wish that this performance would open me the door to further education"* (essay, MS-09, f) or *"I would like to achieve something in my life, that is why I will make an effort to be successful in school"* (essay, LJ-12, f).

Conversely, the students also expressed reasons why they think education is not important. In their view, these are especially related to the unclear links with employment opportunities as many raised concerns that education today does not guarantee getting a job in the first place (especially due to the poor employment prospects and economic recession) nor sufficiently well-paid or secure (long-term) employment. With regard to this, some students mentioned their dissatisfaction about contemporary employment possibilities since having the proper 'connections' is often much more important than having adequate qualifications[12].

Employment prospects. The link between education and employment opportunities is one of the major concerns of the students when deciding about their future education. On one hand, it is closely linked to the first factor (vocational wishes), but here the emphasis is placed more on external circumstances and opportunities than on subjective wishes and aspirations as with the case of vocational wishes. Employment prospects turned out to be a major cause of worry for the students as they embody the high level of unpredictability and insecurity in the present labour market and socio-economic circumstances in general. Namely, one of the students' clearest messages is that the link between education and future employment is no longer always evident because employment prospects today are changing quickly, which renders students' future plans difficult: *"Most of all I am afraid that if I don't choose the right education, I won't have a job"* (essay, MS-12, f).

Figure 3 shows the link between education and work, what students regard as the most important reason for choosing a job. In the survey, the students were offered five options[13] which we have clustered in two umbrella categories: instrumental and subjective reasons

11 Also see the section *Employment prospects* below.
12 For a more detailed discussion and analysis of findings on the relevance of education that have emerged within the GOETE project, see Litau et al. (2013).
13 Next to "I don't know" and "Other reason".

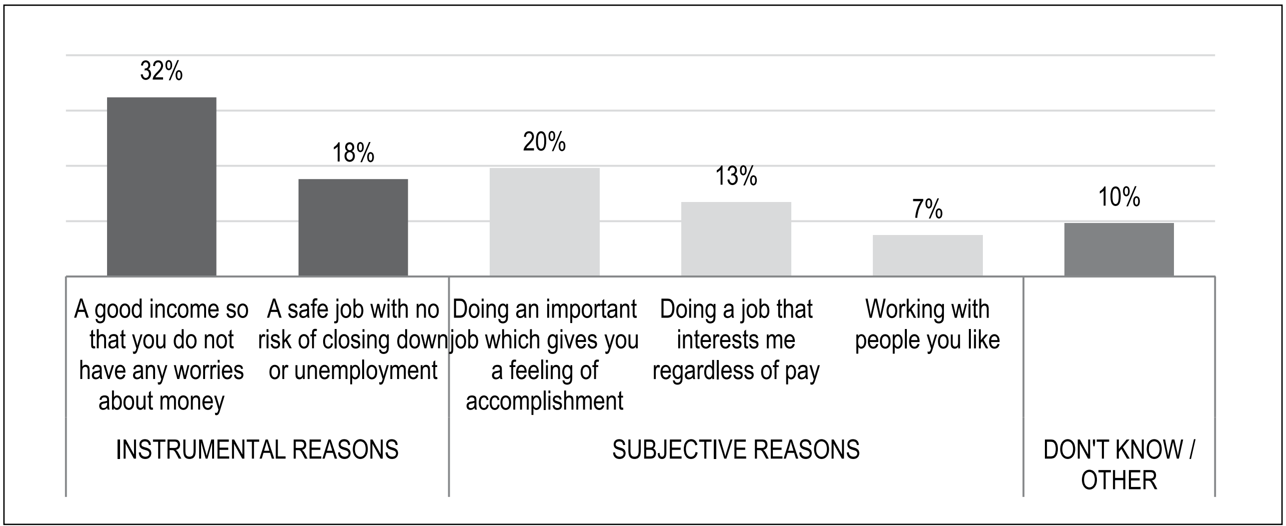


Figure 3: Here are some of the things many people take into account in relation to their work. Which one would be your main reason for choosing a job?
Graf 3: Spodaj je naštetih nekaj dejavnikov, ki jih ljudje upoštevajo pri izbiri službe. Kaj od naštetega bi bilo pri izbiri službe zate najbolj pomembno?

(for an international comparison, see Litau et al., 2013). A cross-analysis with socio-demographic indicators showed that there are no statistically significant differences in relation to gender, educational level or working status of parents, which means that students' perception about future jobs do not depend on socio-economic status but are more bound to other societal circumstances such as, for example, the general discourses on the meaning of jobs or labour market trends. The data show that 50% of students chose instrumental reasons related to sufficient income and safe employment, which can also be partially interpreted as a response to the current difficult position of young people, who are facing a highly insecure and uncertain future with high youth unemployment rates and an unstable and ever changing labour market: *"Yes, actually they have also told me that* [the profession] *is much sought after, that there is a need for computer science and that I will be able to get a job. This was almost the most important for me"* (LJ-ex-students-Bruce Willis).

Nevertheless, also more subjective reasons are not unimportant since for 33% of the students the most important factors of a future job are those related to one's interest and the feeling of a meaningful and important job. These reasons are in line with the contemporary discourse on ideology of choice, self-reflexivity, being the creator of oneself, aiming for a fulfilled life and taking responsibility for your actions and choices described above.

Barriers and constraints. In terms of the barriers and constraints that frame and condition students' educational and career choices, empirical evidence shows a relatively strong prevalence of individual or subjective barriers and constraints, among which two especially stand out: school performance and achievement, and learning and working habits, for example: *"The biggest barrier and fear are the grades, they could be the main problem"* (essay, KP-35, m), *"Most problems are caused by my* [lack of] *diligence"* (essay, KP-23, m), or *"In all these, what hinders me is my knowledge from the past because I didn't make any effort in school and, because of this, this year I can't enrol in the school that I would like to"* (essay, LJ-26, f).

Among the structural/systemic barriers the students emphasise the most are: worries about enrolment in the chosen upper secondary school, employment possibilities and a fear of unemployment, support of parents, and social and economic circumstances in society, for instance: *"I think that the biggest problem in these times of crisis is to get a job. Although you have a degree, for example in economics or something similar, you can work as a salesman. So in these times it is really very difficult to get a job for which you have educated yourself and degrees and PhDs don't help you a lot"* (essay, KP-16, m); *"I fear the most that I won't get a job and then there will be no money and then none of my plans will come true and then everything will suck"* (essay, LJ-11, f).

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the mean values of the students' worries. It reveals that they are most often concerned about their school performance and future employment, which is yet further confirmation of young people's difficult position in today's society. Also, we can again see how important education is in the eyes of the students, who are often worried about their school performance, for example, 21% of them are frequently worried and 9% are always worried about doing badly in school; again the gender differences are considerable as 24% of male students and 35% of female students

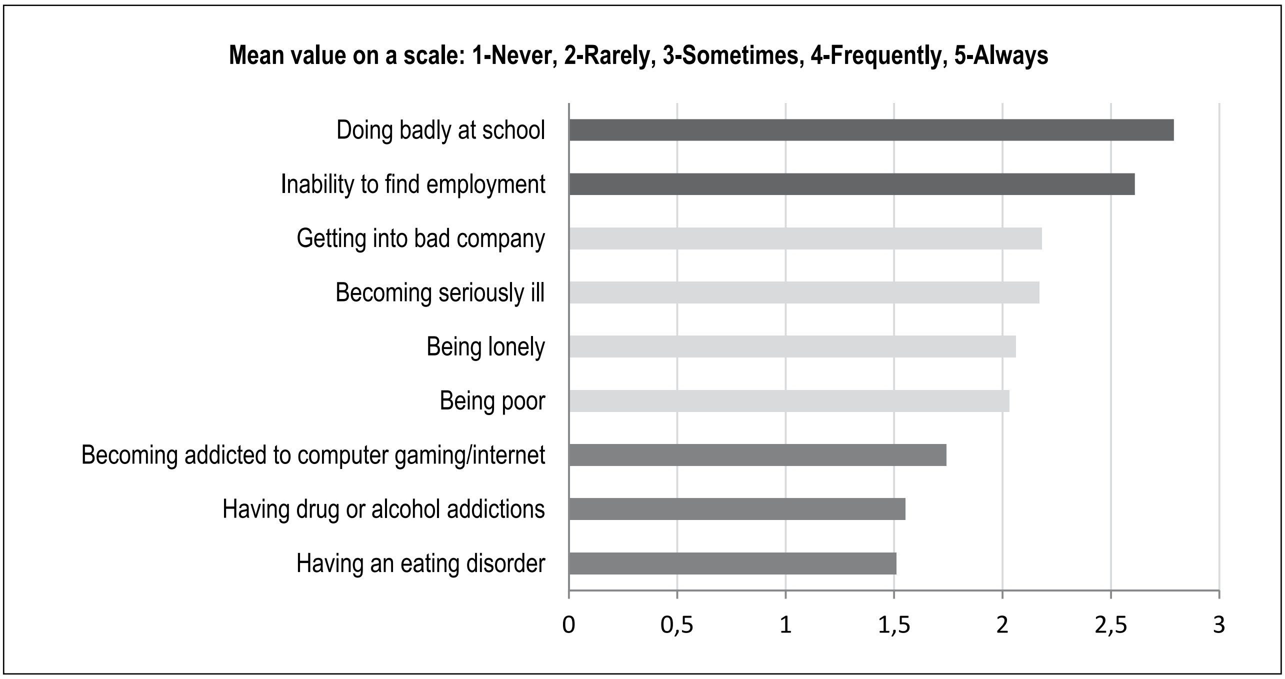


Figure 4: How often do you worry about the following situations becoming an issue for you at some point in the future (mean value)?
Graf 4: Kako pogosto te skrbi, da bi nekoč v prihodnosti imel/a naslednje težave?

are frequently or always worried about doing badly in school, which is in line with the substantially higher educational aspirations and actual educational attainment levels of female students. Moreover, these findings endorse the above assumption about the high self-responsibility for individual life courses today.

Further, there are also great concerns about finding employment in the future (21% of male and 24% of female students are frequently or often worried about the inability to find employment), especially if we consider that the sample includes 9th grade students who are yet to continue education at the upper secondary (and some tertiary) level before they will actually make a transition to the labour market. These results speak about how the general perceptions of the young population about the uncertainty and unpredictability of employment, about the unclear links between education and employment (high educational aspirations and yet high worries) and again about the individualisation of societal risks and high perceived self-responsibility.

On the other hand, not all students feel burdened or constrained about their lives and future, and their statements show high levels of optimism that is mostly based on trust in themselves, the people around them and the future in general, for instance: *"I'm not afraid of barriers and problems because I'm determined and persistent"* (essay, LJ-24, m); *"I think there are no barriers for my dreams and nobody can persuade me otherwise"* (essay, KP-12, f); and *"I'm not afraid of problems because I have people that I trust by my side"* (essay, KP-02, m).

Resources and support. The support and resources available to students at the time they have to make their educational choices is a crucial contextual factor as they not only frame but also earmark the opportunities they have. This is not only in terms of whether a student is able enrol in a certain school (for example, due to their previous school performance or financial abilities of their families), but also in terms of whether and to what extent a student is acquainted with the available options, which depends heavily on the social and cultural capital of their surroundings. As an international comparison of the empirical results has shown, not only educational opportunities but also educational aspirations are still strongly dependent on the economic, social and cultural capital of the students' families; a fact widely recognised in many other research studies (McDowell et al., 2012; Litau et al., 2013; Cuconato and Walther, 2013).

In terms of resources, students again most clearly refer to their own subjective abilities and past achievements, most often about their previous school performance (grades, worries about enrolment criteria, questioning their previous diligence and commitments to learning), while in terms of external resources they speak about available information (provided by the schools and related institutions, such as tests at the Employment Service, friends, and families), and available options in terms of financial capabilities (such as, for example, whether a family is able to support them to enrol in more distant schools).

Nevertheless, what is clear from the students' responses is that their parents or immediate family is, next

to their own school achievements, the most important support factor of educational choices and future planning[14]. For instance, the quantitative data reveal that 63% of all the students have at least weekly or daily conversations with their parents about their school work and 49% often discuss this their future education and career possibilities. Moreover, in the event they were to have problems in life, 88% of the students would seek advice from their mother, and 72% from their father; the percentages are similarly high in the case of problems with school work, 85% would turn to their mothers and 71% to their fathers. Further, more than 75% of the students stated that their mothers often or always tell them how important it is that they are successful at school and that they show a lot of interest in their school progress.

How crucial the support of their parents and families is for the students becomes even more evident from their statements in the interviews. Although parents certainly assume different roles and attitudes towards their children's independence in taking educational choices – from "children must choose by themselves" (Ule et al., 2012; Cuconato and Walther, 2013), to "way-keepers" or even "gatekeepers" (Cuconato and Walther, 2013) – it is clear that for a large majority of the researched students, parental support is vital and influential for their lives, regardless of the specific form it takes. When students feel they are not supported by their parents, their influence is of a different kind, but certainly not smaller; one vivid example:

> *"But I know that if you are for example an artist-painter or a musician (which are my highest priorities), you can live through many ups and downs, for which I am ready, but unfortunately my parents are against this. Against the real life. If I were indeed to be an artist, I should receive the most parental attention and encouragement. But I don't know if this will be true, this is why I will try to find another way in art, which is more reliable. This will not be a real life, where you can reach the highest point, therefore ordinary but, if I will follow my expectations and dreams, maybe then I can persuade my parents, who will then encourage me with all of their hearts and I will become what I have subconsciously wished for forever. A painter"* (essay, MS-03, f).

PLANNING OF THE FUTURE: TIME HORIZON, HOPES AND DIFFICULTIES

Since educational choices at the end of lower secondary school are in many ways a key step towards the planned or desired future, the students' accounts about their choices and reflections on the future are deeply intertwined, and in many respects no clear distinctions can be made between the two. Nevertheless, perhaps the most evident distinction relates to the perspective of *time*; while educational choice occurs at the present moment (taking account of past experience, present resources and opportunities as well as future wishes and expectations), general reflections about the future refer to undefined and various individual timeframes. Nilsen (1999) distinguished between *plans, hopes* and *dreams,* where the timeframe is a crucial differentiating aspect: *plans* refer to the extended present rather than the long-term future and are strongly associated with a sense of being in control of the situation; *hopes* concern more distant events that extent over the projection of the present actions, but are at the same time seen as possible within a certain space and time, even if only vaguely; while *dreams* are related to the more distant future, belong to a timeless and spaceless realm and are completely beyond one's control (Nilsen, 1999).

A similar time horizon also emerged in our research material; the majority of the students plan and think about only the most immediate future (the time of upper secondary education), while the more distant future is only roughly sketched through more or less vague hopes, dreams or even fears and worries: *"Next I will be going to an economics secondary school; what I will do after that… some work experience or something similar"* (essay, KP-07, f); "*I don't know about the distant future, let it be a surprise, I will probably go to university*" (essay, KP-15, f).

Thus, the students' more detailed reflections and planning of the future are mainly oriented to the time frame of the next five years, which could be referred to as the "extended present" (Nowotny in Leccardi, 1999, 13; Nilsen, 1999). More specifically, the students mainly reflect about two different future 'events': enrolment in secondary school (and the related finishing of primary education) and the time of secondary education; both of these two events belong to the realm of the immediate future and not only allow, but also require some planning and reflection and thus seem to be at least partially within the students' control.

Further, with regard to how detailed, well-conceived and elaborated the students' future wishes and aspirations are in their statements, we can identify two different umbrella orientations towards the future. The first orientation regards those students who manifest clear, precise wishes and/or goals about their future lives, even where the paths towards them are not yet clear to them. For example: *"In the near future I hope I can go to a higher medical school where I will educate myself to become a paediatrician, because I like working with children a lot. In the distant future, I hope I will work at the Paediatric Clinic in Ljubljana and help ill children"* (essay, LJ-13, f). In this statement, we can see how the student has a vivid image of herself in the future, no doubts

14 For a more detailed discussion about the role of parents, see Žakelj, Švab and Mencin Čeplak (2013).

about her dream vocation, yet, for the time being, she is not familiar with the specific educational routes towards becoming a paediatrician (enrolling in a higher school instead of the medical faculty). Similar reasoning is visible in the following statement where there are no doubts about the goal and aspirations, yet the path towards them is not easily attainable, although the student shows some awareness of this: *"In the future, I will continue with basketball and become a professional basketball player. I think it will be a problem how to reconcile all these with the school. I hope I will successfully finish basic, secondary and further education. My greatest dream is that after I successfully finish secondary school, I will go study in America and play for a school team there"* (essay, KP-17, m).

Moreover, there are many statements where the students express distinct wishes about the vocation they wish to perform in the future and are also familiar with it since they already have some experiences, such as becoming a cook, a tourist guide, a wood-crafter, automechanic etc., for example: *"In the near and distant future I hope to become a professional cook and open my own restaurant"* (essay, LJ-32, m). Another group of students also expresses distinct wishes about their vocations, but with less knowledge about the specific details of the desired work, for example, becoming an actress, a lawyer or a doctor.

The second orientation regards those students whose future currently seems completely 'open' to them; they have little or no vision about their future lives. Their focus lies in the present moment, while the future (near or at least distant) seems not to be a concern. The reasons for this differ from student to student, yet we can identify at least two common markers: most often such attitudes are distinct for those students who have a fundamental doubt about their own wishes[15], some of whom show a keen need to find their own 'selves' in time to come, while others display a sort of ignorance or apathy towards their future by claiming they are not even thinking about it, for example: *"I have no idea what I will do in the near and distant future*" (essay, LJ-16, m) or "*I don't think about the future a lot"* (essay, KP-13, m). These kinds of statements are certainly not necessarily a sign of a lack of interest and motivation, but could very well also be an expression of the difficult choices among the plethora of options, the lack of distinct wishes, support, orientation, or even a consequence of the high insecurity and uncertainty in contemporary society, where one is left to find their path more individually and considerably less than socially and collectively than before.

This uncertainty is immediately manifested in a lot of the students' statements, which show that many of them are strongly aware of the difficult contemporary socio-economic and political situation pervaded by risks, insecurity and uncertainty, all of which severely aggravate their personal planning for the future. Some exemplary thoughts: *"I'm scared that there will be an even greater worldwide economic crisis"* (essay, LJ-13, f); *"But I fear that I won't find a job, because it is very difficult to find one even now"* (essay, KP-28, f); *"I hope that I will have or get a job because I notice that we are doing very badly right now. I don't want to look for a job abroad, but I still think that many young people will decide for abroad"* (essay, MS-22, f); *"I think this is unfair and also, how should I say it, if you have certain connections, you can get somewhere faster than one who makes effort and works and can't get anywhere"* (LJ-ex-students-Nina).

The difficulties and burden the students face in their planning for the future is also visible in the high awareness of individual responsibility for their own life paths (also see Razpotnik, 2011; Živoder, 2011; Rener, 2010; Mencin Čeplak, 2012). On one hand, the majority of the students believe that 'everything' is up to them, i.e. they see themselves as the key actor in their future personal and professional life (often the only recognised important condition is the support of the family) which often, yet not always, leads to a disregard of the other societal and social factors, actors and milieus which can trigger an even heightened sense of self-responsibility: *"My parents support me as they can, but I mostly support myself. And the idea that I do all this so that I will achieve something in life"* (essay, LJ-11, f).

On the other hand and deeply interrelated with the shared perception of self-responsibility is the willingness and determination to make a lot of effort and do everything that would lead to success, for example: *»I will have to face many fears and challenges since you have to study for a long time and have good grades. Sometimes I am also afraid, but I know that I will do everything in my power to get this profession and I will cope with all the challenges«* (essay, MS-01, f); *"I always try to look positively about my future, I believe in my dreams and whilst ever there is still a slight chance of realising these dreams I don't intend to give up. For my dreams, I intend to make an effort and fight until the end. Namely, my big passion is physiotherapy. I am aware that I have these abilities and a sense towards fellow human beings and, in addition, I look forward to this work"* (essay, MS-17, f); *"Yes, now I have to learn very, very hard in the next two years in gymnasium, and then also in third and fourth year. Then I have to persuade mum and dad that I can go study somewhere, and then continue with that and realise my dreams*" (MS-ex-students-Patricija).

Thus, the future for many students seems to rely heavily on their individual actions, choices, diligence and willpower. To say they are unaware of the difficult socio-economic situation and current labour market crisis would be a serious underestimation of many of them

15 These are the students who resort to one or both of the two strategies described in the previous section about educational choices ('postponement of decisions' and 'more is better').

since they display a relatively high level of awareness of economic and social happenings. This is most likely precisely because they have just been facing one of the most important transitions of their lives, enrolment in secondary school, where for the first time they had to reflect on their future paths and make such an important choice and were also exposed to information about prosperous schools and professions. Nevertheless, when it comes to actual planning and choices, they still most often choose and plan individually, according to their own wishes, interests, feelings of accomplishment, self-realisation and fulfilment. In the absence of collective strategies, such choices, especially when they are not clearly linked to defined wishes, can present a considerable burden for choosing prudently, informatively and wisely as framed and demanded by the contemporary ideology of choice.

CONCLUSIONS: EDUCATION & THE FUTURE

Young people today are precisely the social group in which the contemporary risks and uncertainties are most distinctively expressed; on one hand, these risks are related to the 'ideology of choice' and the appeal to creatively express their 'true selves' and their dreams and to take responsibility for their actions, even if they are beyond their own control and influence (Beck 1986; Bauman, 2001; Salecl, 2010), while on the other hand they emerge from the contemporary socio-economic conditions, most of all from the uncertain and precarious labour market prospects (Leccardi 2005; 2006; MacDonald, 2009; Ule, 2008; 2010; Ule and Živoder, 2012).

This is reflected in their thinking and planning about the future. Namely, many of the young people who participated in our research have two things in common. First, they strongly identify with individualisation and the ideology of choice as they see their future through the lenses of their wishes and happiness, they wish to 'become somebody', they hope they will have jobs which they enjoy and where they can realise their own potential; having a job 'only for the money' seems an unacceptable option to many young students. Second, many of them are in a state of fundamental uncertainty precisely about their own wishes; they do not know what they desire, who they want to become, yet they are strongly convinced that they have to 'be true to their wishes, true selves'. Since for many of them their wishes and interest are still an 'enigma', they resort to such strategies that allow them to 'buy some time' in order to get to know themselves, become educated and work in the field of their interests, fulfil their potential, realise their dreams and be happy.

That is why they mostly think and plan about the near future (upper secondary school), while their paths and plans concerning the somewhat more distant future often cannot be a part of their reasoning or is manifested more or less through 'traditional' or socially expected and constructed wishes, such as vague wishes and expectations about having a husband or a wife, children, nice and well-paid jobs and material goods. A large part of their planning takes place through the common belief that it is precisely education and, more specifically, educational qualifications with their 'promise' of auspicious, safe or interesting jobs that is the most correct and most certain path towards a prosperous, comfortable and secure future.

We could say that, in general, the students who participated in the research demonstrate relatively strong optimism with regard to their future lives. However, these optimistic attitudes seem to be more linked to unclear hopes and wishes and a derivative of a certain time distance towards 'full adulthood' and accordingly their future than with clearly defined plans or a realistic assessment of opportunities. Thus, for young students who are about to or just have entered upper secondary programmes the future seems to be some sort of 'reservoir of potentiality' in which their wishes, dreams as well as worries, fears and uncertainties are gathered; nevertheless, in the eyes of the young people included in the research the positive aspects of their subjective future outlook certainly prevail. The future is thus denoted by a promise of something which has yet to arrive, a certain goal, the realisation of dreams, of themselves, i.e. of a different kind of today.

In a certain way, this relative optimism regarding the future might seem a little surprising given the contemporary social, economic and political conditions and prospects, and especially given the current economic recession with high youth unemployment rates and the many tertiary graduates without employment. Moreover, this recession is giving rise to even more precariousness, uncertainty and risks and, perhaps most importantly, a space for an increase in socio-economic differences and a diminishing of the welfare state. However, it should be noted that these kinds of positive attitudes of young people today are certainly a consequence of previous welfare state policies in Slovenia, which among other issues were aimed at ensuring equal educational opportunities for all and are to some extent still a legacy of our common societal past.

If we compare the educational possibilities of our students in terms of open and equal access to the education system with those from some other European countries, we can quickly detect some striking differences. For instance, in Germany, where the education system is highly selective, differentiated and stratified (Allmendinger, 1989), routes between different educational programmes and towards higher educational levels are not very permeable, children have to make crucial educational choices (in line with their possibilities and opportunities) which in most cases are irreversible, already at the age of 10–12. Moreover, *"In a highly stratified, selective school system, children are separated into different schools or programs according to their ability, socioeconomic and cultural-ethnical backgrounds and interests.*

There is little or no mobility between schools or programs, which differ greatly in curricula" (Cuconato and Walther, 2013, 41). In such systems, there is a strong tendency towards the reproduction of socio-economic differences through educational inequalities.

Young people should be able to dream about their future, to think that 'anything is possible' and certainly should not need to worry about a lack of employment opportunities or poverty (especially at the age of 14 or 15, such as the students included in the research) due to social, economic and political circumstances, faults of the political and social order or even an unfair or inaccessible education system. They should be able to hope to obtain jobs that will give them feelings of accomplishment and self-realisation regardless of their background or the scope of their families' connections and acquaintances. And it is both a task and a duty of today's Slovenian adult society and its political and economic elites not to squander the possibility of the young to dream and to at least maintain if not improve the same opportunities to educate themselves and to work as they themselves had.

"Young people are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and more fit for new projects than for settled business."
— Francis Bacon

IZOBRAŽEVALNE IZBIRE IN ORIENTACIJE ZA PRIHODNOST UČENCEV IN UČENK V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

Članek raziskuje povezavo med izobraževalnimi izbirami učencev in učenk in njihovimi orientacijami za prihodnost v okviru sodobnih družbenih pogojev, ki jih bistveno označuje ideologija izbire in samo-realizacije na eni strani ter vse globlja politično-ekonomska kriza, pomanjkanje priložnosti ter vse večja negotovost na drugi strani. Analiza temelji na kvantitativnih in kvalitativnih podatkih, ki so bili pridobljeni v anketi, esejih in intervjujih z učenci 9. razredov osnovne šole v Sloveniji med letoma 2010 in 2011. Rezultati raziskave so pokazali, da v razmerah naraščajoče individualizacije družbenih tveganj, čedalje večje nepredvidljivosti in vse manjše standardizacije življenjskih potekov, učenci večinoma razumejo izobrazbo kot izjemno relevantno za svoja življenja in pogosto kot najbolj obetavno in varno pot do svoje prihodnosti. Vendar pa za učence izobrazba ni pomembna le skozi instrumentalne razloge, npr. dostopa do trga dela, ampak so zelo pomembni tudi bolj subjektivni razlogi, kot je npr. opravljati zanimiv poklic, ki daje občutek samo-realizacije. V smislu prihodnjih življenjskih potekov takšne vrste osebnih aspiracij in pričakovanj precej povečujejo občutenje individualne odgovornosti za prihodnost, ki ga pogosto spremlja skromen vpogled v širše družbene in ekonomske določujoče faktorje. Članek identificira in razpravlja o petih ključnih dejavnikih, ki uokvirjajo in vplivajo na izobraževalne izbire učencev ob koncu osnovnega izobraževanja: poklicne želje, relevantnost izobrazbe, zaposlitveni obeti, ovire in omejitve, viri in podpora. Ti dejavniki so umeščeni in prepleteni s t.i. obeti za prihodnost, to je subjektivnim pogledom vsakega učenca in učenke na svojo prihodnost. Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da večina učencev načrtuje in razmišlja le o najbolj neposredni prihodnosti (čas srednješolskega izobraževanja), medtem ko je bolj oddaljena prihodnost le grobo skicirana skozi bolj ali manj nerazločne upe, sanje ali celo strahove in skrbi. Na splošno učenci, vključeni v raziskavo, izkazujejo relativno visok optimizem do svoje prihodnosti. Vendar pa se zdi, da je ta optimizem bolj povezan z nejasnimi upi in željami ter časovno distanco do »polne odraslosti« in s tem do svoje prihodnosti, kot pa z dejanskimi natančnimi načrti ali realistično oceno priložnosti.

Ključne besede: izobraževalna izbira, prihodnost, učenci/učenke, življenjski potek, poklicna želja, aspiracije, samo-odgovornost, tveganja, nepredvidljivost

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BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL FRAGMENTATION AND LOCAL DISCRETION: THE GOVERNANCE OF TRANSITIONS IN THE ITALIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on educational trajectories in Italy, with particular attention to the transition from lower to upper secondary schools in a governance perspective. After introducing the foundations and transformations of the Italian education system, two issues will be analysed: the new early vocational tracks and the inclusion of pupils with immigrant backgrounds. These issues may seem distant and disconnected, but their choice is aimed at producing a varied evidence of governance problems in welfare and education policy in Italy, with a particular focus on the issue of coordination.

Key words: Governance, vocational education, Italy, transitions, immigration

TRA FRAMMENTAZIONE ISTITUZIONALE E DISCREZIONE LOCALE: LA GOVERNANCE DI TRANSIZIONI NEL SISTEMA DI ISTRUZIONE ITALIANA

RIASSUNTO

L'articolo analizza la governance delle traiettorie educative in Italia, con particolare attenzione alla transizione fra scuola secondario di primo e di secondo grado. Dopo un'introduzione sui fondamenti e le trasformazioni del sistema educativo italiano, verranno analizzati due temi: I nuovi percorsi di istruzione formazione professionale e l'inclusione scolastica dei minori di origine straniera. Questi temi possono sembrare distanti fra loro, ma l'attenzione su di essi permette di trovare diverse evidenze di comuni problemi di governance delle politiche sociali ed educative in Italia. In particolare, si pone attenzione al problema del coordinamento.

Parole chiave: Governance, formazione professionale, Italia, transizioni, immigrazione

INTRODUCTION

This article focuses on educational trajectories in Italy, with particular attention to the transition from lower to upper secondary schools. This transition has been challenged by societal and institutional transformations throughout Europe: accessibility may be hindered by variable selectivity processes, both locally and nationally; family background still counts in students' ability to cope with difficulties; and formal support is often ineffective in dealing with structuring conditions (Parreira do Amaral et al., 2013). To acknowledge how this process has been shaped in Italy, we will first focus on the path-dependency of previous institutional configurations and then on the problems and answers provided in the last decade. For this reason, after introducing the foundations, features and transformations of the Italian education system, we will analyse two issues: the creation of new vocational tracks (Regional Systems of Vocational Education and Training; RS-VET from now on) and the inclusion of pupils with immigrant backgrounds (PIBs).

These two issues may seem distant and disconnected, but their choice is aimed at providing a perspective from Italy on relevant educational issues: the relevance of education and its inclusive dimension—which, in the Italian case, grounded a wavering ten-year effort to reform secondary tracks; the pluralisation of life courses; and the de-standardization of youth transitions that make constellations of disadvantages more diverse and difficult to grasp—especially in a highly contentious area like immigration.

Among the possible standpoints from which to enter these research fields, this article uses a governance perspective, by analysing how institutional relations affect access chances in RS-VET and for PIBs. Thus, the policy process will be followed from problematisation to outcomes, with special attention to a major problem of Italian governance models: micro-regulation, which is institutional and territorial fragmentation that affects policy enforcement, and effectiveness.

This issue will be studied by matching a macro- and micro-perspective, using *desk* policy analyses, interviews with national stakeholders and informants and local case studies (with observations; interviews with principals, teachers, pupils, parents and experts; and vignette interviews with practitioners).[1] In particular, we will match governance structures with the opportunity windows of street-level bureaucrats' discretionary power.

Discretionary power and autonomy are a constitutive part of many jobs in the social field, including educational professions, since their activities cannot be fully routinized (Maynard-Moody *et al.*, 1990). This means that they are not simply implementing higher-level decisions (even though they are responsive to external pressures): street-level bureaucrats are *de facto* policy-makers who can block reforms and alter rules, but also establish innovative practices and creative solutions to everyday dilemmas through their actions (Lipsky, 2010). Nevertheless there are different ways in which the interplay between discretion and rules can take place, with different forms of legitimacy and direction (Galligan, 1990; Sosin, 2010).

THE ITALIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM: STICKY TRANSITIONS AND DIFFICULT RESCALING

MAIN FEATURES

Italy has had a comprehensive education system since 1962 (when early tracking was abolished), which was widely confirmed later, e.g., with the abolition of most special schools in the 1970s. Its system is made up by three tiers—a 5-year primary education with a common curriculum and most teaching hours dispensed by a single teacher; a 3-year lower secondary tier with a common curricula and specialized subject teachers; and a 3-to-5-year upper secondary tier with different paths (see Fig. 1).[2]

This system has traditionally been governed in a centralistic, bureaucratic–hierarchical way by the Ministry of Education, notwithstanding a well-known, traditional territorial cleavage (Grimaldi, Serpieri, 2012), which is a fundamental feature of the country that does not only concern socio-economic dimensions, but also institutional performance and educational and training structures. However, this "central government monopoly" has been eroded by two waves of decentralization: during the 1970s and later and more substantially, during the 1990s and 2000s.

In the first period, responsibility over vocational training was devolved to the nascent regions, while grassroots instances were recognized with the creation of representative bodies in schools (1973).

During the second period, schools were granted autonomy in management, organization and teaching (in 1999), with a share of school- and locally flexible

1 The results presented here are based on research materials collected within the FP7-funded project GOETE ("Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe"; Contract no. 243868): we used 89 interviews and 11 focus groups with principals, teachers, students, ex-students, parents and experts (a total of 157 interviewees) in local case studies of three Italian cities, plus document analysis and 12 interviews of national privileged witnesses for high-level governance (collected in 2011 by the staff of University of Urbino Carlo Bo and University of Bologna, Italian partners of the project; see Barberis *et al.*, 2012; Barberis, Kazepov, 2012). These materials have been complemented with 15 vignette interviews to social workers collected within a project of national interest (PRIN 2006) on "The territorial dimension of social policy" (see also Barberis, 2010; Kazepov, Barberis, 2013).

2 These include: 6 paths of general education, 2 paths and 11 specializations of technical education (in-between general and vocational), 2 paths and 6 specializations of vocational education, 21 national specializations of vocational training (plus other active at regional level).

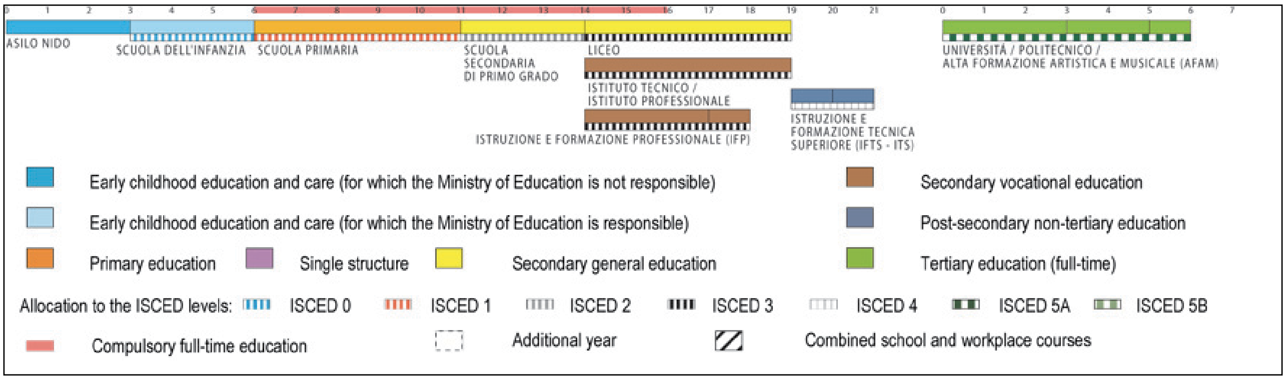


Fig. 1. Structure of the Italian education system 2012/13. Source: Eurydice.
Graf 1. Struktura italijanskega izobraževalnega sistema 2012/13. Vir: Eurydice.

curricula hours.[3] Then, the decentralization process climaxed with the 2001 Constitutional reform (still to be implemented in full), which expanded the financial, legislative and management roles of regional governments considerably, especially in the fields of education and training. From then on, the process slowed down and has even shown signs of recentralization (OECD, 2012).

EMERGING CRITICALITIES

In the intersection between traditional (e.g., class and territorial divides) and new problems (e.g., the destandardisation of life courses and the changes in family subsidiarity and labour market structures) and institutional responses (in particular, a decade of partial school reforms in the 2000s), it is possible to stress some weaknesses in governance of the Italian education system that will re-emerge throughout this article:

- an inconsistent governance structure (mainly hierarchical and bureaucratic), which results in blurred school autonomy and wavering decentralization, especially as far as resource management is concerned;
- a decentralization that set up an unclear division of tasks and responsibilities between the state and its regions, further institutionalizing a traditionally strong territorial divide;
- an unreformed lower secondary tier, which is a weak point in the entire educational path;
- hard transitions from tier to tier;
- an unclear "division of labour" between vocational education and early vocational training; and
- a challenge to the traditional integrative and comprehensive school model raised by new profiles of pupils and families.

"Universal" in its welfare aims, the Italian education system proved to be highly selective in practice, with tracking effects (see Tab. 1) and serious problems with granting equality and social mobility, as part of a "blocked society" where social origin is a strong determinant of success (Schizzerotto, 2002; Ballarino, Checchi, 2006; Ballarino *et al.,* 2009; Schizzerotto *et al.,* 2011; see also Coccia, Mundo, 2012). Social mobility is weak, both for traditionally disadvantaged categories (e.g., social class) and for more recent ones (e.g., immigrant background). Over the last decades, this problem also evolved into a problem of relevance, with vocational paths becoming more and more detached from the labour market and general education less and less able to meet the expectations of upward social mobility.

Institutional transitions and school cycles contributed to the implicit selection of the disadvantaged. The bridges among school tiers are weak, due to different educational styles, methods and endowments, resulting in high failures in the first years of each tier.

In this respect, the transition between lower and upper secondary education (taking place with pupils aged 13–14) is a striking example: a shift from an inclusive to a selective learning environment is matched with a challenge to pupils' coping strategies, since they have to choose among different tracks.

In fact, while lower secondary schools still aim for a welfarist function (i.e., the reduction of disadvantage), upper secondary schools have a more selective mission. This clashes with recent school reforms, which defined the first two years of upper secondary school as part of the compulsory education system. The different missions of the two levels—social inclusiveness vs. skill selectivity—makes vertical continuity difficult.

The accumulation of "transition shocks" in this step is remarkable: in our fieldwork, we noticed negative effects coming from different teaching styles, the structuring of class groups (with new classmates), the physical distance of upper secondary schools from home (especially for those living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods), the decreasing ability of parents to support pupils when progressing through their educational career (especially

3 On the other hand, financial autonomy has always been limited (Eurydice, 2007).

for pupils from families with poor educational qualifications), and decreases in public support and services (e.g., for disabled students).

Data can help to frame the issue. The failure rate in the first year of lower secondary education is 4.8% (versus 3.8% in the second and 3.7% in the third) and peaks at 14.6% for PIBs (Miur, 2012a); it reaches 16.6% in the first year of upper secondary education (versus 5.6% in the fifth year) and peaks at 25.9% in the vocational tracks (Miur, 2012b).

This has long-standing consequences: notwithstanding relevant improvements in the last two decades, the share of early school leavers in the 18–24 age group is among the highest in Europe (18.2%, peaking to 25% in Sicily and Sardinia) (Istat, 2013), in addition to the school participation of youngsters aged 15–19 (83.3 vs. 86.7% in the EU for 2010).

One of the most dramatic background data for this age group in Italy concerns the NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training) group: more than 2 million (22.7%) of the 15–29 population, but also some 11% of the 15–19 age group—almost double the OECD average (Istat, 2013; OECD, 2012)—and still increasing in the aftermath of the crisis, especially in Mezzogiorno.

This information has to be complemented with the tremendous rise in youth unemployment, which nearly destroyed more than a decade of improvement (Istat, 2013): in the 15–24 age group, unemployment is now over 35% and much higher for females and in Southern Italy. In a country that is "youth-unfriendly" in housing and characterized from the late 1990s by a striking "flexinsecurity" in the labour market, this is also a reason for the well-known issue of the high number of young adults living in their parents' household (Berton et al., 2009; Micheli, Rosina, 2009). These data show a muddled transition to adulthood and a mismatch between education, training and the labour market.

THE ROLE OF POLICIES

More than a decade of reforms in secondary and tertiary education, training and active labour market policies have been aimed at reducing this gap, although their effects seem quite partial, since this effort was not matched with an adequate prioritization of education in the political agenda.

As a proxy, we can use data on educational and training expenditures: in Italy, it is lower than the EU-27 average (4.5 of GDP vs. 5.5%), even with a widening of the gap in recent years, due to the joint effects of crisis, retrenchment policies and priority setting in the political agenda.

Thus, these reforms have been implemented in penury. The strengthening of school autonomy was not matched by a national steering on priorities and criteria, so that every single school enacts its own guidance, transitions and follow-up procedures; on the other hand, the extension of compulsory schooling to the age of 16 (2007) was not harmonized with reforms in the school tiers. This means that compulsory schooling finishes with a "transition without transition", since it is not matched with final exams or exit certificates (see Fig. 1). The main problem is that no reform has been organic, and the reforms only added up bits pieces to the previous scheme, without a general view on the system as a whole.

Hence, educational transitions may receive inadequate institutional treatment, which adds to the weaknesses of each specific tier, particularly the lower secondary one: left untouched (but for minor changes) since 1977, this short tier (just three years, compared to the five year primary and upper secondary tiers) is the source of a huge part of the performance gap (as far as social class, territorial divide and ethnic background are concerned) (see Invalsi, 2012; Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 2011).

From an analytical point of view, we can distinguish a structural dimension of the problem (inconsistent structuring of the educational tiers and of the education/training/labour sectors) and a temporary dimension (a long, puzzling implementation of new tracks)—which, in turn, risk assuming a structural dimension (e.g., institutionalizing local and regional fragmentation). The following paragraphs will introduce two prime examples of this process.

REFORMING INITIAL VET

The implementation of RS-VET will be described as an example of on-going reforms. In particular, there will be an analysis on:

1) how (if) the state achieves coordination and tries to prevent regional fragmentation;
2) how regions—with different levels of institutional effectiveness, political vision and labour market opportunities—work on the relevance of their vocational paths; and
3) how this affects transitions.

Most of the education reforms in the 2000s were aimed at increasing the relevance of the secondary tracks and easing the transition towards the labour market. VET came back onto the political agenda during the late 1990s, when the mismatch between education, training and a changing labour market was more and more thematised. At that time, the institutional landscape was characterized by declining apprenticeship; regional vocational tracks with hardly acknowledged qualifications; an almost absent non-university tertiary education; and a strong preference of pupils and families for general or technical education, so that the vocational tracks mostly welcomed pupils with unsuccessful educational careers (Tuè, 2003), with consequent negative outlooks for their futures (Schizzerotto, 2002).

At first, most of the attention was dedicated to apprenticeship (with two reforms in 1997 and in 2003).

Then, the VET also entered the policy agenda, with the reform of upper secondary schools and the establishment of the RS-VET, which is a regionalized system of training paths that result in a vocational qualification and are a way to fulfil compulsory education requirements.

As a consequence, a pupil aged 14 with an exit certificate from a lower secondary school can access (Isfol, 2012a):

a. an upper secondary school—general, technical or vocational (5 years): 2.7 million students are enrolled here, whose some 540,000 in vocational schools;
b. RS-VET (3–4 years): students enrolled here grew from 23,500 in 2003/04 to 242,000 in 2011/12; and
c. for those aged 15 onwards, an apprenticeship aimed at achieving a school certificate (just implemented).

With a decade of reforms carried out by different governments, the shapes of the secondary tracks were not uncontested. In the end, the position that most often resulted from the policy-making, endorsed by the centre-right coalition in power between 2001 and 2006 and between 2008 and 2011, has been that of increasing the role of training, as complementary or a substitute to school education, with work-related programmes.

Nevertheless, the debate on the relevance of these paths and on the balance between education and training contents is still on-going, which affects the structuring of RS-VET in different regions. We can identify three main sources of differentiation:

- *policy legacy*: the role, importance and structure of vocational education in different regions before the setting of the new system;
- *ideological cleavage*: the reforms were been mainly carried out by right-wing national governments that are more favourable to privatization and separation between education and training, but some (left) regional administrations opposed them and started implementing a school-centred model ruled by public actors;[4] and
- *lobbying*: regions where training providers are strongly inserted into political and institutional pillars usually support a training system divided from education tracks. Regions where civil servants and their unions (including school unions) have higher bargaining power usually support school-centred or integrated tracks.[5]

The first evaluations seem to show that pupils' performance and satisfaction are greater in non-school tracks (Teselli, 2011), though opponents think that the lack of a strong integration with schools is detrimental and maintain that RS-VET is not providing flexible skills for future labour market and social integration. Supposedly, it allows for short-term labour integration, though it is inadequate in the long-term (which is also due to low investment in human resources by Italian firms and strong positioning in mature economic sectors that require few skills).[6]

On the other hand, supporters of non-school paths maintain that track diversification is needed, for those that will never (and currently do not) enter the upper secondary and tertiary paths: "*actually, a share of those in 3-year vocational paths can't stand full-time education, as short as it is, and drop out even from vocational training*" (FF 69–71). Thus, even shorter and more flexible vocational tracks could be needed.

IMPLEMENTATION: A STATE OR A REGIONAL SYSTEM?

These standpoints looked quite irreconcilable; thus, the implementation focussed on a procedural agreement, with hardly any agreement on the principles and foundations of the system—it was a never-ending bargaining process and an ineffective juridification. The norms regulating this issue are quite blurred and fragmented, and there are no less than 15 laws and presidential decrees, 11 Ministry decrees, 10 agreements between the state, regions and local authorities and 3 guideline documents issued between 1999 and 2011.[7]

Furthermore, not all of these norms are consistent with one another, e.g., in setting the target age groups—"*and I don't go into chaotic details, but actually the law stated that all the vocational side was up to regions, while we still have state vocational schools*" (LS 65–69).

Two overlapping reforms were implemented in the same period, which contributed to this outcome:

1) The 2003 reform that established RS-VET; and
2) The 2008 reform (implemented in 2010) that addressed upper secondary schools and extended their duration to 5 years, which clearly split vocational education from vocational training, with RS-VET being the latter.

4 As an interviewed stakeholder put it, "we have a clash of extreme positions: leftist regions think this [RS-VET] is a second-rate option, a defeat, so they try to keep pupils at school at least till 16 […]; on the other hand, there are regions almost aiming at a German-like dual system" (LS 235–243).

5 A good example of the workings of these conditioning factors is Sicily. Its vocational system has been built as a patronage system, with the result that VET in Sicily employs around half of the sector's workers in the whole country. As a manager said before the last regional elections, "as of today, there are no political conditions to change […] It's clear that a shift from a condition where we maintain institutions and their staff to an outcome-oriented system is not easy at all" (LA: 99–116).

6 The lack of results from follow-up studies does not allow clarification of this point.

7 This list does not include regional laws, regulations or guidelines. In this respect, a trade-union document says that "between 2003 and 2007, in Region Emilia-Romagna, 18 deeds (agreements, protocols, covenants, guidelines, laws and decrees) were issued; 7 in Latium, 13 in Liguria, and 11 in Lombardy" (Cisl-Scuola, 2011; our translation).

Thus, according to the 2001 Constitutional reform, VET is under sole regional jurisdiction; however, the 2008 norms moved around this to avoid the devolution of state vocational schools. While one interpretation would suggest that the state had to devolve vocational schools to regions, "*schools opposed it, not trusting the regions, and the Ministry of Education wanted to keep its stake; so, to avoid legal appeals by the regions*" (FF 98-101), vocational qualifications issued by state schools were levelled with other secondary-school diplomas. On the other hand, regions did not fight hard to have this jurisdiction, because it implied enormous and difficult efforts in an expensive and complex field, which was possibly not so appealing in the election arena and not necessarily endowed enough by state transfers. The general consequence is that, notwithstanding a policy orientation toward boosting training, opportunity reasons led to reduce training chances themselves.

Therefore, there are currently competing and overlapping tasks between the two tracks:

- state vocational schools are poorly endowed and becoming less relevant (due to cuts in lab teaching). Students have enrolled in this track less than in the past, and employers have begun to prefer RS-VET students—at least, before the worsening of the crisis jeopardized the Italian industry (Miur, 2012c; Unioncamere, 2012); and
- on the other hand are RS-VET paths, which are not fully implemented or endowed.

To add complexity, many regions with low political will, institutional performances and/or endowments were in trouble with implementing RS-VET and had to sign "subsidiarity" agreements with the State Educational System.

This means that state vocational schools have to accomplish RS-VET's job. Thus, (state) vocational schools that were forbidden to issue (regional) qualifications could do so after an agreement! Two models were put into place:

a) *integrative subsidiarity*: 5-year vocational education, including 3-year vocational training; vocational training and education are organized together, with collaborations between vocational schools and training centres.
b) *complementary subsidiarity*: vocational education and vocational training are two separate tracks. Thus, schools offering 3-year qualifications do so with separate classes for 5-year diploma students and are considered the same as any other licensed regional training centre operating "in the market".[8]

Such a chaotic system, if not effective, nevertheless had advantages for the institutions involved: they could skip explicit clashes over the model to follow (while creating their own mixes of school- and non-school–based VET) and state school endowments could be used, which limits bargaining on new allocations in a context of limited resources.

It must also be mentioned that, in a context of territorially variable institutional performance and labour market accessibility, school-based VET tracks played an important role in maintaining common national standards. Nevertheless, the overall implementation was quite chaotic, with potentially negative outcomes on users and a further increase in regional inequality.

From a bottom–up perspective, in our case studies, we mainly observed unclear information on the implementation of new tracks (both for educational professionals and families), which resulted in inadequate guidance (also due to low institutionalization and standardization, with poor resources, no guidelines and many short-term, project-based efforts) and a lack of flexibility. Two situations that were observed in locale case studies are quite indicative.

On the one hand, a region that usually has high institutional performance, Emilia-Romagna, experienced relevant difficulties: support for an integrative subsidiarity (with a relevant role of school-based paths and a postponement of training) first resulted in inadequate guidance and the risk of dropping-out pupils who were only interested in vocational training. The enrolment in predominantly school-based paths could lead to losing them for one or two years, with difficulties in "recovering" them afterward.

On the other hand, the lack of proper bridges is seen in a case from the Marche region, where some 15–16 year-old drop-outs from lower secondary school who now work in their family business (bakeries, fishing boats, etc.) did not have the chance to re-enter the system through VET, but had to rely on the goodwill of the lower secondary school they dropped-out from to receive an informal agreement for individualized tutoring.

NO-MAN'S LAND: ESCAPE FROM INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The evidence above shows a lack of coordination at the macro- and micro-levels. On the one hand, most regions want to move on their own, according to their own priorities, lobbies and resources. On the other hand, after the 2001 Constitutional reform, the state has had troubles in identifying proper coordination strategies (and possibly does not want to push this further; otherwise, it should grant adequate, statutory funding) without undermining regional autonomy. In addition, vocational schools and training centres fight for the same targets, but with inadequate chances to support their educational trajectories.

8 In 2011/12, among the enrolled in the first year of RS-VET, 39% were in training centres accredited by Regions, 56% in integrative subsidiarity and 5% in complementary subsidiarity (Isfol, 2012a).

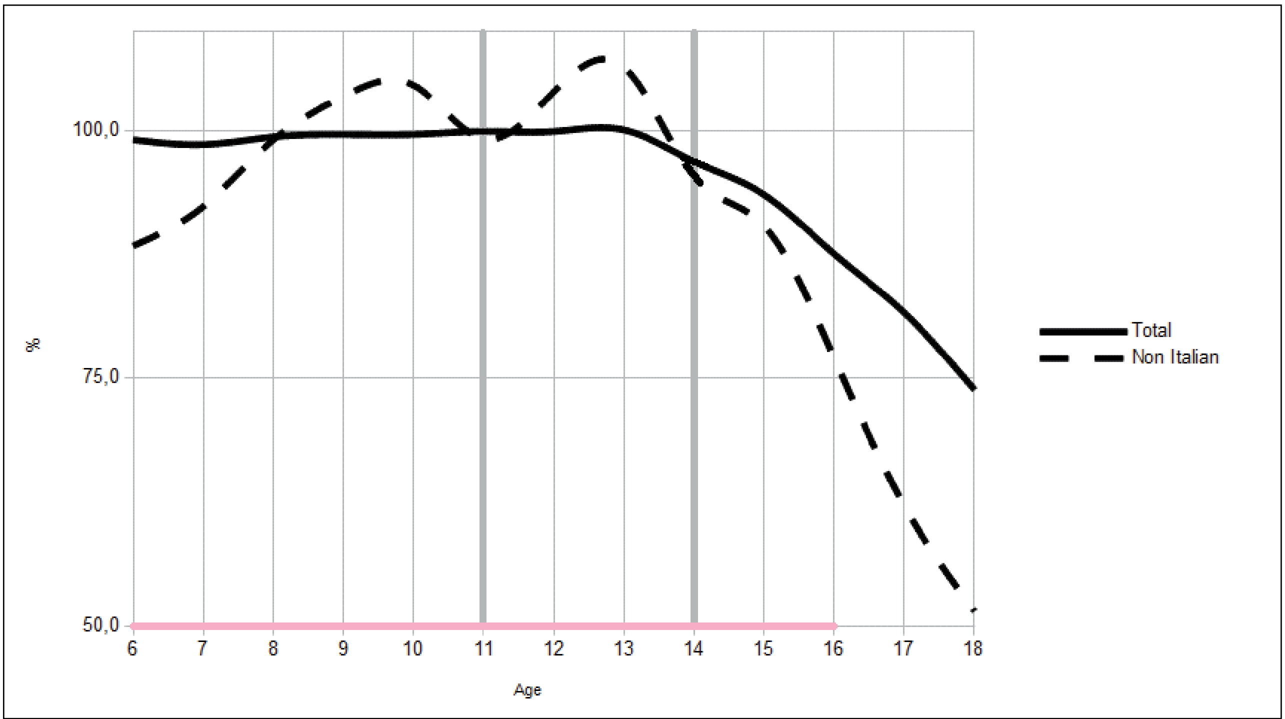


Fig. 2. Enrolled in the education system, as a share of registered in Municipal Civil Registry.[10] Source: own calculation of Istat; Miur, 2011; Miur, 2012d.

Graf 2. Vpisani v izobraževalni sistem, delež registriranih v Občinskem civilnem registru.10 Vir: lastni izračun na podlagi Istat; Miur, 2011; Miur, 2012d.

Therefore, most stakeholders prefer to protect their (not so effective) fields and "don't play along" (as an interviewee put it). They enact blame-avoidance strategies and lay responsibility on other actors. As a consequence, the system is horizontally and vertically fragmented to a large extent. Even very basic "harm reduction" measures, e.g., a national list of local and regional training providers, qualifications and national information systems, have not yet been fully implemented. Also, a clear, shared system to certify competencies is far from achievement.[9]

In general, the problems here are related to a wider issue, i.e., an incomplete shift from a centralist to a regionalist state, as the central state is still working in a bureaucratic–hierarchic way, while regions (and other autonomous bodies, including schools) are not competent, effective or endowed enough to take charge of the jurisdictions acquired ten years ago through the Constitutional reform.

FUNDING CHOICES AND CHANCES

"*We built up a fantastic car, but we haven't got any gas and we keep it in the garage*" (LS: 230).

In an era of retrenchment and budgetary constraints, the new VET underwent thorough scrutiny. Where to invest resources is a matter of political priority, policy legacy and lobbying. Most of our interviewees maintain that RS-VET should be more endowed.

The issue is becoming more and more urgent. From 2011, RS-VET was no longer an experiment, but "*ordinamentale*" (i.e., statutory, belonging to regular jurisdiction)—with many implications: first, ESF (covering ¼ of expenditures at that time) can no longer be used to finance the system; second, according to the Constitution, funding should be guaranteed by the state to cover basic service standards.

In a context of decentralized penury, this also means a rat race among the regions over funding criteria: laggards want catch-up funds using a discourse of equity, while the frontrunners want funds according to enrolled pupils, in order to maintain and widen their system.

The idea (not only for VET) was to define a "standard cost", although with serious implementation problems. On the one hand, it is unclear how much money can be allocated—especially considering that, although the al-

9 The only effective coordination in this field has been the institution of 21 national qualifications (approved in April 2010 by the State–Regions Conference), which were built to be consistent with the European Framework.

10 "Total" is the number of pupils enrolled in schools in the year 2009/2010 as a share of persons in the Civil Registry by age on January 1st 2010; "non-Italian" is the number of non-Italian citizens enrolled in schools in the year 2011/2012 as a share of persons counted by age in the 2011 Census (on October 9th 2011).

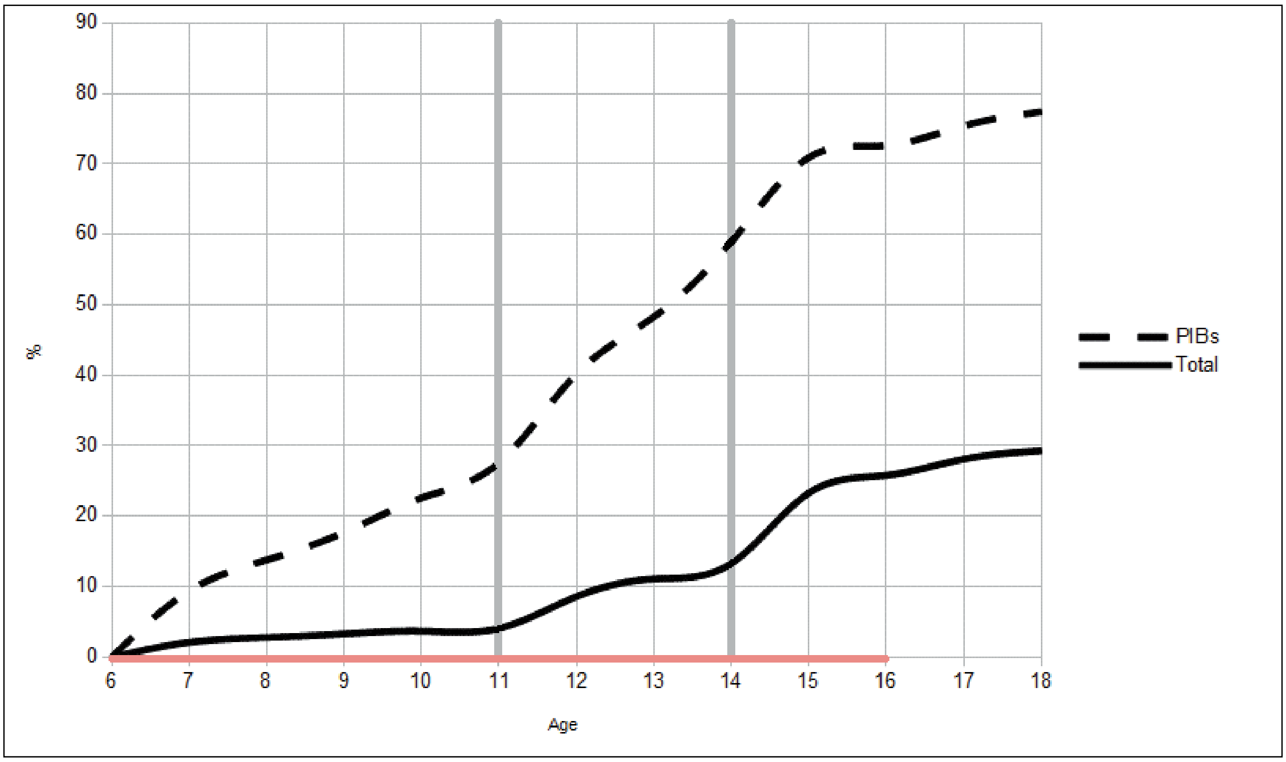


Fig. 3. Hold-back rate by age and school tier.[11] Source: own calculation of Miur, 2011; Miur, 2012d
Graf 3. Stopnja zadrževanja glede na starost in stopnjo v izobraževalni poti.11 Vir: lastni izračun na podlagi Miur, 2011; Miur, 2012d

located government budget has been constant, pupils in RS-VET have increased tenfold. Thus, some regions are starting to push pupils toward state vocational schools through subsidiarity to cut costs, thus weakening the reform.

On the other hand, pupils enrolled in state vocational schools, as subsidiary RS-VET, blur the computability of "standard costs", since part of teacher, premise and facility costs are paid by the state and every region has a specific mix of (state) school and (regional) non-school integration, according to their own agreements.

PIBS AND ACCESS TO EDUCATION

The participation of a growing number of PIBs is one of the largest challenges that the Italian education system had to face in the last decade: it implied not only a quantitative, but also a qualitative change, due to a large plurality of trajectories—by generation and age at migration, area of origin and destination, and schools involved.

The number of non-Italian citizens in Italian schools grew from 574,000 in 2007 to 756,000 in 2011. They are now 8.4% of pupils, 44.2% of whom were born in Italy (peaking at 80% in pre-primary education). They are mainly from Central and Eastern Europe (Romania, Albania, Moldavia, Ukraine), but also from Northern Africa (Morocco, Tunisia) and Asia (PRC, India, Philippines).

In the tiers we are interested in, they account for 9.3% of lower and 6.2% of upper secondary education (Miur, 2012d). Such a fall in their shares cannot be explained just by the evolution of migration waves—it is due to a drop in participation (see Fig. 2).

Furthermore, the general problem of school tracking is accented when PIBs are taken into account: vocational education is attended by just 19% of Italian pupils, but by 30% of PIBs born in Italy and 40% of foreign-born PIBs. PIBs are 12.1% of pupils in vocational education, but just 2.7% of those in general education (*ibid.*). They are even more prevalent in the RS-VET mentioned above—some 15% (Isfol, 2012).

Also, PIBs have a significantly delayed educational careers, especially in vocational schools. More than one out of seven there is 20 or older (Miur, 2012b), as an effect of delays in previous grades; thus, the gap in hold back rate is impressive (see Fig. 3).

Nevertheless, tracking, segregation and underachievement of PIBs are not only a problem in Italy (Szalai, 2011), so it is worth noting what is peculiar in

11 Year of reference: 2011/12 for PIBs, 2009/10 for total.

this case: first, the gap in performance with native-born Italians is wide in comparative terms, even though it is mainly due to first-generation immigrants; second, it is not strongly related to socio-economic background, but mostly to migrant condition itself and thus to direct discrimination effects (OECD, 2010).

A further analysis of Fig. 3 can help to make another point: transitions from one tier to another are tough, but all of lower secondary education opens the gap for PIBs, thus producing complex transitions in the following steps. This general weak point of the Italian educational system has a specific effect on PIBs: being held back increases their chance of dropping out and increases tracking processes toward shorter vocational tracks.[12]

Discrimination effects can be seen in the type of hold-back. Actually, repetition is not the main source of delay. According to data from Goete students' survey on third-grade students in lower secondary schools in three Italian cities (see McDowell *et al.*, 2012), 16.4% of PIBs were repeating a year in their school career, versus 7.2% of Italians. 48.2% of PIBs are held back, compared to 7.6% of Italians. Thus, failures account just for one third of delays, the others being due to institutional coping (i.e., the classes and age groups where newcomers are placed). Thus, a governance arrangement plays a major role in hindering equal opportunities (see also Huddleston *et al.*, 2011).

POLICY PRIORITIES AND PIBS

The Ministry of Education has a long record of documents on the integration model to be used with PIBs, which culminated with a paper on "The Italian way to intercultural education and the integration of foreign pupils" (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2007).

The tracking, segregation and guidance of PIBs at the secondary level have not been national priorities for many years, since attention was much more focussed on integration issues in earlier tiers, where the numbers have been more relevant. Nonetheless, the evidence of such discrimination is a challenge for a comprehensive system that refuses special education in its norms and professional cultures (*ibid.*; see also McDowell *et al.*, 2012).

We can hypothesize that a comprehensive approach in this field did not result from reflexive thinking on explicit expectations and goals for this target group, but as an isomorphic application of receipts thought for other target groups—a policy legacy, more than an object of a real debate. This caused unintended consequences in a context where a comprehensive approach is under constant challenge due to retrenched support, even for "traditional" categories of disadvantage.

As a matter of fact, Ministry guidelines provided principles, but few indications and tools for everyday practice; they were also matched with a limited re-training of staff and, likewise, limited action plans and resources. As an example, the principle that newcomers should be placed in the class corresponding to their age as often as possible is stated, but there are no real enforcement mechanisms or tools to cope with misimplementations and shortcomings resulting in unequal treatment (in particular, the need for more individualized and assisted education). The consequence is that the principle is not sufficiently taken into account, and the hold-back rate is shaped as described above.

As a further consequence, we can see the poor national coordination of this issue within a decentralizing comprehensive system. Schools and local authorities built up their know-how incrementally within local policy networks—and according to individual goodwill, given the lack of training and retraining.

Moreover, in this case, where the target is potentially politically sensitive, support for localism seems to work as a "sweep-it-under-the-carpet" strategy. Accommodation via micro-regulations avoids a negative politicization of the issue, as well as heated national debates and hatred.

This put local actors under great pressure, without any empowerment and support mechanism. Emerging risks, like the ones concerning PIBs, find fragmented answers, which are reflected in the above-mentioned trajectories. At the same time, local actors can be subject to blame games.

BLAMING THE SCAPEGOAT: SETTING A THRESHOLD FOR PIBS

An example of the blame game is a Ministry circular letter (n. 2/2010, "Indications and recommendations for the integration of pupils with non-Italian citizenship"), which defined a 30% threshold per class for PIBs (especially newcomers with weak language skills). This letter touched a real problem, i.e., the uneven distribution of disadvantaged pupils. However, it also provided a negative and discriminatory symbolic answer: just a formally tough limit (to show commitment to public opinion), though with unclear implementation rules, no resources and a total devolution of responsibility to local networks. Thus, it allowed for political gains without much effort, as we can see after retracing the reasons behind this norm.

Such a national measure basically sprang from a single case of a primary school located in a peripheral district in Rome, where PIBs were some 95% of enrolled pupils, as a consequence of local discretionary prac-

12 Again, we should also stress the long-term effects of early hold-backs, which significantly widen the gap with Italian nationals. The likelihood of a PIB being held beck is 3 times higher than Italians at the upper secondary level, 10 times at lower secondary level, and as much as 22 times in primary education.

tices: activism toward immigration issues in that school and a neglect of it in the nearby ones.

What happens in the capital city soon climbs the political agenda. Between 2009 and 2010, some right-winged stakeholders—including the then-mayor—labelled this school a ghetto to clear up. Even though this case did not reach the heights of media debate, it was very important for the political agenda and the definition of the situation, which was grounded in the Ministry circular letter (and a Parliament inquiry).

Notwithstanding divergent discourse on this case—some parents and many teachers maintained that teaching pupils with different ethnic backgrounds (most were born in Italy) together was a positive integration experiment—some local media and politicians used this case as a flag to stress the negative effects of multiculturalism and immigration policy in Italy.

In a conflict over two definitions of "Italianness"—civic or ethnic—the Ministry circular letter ended up supporting the second and even reversed a long-lasting position on intercultural education and migrant inclusion. Charged with symbolic consequences, it had little impact and was unable to reach the goal it stated—not even in the school where the issue was raised.

Nothing changed there, since the parents' association raised a claim at the Administrative Court and obtained an exemption, while other claims where raised elsewhere for discrimination.

CONCLUSION: GOVERNANCE IN A FRAGMENTED INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

Both the implementation of RS-VET and the targeting of PIBs share some common problems, which affect the governance of education and broadly conceived welfare policies.

In governance terms, we can see that these problems are consistent with a welfare model affected by a traditional gap between insiders and outsiders. It has an extensive, passive form of subsidiarity, where families and local actors (public and private) have pivotal roles in supporting people in need, though without adequate institutional support (Ferrera, 2005; Kazepov, 2008).

First is the problem of **territorial fragmentation**: differences in the provision of services, infrastructures and resources is not just a North/South divide (even though that gap is still a fundamental problem) and also has a micro-dimension.

The problem also refers to new, unclear, and ambiguous relations between the state and its regions, within the framework of the principle of subsidiarity. More than ten years after the 2001 Constitutional reform, the regionalist change is dangerously stuck at a crossroads: the central state is not yet a federal authority with proper coordination tools. Regions are not yet the protagonists, due to incomplete transfer of powers, especially as far as finances are concerned.

The actual output is wavering between neo-centralist attempts, which are going to fail, considering the new Constitutional framework, and dangerous regional leaps to fill the gaps in state measures on their own, with a further fragmentation that challenges equal rights.

Second and related is the issue of **coordination**. School autonomy and the federal constitutional reform redistributed competencies, power and responsibility, though with inconsequential resources. This paved the way to a "decentralization of penury" and blame-avoiding strategies in the state's retrenchment (Kazepov 2010; Mény & Wright 1985). Central authorities can devolve responsibilities but not enough resources, which keeps the budget under control and allows the blaming of local authorities for not being effective. Local authorities can blame central ones for not endowing them enough and can go on playing hide-and-seek with likely positive effects, in electoral terms, but at the risk of jeopardizing the effectiveness of involved institutions and measures.

What clearly emerges is the shifting borders of citizenship towards increasingly exclusionary policies characterised by ambiguity and cost-cutting tendencies, in which the buck is passed to local authorities, who will be blamed more and more for whatever does not work. Thus, the unsaid turning point is the real ability of the state to be enabling at the territorial level and to guarantee a minimum set of nationwide standards.

Surprisingly enough, the interviewed stakeholders criticized actual autonomy and decentralization, while suggesting further devolution as a solution. The stress on local network-building underrates the path-dependency of unequal development and performances of local institutions.

In other words, local actors are required to pool resources that are not available, thus leaving the weakest locales to their own destinies through a micro-local fragmentation—a true postcode lottery. In this respect, school and local autonomy can turn into inadequate tools, if not properly matched with institutional empowerment, capacities, tools and resources to cope with the devolved tasks.

Third is the problem of **de-synchronization**. In many policy areas, reforms are increasingly addressing specific policy fields without considering the coherence of the overall system. RS-VET shows the problem of inconsistent reforms in the compulsory age of education and of the secondary cycle; PIBs face a late acknowledgement of their conditions in a comprehensive system on the ropes, under retrenchment and not attuned to new social risks.

Thus, this analysis of some reform trends in the Italian educational system show how common pressures (e.g. the destandardization of life courses, and the problems of relevance of educational and training paths) may find territorially specific answers and difficulties according to governance functions, and the degrees of variability (and inequality) allowed by state institutions. If Italy shows a complex set of governance problems

due to traditional and new weaknesses in institutional performance, territorial unevenness and state-making, it is worth noting that issues raised about coordination, de-synchronization and tolerated inequality may be at stake in different reforms of educational and welfare institutions throughout Europe, as an outcome of similar institutional pressures (e.g. budget constraints and neoliberal priorities).

MED INSTITUCIONALNO FRAGMENTACIJO IN LOKALNO DISKRECIJO: UPRAVLJANJE PREHODOV V ITALIJANSKEM IZOBRAŽEVALNEM SISTEMU

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POVZETEK

Članek se osredotoča na prehod iz osnovnošolskega (ISCED 2) na srednješolsko izobraževanje (ISCED 3), pri čemer izpostavi specifičnosti italijanskega okolja s pritiski na izobraževalne in blaginjske politike. Italijanski izobraževalni sistem je pri naslavljanju tega splošnega priznanega problema še posebej zanimiv zaradi sledečega:

- *obvezno šolanje ne vodi nujno k pridobitvi kvalifikacije, kar povečuje tveganje za fragmentacijo življenjske poti*
- *izobraževalni sistem za otroke stare od 12 do 14 let (ISCED 2) je s svojo nejasno funkcijo najšibkejši člen sistema izobraževanje, saj povečuje razkorak med deprivilegiranimi skupinami s slabimi učnimi dosežki in privilegiranimi skupinami*
- *dokaj zgodnje izobraževalno usmerjanje oz. fragmentacijo izobraževalnega sistema spremljajo relevantne oblike razredne in manjšinske diskriminacije.*

Te dimenzije so analizirane skozi perspektivo vladanja, ki je značilno za oblikovanje izobraževalnih politik v Italiji. Poseben poudarek je namenjen institucionalni in teritorialni fragmentaciji, ki vplivata na moč in učinkovitost politike. Zaradi pomanjkanja koordinacije in procesa decentralizacije, ki so značilni tudi za izobraževalne institucije, lahko prostor, ki je dopuščen lokalnim praksam, fleksibilnosti in lastnim presojam ogrozi skupne pravice in privede do negotovih izidov ('postcode lottery').

Ta problem je v članku analiziran s pomočjo analize politik, intervjujev z nacionalnimi nosilci politik in informatorji ter z lokalnimi študijami primera. Uvodu, kjer so opredeljene glavne značilnosti italijanskega izobraževalnega sistema, sledi analiza fragmentacije, ki izhaja iz več kot desetletje trajajočih nedokončanih izobraževalnih reform. Primeri izhajajo iz implementacije novega sistema poklicnega izobraževanja in iz vključevanja otrok imigrantov v izobraževalni sistem. Posledice fragmentacije so predstavljene skozi analizo njenih škodljivih učinkov na pravice deprivilegiranih skupin.

Ključne besede: Vladanje, poklicno izobraževanje, Italija, prehodi, imigracija

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TESNOBNOST PRI POUKU ANGLEŠKEGA JEZIKA

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IZVLEČEK

Članek obravnava pomen tesnobnosti pri tujem jeziku. Pregled literature ponudi vpogled v že obstoječe raziskave na področju tesnobnosti. Mnogi tuji strokovnjaki pripisujejo tesnobnosti pri tujem jeziku velik pomen. Besedilo se zato poglobi predvsem v povezavo med tesnobnostjo in uspešnostjo pri učenju angleškega jezika. Empirični del predstavlja kvantitativno študijo primera, katere namen je prepoznati stopnjo tesnobnosti študentov pri angleščini in ugotoviti, ali obstaja povezava med tesnobnostjo in dosežki (ocenami) pri tujejezikovnem pouku. V raziskavi je uporabljen kvantitativni pristop, izvedena pa je bila s pomočjo vprašalnika. Priložnostni vzorec je vključil 141 študentov Univerze na Primorskem, Pedagoške fakultete. Iz rezultatov raziskave je razvidno, da študenti izkazujejo precejšnjo stopnjo tesnobnosti in da obstaja močna povezanost med stopnjo tesnobnosti in dosežki (oceno) iz angleščine pri maturi ter nekoliko manj močna povezanost med stopnjo tesnobnosti in opravljanjem mature iz angleščine.

Ključne besede: tesnobnost, tuj jezik, angleški jezik, usvajanje tujega jezika, pouk, ocene, matura

L'ANSIA NELL'INSEGNAMENTO DELLA LINGUA INGLESE

SINTESI

L'articolo tratta il ruolo dell'ansia nell'insegnamento della lingua inglese. Nella prima parte offre un'attenta lettura delle ricerche sull'ansia condotte finora. Molti autori attribuiscono all'ansia nell'apprendimento della lingua straniera un significato importante. L'articolo quindi tratta in profondità soprattutto il legame tra l'ansia e il rendimento nell'insegnamento della lingua inglese. Nella parte empirico-quantitativa dell'articolo è presentato lo studio del caso, l'intenzione del quale è di conoscere il grado di ansia negli studenti nell'apprendimento e nell'uso della lingua inglese e di individuare l'esistenza o meno del collegamento tra l'ansia e il rendimento (i voti) nella lingua straniera. Nella ricerca è stato usato l'approccio quantitativo ed è stata eseguita con l'aiuto del questionario. Il campione consisteva di 141 studenti della Facoltà di Studi Educativi dell'Università del Litorale. I risultati della ricerca mostrano un grado d'ansia notevole negli studenti ed anche l'esistenza di un forte collegamento tra il grado dell'ansia e il rendimento (il voto) nella lingua inglese agli esami di maturità. Un collegamento meno forte è stato trovato tra il grado d'ansia e la scelta dell'inglese come materia degli esami di maturità.

Parole chiave: ansia, lingua straniera, lingua inglese, acquisizione della lingua straniera, lezione, voti, esame di maturità

UVOD

Tesnobnost pri učenju tujega jezika predstavlja veliko oviro pri doseganju dobrih rezultatov pri tujem jeziku (Horwitz, 2001). Tudi sami smo se večkrat srečali z učenci in študenti, ki so izjavljali, da se bojijo angleščine, sovražijo angleščino, ko morajo govoriti angleško, enostavno zmrznejo, ali pa da pri angleščini postanejo tako zmedeni, da pozabijo vse, kar so znali. Ker so zaradi tega njihovi dosežki domnevno slabši, kot bi lahko bili, je potrebno poiskati vzroke tesnobnosti in ugotoviti, ali dejansko obstaja povezava med tesnobnostjo pri učenju tujega jezika in dosežki. Zaradi tega smo se odločili, da podrobneje raziščemo stopnjo tesnobnosti študentov pri tujem jeziku in pa njihove dosežke. Iz pregleda literature je razvidno, da številni raziskovalci (npr. Horwitz, Horwitz in Cope, 1986; Gardner in MacIntyre, 1989; Young, 1991; Gardner in MacIntyre, 1993; Mihaljević Djigunović, 1998; Horwitz, 2001; Yan in Horwitz, 2008) prepoznavajo velik vpliv tesnobnosti pri učenju tujega jezika.

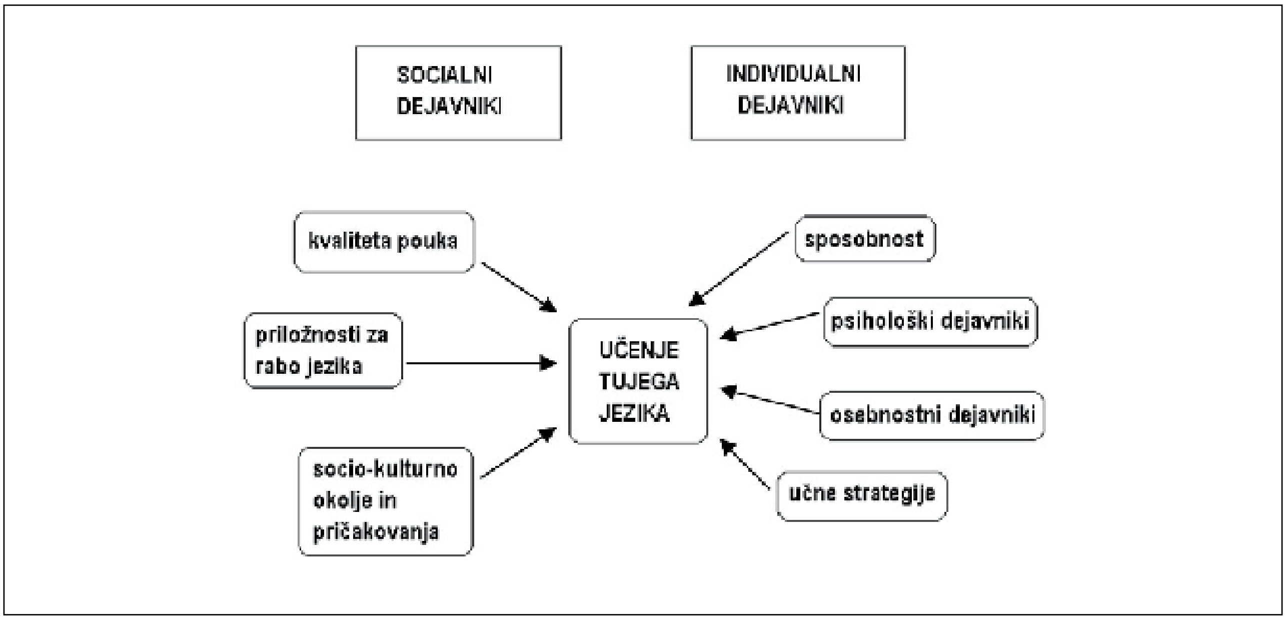
Tesnobnost pri tujem jeziku je posebna vrsta tesnobnosti, ki jo je lažje odpraviti kot na primer tesnobnost kot značajsko lastnost, zato se jo zdi smiselno podrobneje proučiti, saj lahko rezultati raziskave predstavljajo prvi korak k razvoju strategij za pouk tujega jezika, katerih namen bo zmanjševanje tesnobnosti in posledično izboljšanje rezultatov/dosežkov učencev pri tujejezikovnem pouku.

Na tej točki moramo opozoriti, da ima pri pojavu tesnobnosti pri tujem jeziku status tega jezika v okolju pomembno vlogo. Zato ne moremo mimo dejstva, da ima angleški jezik tako v svetu kot tudi pri nas poseben status, o katerem piše več avtorjev. Pinter (2011, 96), denimo, omeni velik pomen angleškega jezika v svetu, zaradi česar se večina raziskav ukvarja z učenjem »angleščine kot drugega/tretjega/tujega jezika« in veliko manj raziskav z učenjem drugih jezikov. Tudi Skela (2008, 184) opozarja, da se angleščina »tudi v Evropi vse bolj uveljavlja in izpodriva jezike, ki so se tradicionalno poučevali v šolah, in sicer celo na področjih, kjer bi bil najbolj »logičen« izbor tujega jezika jezik sosedske dežele.« Njegovo trditev potrdijo podatki evropskega dokumenta o poučevanju tujih jezikov (Eurydice, 2012, 11), iz katerih lahko razberemo, da je angleščina daleč najpogostejši tuj jezik v skoraj vseh evropskih državah in na vseh stopnjah šolanja. Podatki kažejo, da se je kar »73 % učencev vpisanih v osnovno šolo v EU v letih 2009/10 učilo angleškega jezika« (ibid.). V Sloveniji se je v letih 2009/10 angleščine učilo 49 % vseh osnovnošolcev, angleščini pa je sledila nemščina z le 1,9 % učencev (ibid.). O statusu angleščine in o razlogih, zakaj je angleščina postala »globalni« jezik, piše tudi Kocbek (2006, 237-242). Na vodilni položaj angleščine v akademskem svetu pa opozarjajo Čeh (2012) ter Bratož in Žefran (2012, 217), ki sta z raziskavo potrdili, da je angleščina skoraj edini tuji jezik v akademskem okolju pri nas, hkrati pa ugotavljata, da se med akademiki oblikujejo jasni jezikovni standardi in norme, ki se večinoma nagibajo k britanski angleščini. V luči napisanega lahko trdimo, da ima angleščina v naši družbi poseben status in so zaradi tako velikega pomena angleščine pričakovanja okolice glede znanja angleškega jezika toliko večja. Na podlagi tega pa lahko sklepamo, da obstaja možnost, da je zaradi pričakovanj okolice in visokih standardov znanja večja verjetnost za nastanek tesnobnosti pri učenju in rabi jezika.

POUK TUJEGA JEZIKA IN TESNOBNOST

V preteklih desetletjih je bilo opravljenih veliko raziskav, ki so se ukvarjale z ugotavljanjem vplivov različnih dejavnikov na učenje tujega jezika. Gardner (2005) te dejavnike razdeli v dve skupini, in sicer v dejavnike iz okolja (socialni dejavniki) in dejavnike na ravni posameznika (individualni dejavniki) (Shema 1), podoben opis pa najdemo tudi v delu avtoric Lightbown in Spada (2006). V prvo skupino Gardner (ibid.) uvrsti tri dejavnike. Prvi med njimi je kakovost pouka, kamor sodijo učitelj, učni načrti, izvedba pouka ipd. Drugi dejavnik okolja so priložnosti za rabo jezika, se pravi, koliko priložnosti se ponuja učencu tujega jezika, da ciljni jezik uporablja. V dvojezičnem okolju imajo na primer učenci več priložnosti za rabo jezika tudi izven učilnice, v enojezičnem okolju, kakor je to pri nas (če odštejemo dvojezična območja slovenske Istre in Prekmurja), pa je raba ciljnega jezika omejena predvsem na šolsko situacijo. Na tem mestu velja poudariti, da izraz *učenec (tujega jezika)* v celotnem besedilu uporabljamo kot ustreznico za angleški izraz *(language) learner* in pomeni »vsako osebo, ki se uči jezikov, ne glede na starost in obliko (formalno ali neformalno, šolsko ali zunajšolsko) učenja« (Svet Evrope, 2011, 17). Tretji dejavnik, ki ga omenja Gardner, pa je sociokulturno okolje in z njim povezana pričakovanja. Tu je mišljeno predvsem neposredno okolje, v katerem učenec živi, in pa odnos njegovega okolja, zlasti t.i. 'pomembnih drugih' (*significant others*), npr. staršev, vrstnikov, do ciljnega jezika kot tudi etnična pripadnost.

Med individualne dejavnike avtor uvršča štiri dejavnike. Prvi tak dejavnik je posameznikova sposobnost, kamor sodita študijska sposobnost (*scholastic ability*) in nadarjenost za jezike (*foreign language aptitude*). Drugi so psihološki dejavniki, ki se delijo na stališča do tujega jezika in do učenja le-tega, na motivacijo, ki po Gardnerjevem mnenju igra najpomembnejšo vlogo pri usvajanju jezika, ter na tesnobnost pri učenju jezika, ki običajno zavira napredovanje pri učenju tujega jezika. V tretjo skupino individualnih dejavnikov uvrščamo osebnostne dejavnike, kamor sodijo ekstrovertiranost oz. introvertiranost, pripravljenost in sposobnost komunicirati (komunikacijske veščine), samozavest idr. Zadnji individualni dejavnik so strategije učenja, ki jih lahko opišemo kot strategije, s katerimi prepoznamo stvari,



Shema 1: Dejavniki, ki vplivajo na učenje tujega jezika, Vir: Gardner, 2005

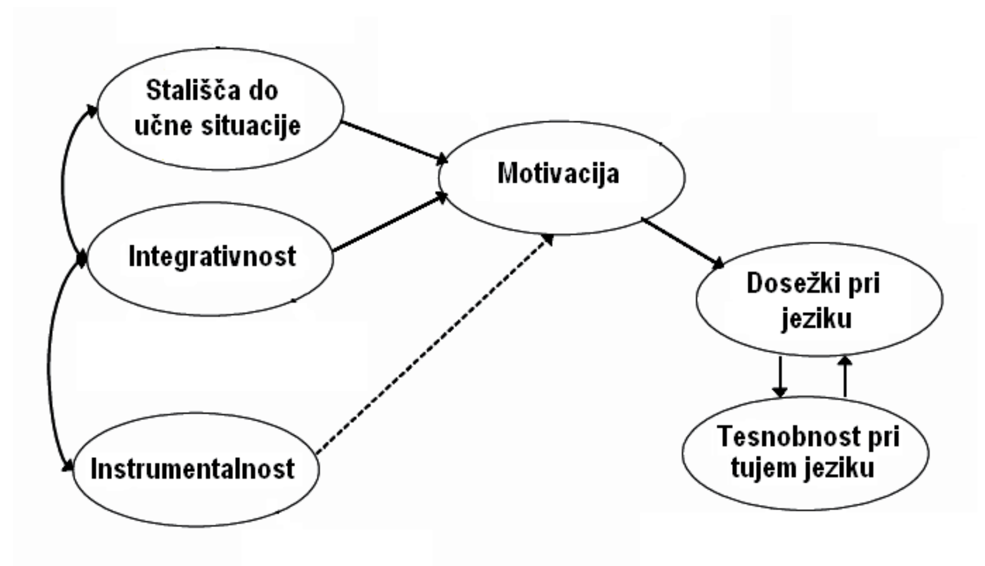
ki se jih moramo naučiti, jih ločimo od druge snovi in razvrstimo v kategorije, nato pa si s pomočjo različnih metod učenja snov lažje in uspešno zapomnimo. Tisti, ki lastnih strategij učenja nimajo razvitih, imajo lahko težave pri učenju in posledično slabše učne dosežke.

Očitno je, da okolje močno vpliva na učenje jezika, vendar pa se je treba zavedati, da vpliv okolja deluje skozi posameznika, kar pomeni, da posamezniki s svojimi lastnostmi vplive okolja sprejemajo, absorbirajo, filtrirajo, pregnetejo ipd. in se prilagodijo, kar vodi v različne rezultate. Jasno je namreč, da različni posamezniki v popolnoma enakem okolju dosegajo različne rezultate, zato so poleg dejavnikov okolja dejavniki na ravni posameznika bistvenega pomena pri učenju. Ravno zato se v tem prispevku osredotočamo predvsem na pomen tesnobnosti pri tujem jeziku.

Z raziskovanjem pomena in so-vplivanja individualnih in socialnih dejavnikov na učenje se strokovnjaki ukvarjajo že vrsto let, obstajajo tudi raziskave, ki se specifično usmerjajo na ugotavljanje teh povezav pri učenju angleščine kot tujega jezika. Nekatere med njimi se ukvarjajo s povezavo tesnobnosti in učnih dosežkov pri tujem jeziku oz. z vplivom tesnobnosti na usvajanje tujega jezika in obravnavajo tesnobnost kot osrednji faktor pri učenju tujega jezika (Young, 1991, 1998; Horwitz, 2001; Yan in Horwitz, 2008), druge pa dojemajo tesnobnost kot razmeroma irelevanten dejavnik, ki na učenje vpliva le posredno oz. skozi medsebojno delovanje z ostalimi dejavniki (Gardner in MacIntyre, 1993; Ehrman, Leaver in Oxford, 2003; Gardner, 2004).

Pomemben rezultat omenjenih raziskav o tesnobnosti pri tujem jeziku je bil razvoj instrumenta za merjenje tesnobnosti pri pouku tujega jezika (*Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale*), ki so ga razvili Horwitz, Horwitz in Cope (1986). Ključno odkritje je bilo tudi to, da so tesnobnost pri tujem jeziku ločili od tesnobnosti kot značajske lastnosti in s tem postavili nekakšen temelj za nadaljnje raziskovanje tesnobnosti pri tujem jeziku. Drugi pomemben instrument na področju individualnih razlik pri učenju tujega jezika je razvil Gardner (2004), ki pa je problem zastavil nekoliko širše in se osredotočil na stališča do drugega jezika in učne situacije v povezavi z motivacijo in tesnobnostjo pri tujem jeziku. Oblikoval je instrument stališč/motivacije (*Attitude/Motivation Test Battery*), ki je meril stališča, motivacijo in tesnobnost pri učenju francoskega jezika v Kanadi. Gardner in MacIntyre (1993) sta kasneje Gardnerjev instrument preverila in testirala merjene spremenljivke, njihovo so-odvisnost in pa vpliv na dosežke pri učenju drugega jezika. V Gardnerjevih raziskavah je uporabljen izraz 'drugi jezik' in ne 'tuji jezik'[1], saj gre za dvojezično okolje v Kanadi (angleško, francosko), kjer je francoščina drugi jezik testiranih oseb. Kasneje je Gardner (2004) v okviru mednarodnega projekta svoj instrument v sodelovanju z raziskovalci iz Brazilije, Hrvaške, Japonske, Poljske, Romunije in Španije preoblikoval za uporabo pri tujejezikovnem pouku. Raziskovalci iz omenjenih držav so instrument preizkusili v svojem okolju in potrdili nje-

1 'Drugi jezik' (*second language*) "je jezik, ki se ga učenec uči v okolju, v katerem je ta jezik sredstvo sporazumevanja in v rabi za jezikovno interakcijo v vsakdanjem življenju" (Vučo, 2012, 13), ni pa njegov materni jezik, t.j. 'prvi jezik'. 'Tuji jezik' (*foreign language*) pa "je jezik, ki se razlikuje od maternega jezika in od jezika okolja. […] Pri učenju tujega jezika je (skoraj) edini jezikovni vnos (*input*) tisti, ki ga zagotavlja učitelj ali posneto avdio- in videogradivo, predvajano med učnim procesom." (ibid., 14)



Shema 2: Socialno-izobraževalni model (Gardner, 2010)

govo veljavnost in zanesljivost ter uporabnost tudi pri proučevanju tujega, ne le drugega jezika. Rezultate in zaključke raziskav na področju stališč do tujega jezika, motivacije in tesnobnosti pri tujem jeziku je Gardner (2006, 2010) uporabil pri oblikovanju svojega socialno izobraževalnega modela (Shema 2), kjer opisuje medsebojno delovanje nekaterih psiholoških faktorjev in njihov vpliv na učenje tujega jezika. Hkrati trdi, da ima največji vpliv na usvajanje tujega jezika motivacija, ki je odvisna od dveh skupin dejavnikov – stališč do učne situacije, ki jih sestavljajo stališča do učitelja in stališča do razreda (razporeditev učilnice, organizacija pouka), in pa odprtosti oz. tolerantnosti učencev do tujega jezika in kulture (*integrativness)*. Pri slednjem je pomembno vedeti, da to ne pomeni posameznikove želje po integraciji oz. identifikaciji s ciljno skupino, ampak njegovo odprtost in pripravljenost sprejeti in prevzeti nekatere lastnosti ciljne skupine in jezika. Poleg motivacije po Gardnerju (ibid.) na učne dosežke vplivata tudi tesnobnost pri tujem jeziku in pa nadarjenost za tuje jezike.

Drug dejavnik, ki ga je smiselno omeniti, so stališča posameznikov do učenja tujega jezika. Stališča so »trajni sistemi pozitivnega ali negativnega ocenjevanja, občutenja in aktivnosti v odnosu do različnih socialnih situacij in objektov« (Krech et al., 1962 v Nastran Ule, 2000, 116). Nastran Uletova (2000, 116) opredeljuje tudi nekatere značilnosti stališč, ki jih podobno opiše tudi Brown (2000), in sicer stališča opredeli kot trajno duševno pripravljenost za določen način odzivanja, kar poimenuje kot »dispozicijski karakter« stališč. Nadalje razvije pojem »pridobljenosti stališč«, kar pomeni, da stališča pridobimo skozi celoten življenjski potek, posebej izrazito pa v procesih socializacije. Tretja značilnost stališč je ta, da imajo »direktivni in dinamični« vpliv na obnašanje in vplivajo na doslednost posameznikovega obnašanja. Zadnja značilnost pa je njihova kompleksnost, kar pomeni, da so stališča vedno sestavljena iz treh osnovnih duševnih funkcij, kognitivne, emotivne in konativne, in zato vedno vsebujejo te tri komponente. Prva, kognitivna komponenta, obsega znanja, izkušnje, informacije in argumente o nekem objektu, o katerem oblikujemo svoje stališče. Nastran Uletova (2000, 116) pri tem še poudarja, da stališča, ki temeljijo na nepreverjenih dejstvih in govoricah, imenujemo predsodki. Ne glede na to, ali je informacija, ki ji verjamemo, preverjena ali ne, bomo na podlagi le-te oblikovali svoja stališča.

Vzemimo na primer nekatera stališča, povezana z učenjem angleščine. Pri oblikovanju svojega stališča upoštevamo svoje védenje, da je angleški sistem časov zelo zapleten in zahteven, kar bo pripomoglo pri oblikovanju našega stališča, da je učenje angleščine težavno. Druga, emotivna komponenta, obsega naša občutja do objekta stališč, ki so lahko pozitivna ali negativna. Ker menimo, da je angleščina težka in zapletena, je ne maramo. Tretja komponenta pa je konativna komponenta, ki pomeni težnjo posameznika, da deluje na določen način glede na objekt stališč. Če ima torej posameznik pozitivna stališča do učenja angleščine, bo pri pouku z veseljem sodeloval in vložil veliko truda v učenje, če pa so njegova stališča negativna, se bo učenju skušal izogniti in bo z delom odlašal, hkrati pa njegova negativna stališča lahko vodijo v občutke tesnobnosti pri pouku.

Ker stališča vplivajo na vedenje, vidimo pomembno vlogo v prepoznavanju stališč do učenja jezika. S podrobnim preučevanjem in ugotavljanjem povezav med stališči in dosežki posameznikov lahko oblikujemo strategije za uspešen pouk jezika. Z načrtnim spremi-

njanjem stališč bi namreč lahko izboljšali tudi dosežke posameznikov. Kot poudarja Nastran Uletova (2000, 122), na oblikovanje stališč vplivajo različni dejavniki – najpomembnejši so »skupinska pripadnost, informacije in znanje in pa osebnostne lastnosti in značilnosti (predvsem izkušnje, trenutne potrebe in motivacija posameznika)«. Avtorica pri tem izpostavi, da so posameznikove neposredne izkušnje in znanje pomemben izvor stališč. Če to kot poenostavljen primer prenesemo na učenje angleščine: vsakič, ko učenec pri pouku govori angleško, učitelj nenehno popravlja njegove napake in mu daje negativno povratno informacijo. Učenec lahko na podlagi teh izkušenj oblikuje negativno stališče do pouka angleščine. Seveda Nastran Uletova (ibid., 125) pojasni, da so »posameznikove neposredne izkušnje z objekti stališč praviloma povezane z množico interpretacij in pričakovanj, s katerimi tako posameznik sam kot socialno okolje opremljata vsako izkušnjo.« Če denimo učenec, ki ga učitelj nenehno popravlja, to popravljanje dojema kot pozitivno in učiteljevo dejanje ceni, je to lahko vzrok za oblikovanje pozitivnega stališča do pouka. Pri poučevanju tujega jezika vidimo precejšen pomen prepoznavanja stališč, saj tudi, recimo, Dörnyei (2001, 217) poudarja, da je oblikovanje realističnih učenčevih prepričanj pomembna motivacijska strategija in predlaga redno ugotavljanje učenčevih prepričanj in stališč do učenja tujega jezika. Prepoznavanje stališč pa bi lahko vodilo tudi v boljše razumevanje vzrokov za nastanek tesnobnosti pri učenju tujega jezika, ki je očiten problem pri tujejezikovnem pouku (Horwitz, 2001).

Pregled literature o tesnobnosti pokaže, da gre za razmeroma širok pojem, ki obsega več različnih dimenzij. Dörnyei (2005, 198) poudarja, da je presenetljivo, kako je kljub njeni pomembnosti in vplivu pojmovanje tesnobnosti tako dvoumno in nadaljuje, da »osnovna opredelitev tesnobnosti še vedno ni popolnoma jasna – gre za komponento motivacije, značajsko lastnost, ali morebiti čustvo?« Avtor (ibid.) tudi trdi, da je tesnobnost kompleksen konstrukt, ki ga sestavlja več vidikov, in navaja Scovela (2001 v Dörnyei, 2005, 198), ki pravi, da tisti, ki niso strokovnjaki, tesnobnost velikokrat enostavno enačijo s strahom ali fobijo, in dodaja, da je tesnobnost ena najbolj narobe razumljenih spremenljivk v različnih raziskavah.

Če se osredotočimo na najširšo razvrstitev tesnobnosti, kot jo opisuje Horwitz (2001), jo sestavljajo tri kategorije. Prva je tesnobnost kot značajska lastnost (*trait anxiety*), ki je hkrati tudi najbolj obstojna/stalna, in jo je težko odpraviti, druga je tesnobnost ob določenih vrstah situacij (*situation-specific anxiety*), ki obsega tesnobnost, ki se običajno pojavi ob določenih vrstah situacij, kot je na primer javno nastopanje, preverjanje znanja, sem pa spada tudi učenje tujega jezika. Tretja vrsta tesnobnosti je tesnobnost v trenutni situaciji (*state anxiety*) in nastopi le v nekaterih situacijah, ki posamezniku povzročijo tesnobnost. Na primer, pri osebi, ki običajno nima težav z javnim nastopanjem, lahko tesnobnost povzroči madež na oblačilu, ki ga opazi ravno pred nastopom, kar je povezano izključno s trenutno situacijo. Tesnobnost pri tujem jeziku se uvršča v drugo kategorijo, kar pomeni, da ni popolnoma stalna in jo je torej možno odpraviti ali vsaj zmanjševati. Pomembno je poudariti, da tesnobnost pri tujem jeziku ni povezana s tesnobnostjo kot značajsko lastnostjo, kar so pokazale tudi raziskave na tem področju (Horwitz, Horwitz in Cope, 1986).

Dörnyei (2005, 198) v svojem delu omenja še eno pomembno delitev tesnobnosti. Avtor meni, da je smiselno in mogoče razlikovati med koristno in škodljivo tesnobnostjo, kar pomeni, da ni nujno, da tesnobnost vedno zavira uspešnost in še dodaja, da ima »skrb«, ki velja za kognitivno komponento tesnobnosti, negativen učinek na uspešnost, medtem ko to ne velja za čustvene komponente.

Glede na velik pomen, ki ga ima tesnobnost pri učenju tujega jezika, nas je zanimalo, kakšno stopnjo tesnobnosti izražajo študenti ene fakultete, kar bo predstavljalo tudi temelj za nadaljnje raziskovanje na področju tesnobnosti pri tujejezikovnem pouku.

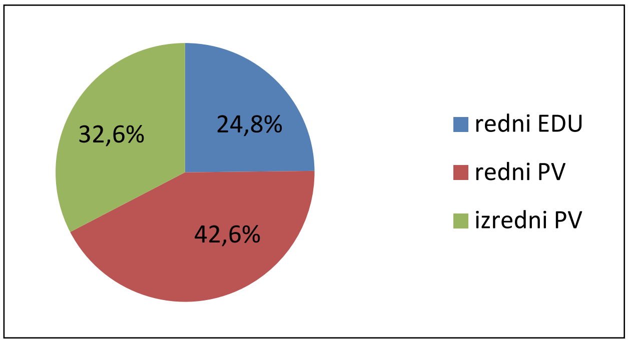
RAZISKAVA MED ŠTUDENTI

V tujini se strokovnjaki že dolgo ukvarjajo s tesnobnostjo pri tujem jeziku in stališči do tujejezikovnega pouka (Horwitz, Horwitz in Cope, 1986; Horwitz, 2001; Mihaljević Djigunović, 2012). Tudi sami imamo izkušnje z učenci in študenti, ki izkazujejo strah in tesnobnost pri pouku angleščine. Ker to domnevno vpliva na dosežke, je smiselno raziskati, ali obstaja povezava med tesnobnostjo in dosežki, prav tako pa poiskati vzrok tesnobnosti in ugotoviti, ali je občutke tesnobnosti pri tujem jeziku možno odpraviti. Prepoznavanje stopnje tesnobnosti pri učenju tujega jezika je prvi korak, ki lahko vodi do oblikovanja strategij za zmanjševanje občutkov strahu in tesnobnosti pri učencih tujega jezika.

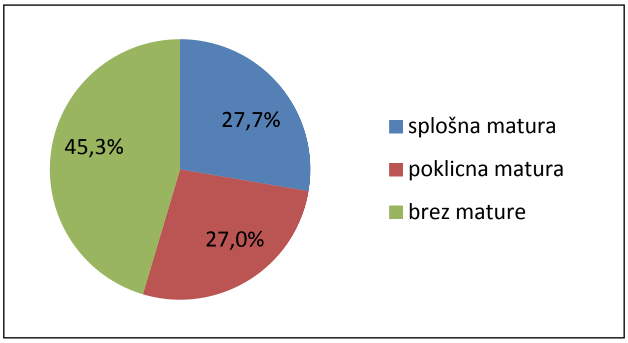
Namen raziskave je bil preučiti pojav tesnobnosti pri tujejezikovnem pouku in pa raziskati povezanost med tesnobnostjo in uspešnostjo pri tujejezikovnem pouku. Glavni cilji raziskave so bili tako ugotoviti:

- kako visoka je stopnja tesnobnosti študentov Univerze na Primorskem, Pedagoške fakultete (UP PEF) pri angleščini,
- ali obstaja povezava med tesnobnostjo pri tujejezikovnem pouku in dosežki (oceno) pri angleščini na maturi ter
- ali obstaja povezava med tesnobnostjo pri tujejezikovnem pouku in ne/opravljanjem mature iz angleščine.

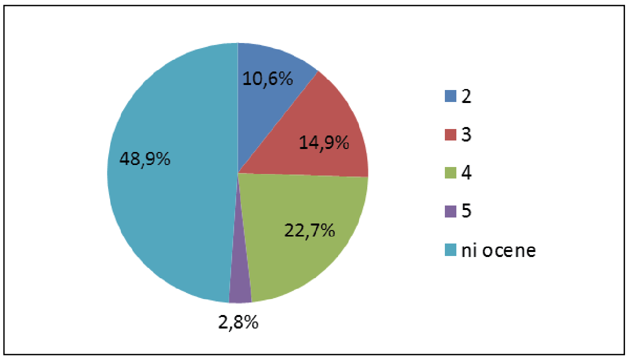
Raziskava je bila izvedena na priložnostnem vzorcu rednih študentov 1. letnika programov Predšolska vzgoja in Edukacijske vede in izrednih študentov 2. letnika programa Predšolska vzgoja UP PEF. Razlog za izbiro vzorca študentov je predvsem dejstvo, da imajo študenti svoja stališča do učenja tujega jezika že izoblikovana, hkrati pa so sposobni metakognicije, kar bi pri vzorcu



Graf 1: Porazdelitev vzorca glede na študijski program



Graf 2: Porazdelitev vzorca glede na opravljanje angleščine pri maturi

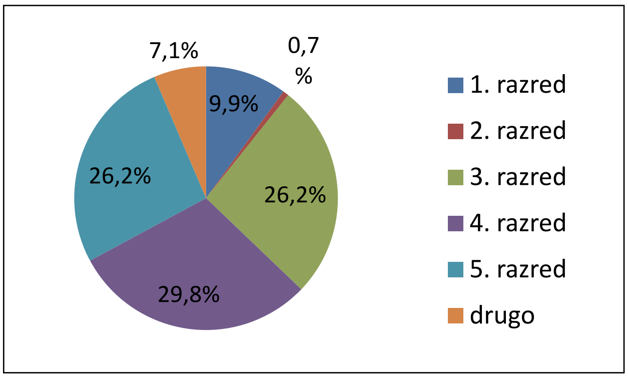


Graf 3: Porazdelitev vzorca glede na oceno pri maturi iz angleščine

mlajših učencev lahko predstavljalo problem. Izpolnjenih vprašalnikov je bilo 141. 136 vprašanih je bilo ženskega spola, 5 pa moškega.

Razporeditev po študijskih programih (Graf 1) je bila naslednja: 35 rednih študentov programa Edukacijske vede, 60 rednih študentov programa Predšolska vzgoja in 46 izrednih študentov programa Predšolska vzgoja.

39 vprašanih je po srednji šoli opravljalo angleščino pri splošni maturi, 38 jo je opravljalo pri poklicni maturi, 64 vprašanih pa angleščine pri maturi ni opravljalo (Graf 2).



Graf 4: Porazdelitev vzorca glede na pričetek učenja angleščine

Ocene vprašanih pri maturi iz angleščine so prikazane v Grafu 3.

Graf 4 prikazuje, kdaj so se vprašani pričeli učiti angleščine. Kot lahko razberemo iz Grafa 4, se je večina vprašanih angleščino pričela učiti v 3., 4., ali 5. razredu osnovne šole.

METODE RAZISKOVANJA IN TEHNIKA ZBIRANJA PODATKOV

Raziskava predstavlja kvantitativno študijo primera. Prevladovala je deskriptivna metoda pedagoškega raziskovanja, saj je bil poglavitni namen raziskave ugotoviti, kakšno je stanje glede tesnobnosti študentov pri tujejezikovnem pouku. Zato smo uporabili neeksperimentalno kvantitativno raziskavo, s pomočjo katere smo ugotavljali stopnjo tesnobnosti pri študentih in pa morebitno povezanost tesnobnosti z dosežki pri tujejezikovnem pouku.

Raziskava je bila izvedena s pomočjo modificiranega vprašalnika, ki je osnovan zlasti na dveh virih: testu stališč/motivacije, *AMTB* (Gardner, 2004) in pa testu tesnobnosti pri pouku tujega jezika (Horwitz, Horwitz in Cope, 1986, Horwitz, 2001). Vprašalnik, ki je bil preizkušen v preliminarni raziskavi[2], je sestavljen iz treh delov. V prvem delu so vprašanja o socio-demografskih podatkih anketiranih, drugi del vsebuje vprašanja odprtega tipa na temo odnosa do tujejezikovnega pouka, v tretjem delu pa je uporabljena štiristopenjska lestvica stališč s trditvami, ki se nanašajo na individualno-situacijske dejavnike pri tujejezikovnem pouku. Veljavnost vprašalnika je bila preverjena s faktorsko analizo, ki je pokazala, da prvi faktor pojasnjuje 35,5 % variance. Zanesljivost uporabljenega vprašalnika je bila preverjena s postopkom faktorizacije in z izračunom Cronbachovega α koeficienta, ki znaša 0,779. Rezultati faktorske analize so pokazali, da prvih 9 faktorjev pojasnjuje 70,4 % skupne variance. Po vsebinskem pregledu faktorjev in na podlagi diagrama lastnih vrednosti, smo ugotovili,

2 Preliminarna raziskava je bila izvedena v začetku leta 2012 na vzorcu 50 študentov UP PEF.

da je smiselno število faktorjev skrčiti na 6, pri čemer prvih 6 faktorjev pojasnjuje 63,2 % skupne variance. Dani rezultati kažejo na razmeroma dobro veljavnost in zanesljivost uporabljenega instrumenta.

Zbiranje podatkov je potekalo v februarju 2013, pri čemer smo študentom osebno razdelili vprašalnike, na katerih so bila tudi natančnejša navodila za reševanje. Reševanje vprašalnikov je bilo prostovoljno, trajalo pa je približno 15 minut. Zagotovljena je bila anonimnost respondentov.

Metode obdelave podatkov

V prvem delu smo uporabili opisno statistično metodo za analizo socio-demografskih podatkov respondentov in stopnje izkazane tesnobnosti, nato pa inferenčno, bivariatno in multivariatno statistično metodo.

S pomočjo multivariatne faktorske analize smo število spremenljivk skrčili na 9 faktorjev, hkrati pa tudi preverili veljavnost in zanesljivost vprašalnika. Smiselnost faktorske analize sta potrdila Kaiser-Meyer-Olkinov (KMO) kazalec in Bartlettov preizkus sferičnosti (Preglednica 1).

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkinov kazalec		0,886
Bartlettov preizkus sferičnosti	Hi-kvadrat preizkus	4286,909
	g	1035
	P	0,000

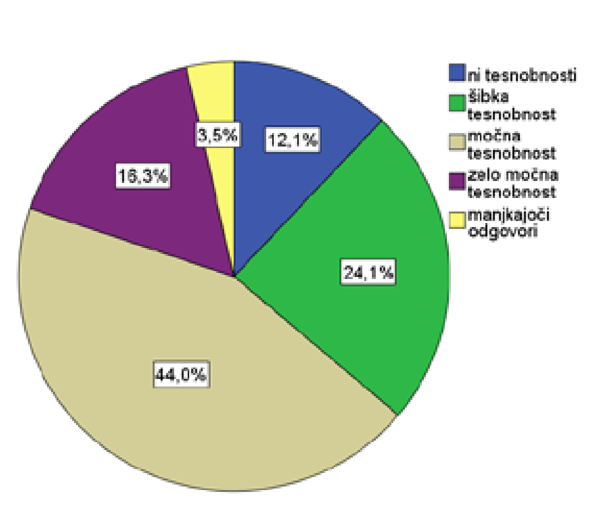
Preglednica 1: Kaiser-Meyer-Olkinov kazalec in Bartlettov preizkus sferičnosti

Vsebinski pregled spremenljivk in dobljenih faktorjev ter pregled diagrama lastnih vrednosti sta pokazala, da bi bilo smiselno število faktorjev skrčiti na 6, zato smo faktorsko analizo ponovili z omenjenim številom faktorjev. V nadaljnji analizi smo uporabili le prvi dobljeni faktor, ki se je vsebinsko nanašal na tesnobnost pri tujejezikovnem pouku in rabi tujega jezika, kar je tudi predmet naše obravnave. Vrednosti trditev v spremenljivkah prvega faktorja smo v programu SPSS sešteli in tako dobili novo spremenljivko, ki smo jo uporabili pri nadaljnji analizi. Prav tako smo morali vrednosti, ki smo jih dobili z izračunom nove spremenljivke, preoblikovati (skrčiti) v štiri kategorije (glede na jakost tesnobnosti pri študentih), s katerimi smo nato lahko operirali. Kategorije smo določili glede na odgovore pri posameznih spremenljivkah in tako dobili štiri kategorije: tesnobnosti ni, šibka stopnja tesnobnosti, močna stopnja tesnobnosti in zelo močna stopnja tesnobnosti.

Kasneje smo z uporabo bivariatnih statističnih metod preučili tudi povezanost med spremenljivkami. Uporabili smo kontingenčne tabele in pa hi-kvadrat preizkus hipoteze enake verjetnosti in hi-kvadrat preizkus hipoteze neodvisnosti. Izračunali smo tudi Cramérjev kontingenčni koeficient, ki je pokazal, v kolikšni meri sta spremenljivki povezani.

Rezultati in interpretacija

Stopnjo tesnobnosti pri študentih smo določili z vsoto vrednosti pri vseh trditvah in jih na podlagi dobljenih rezultatov razvrstili v štiri skupine: študenti, ki ne občutijo tesnobnosti pri angleščini, študenti s šibko stopnjo tesnobnosti, študenti z močno stopnjo tesnobnosti in študenti z zelo močno stopnjo tesnobnosti.



Graf 5: Stopnja tesnobnosti pri angleščini pri študentih UP PEF

Iz Grafa 5 je razvidno, da je pri študentih UP PEF v veliki meri prisotna močna ali zelo močna stopnja tesnobnosti pri angleščini. Kar 60,3 % študentov poroča, da občutijo tesnobnost v veliki meri, le 12,1 % pa je takšnih, ki tesnobnosti ne občutijo. S hi-kvadrat preizkusom enake verjetnosti (χ^2=35,118, g=3, P=0,000) smo ugotovili statistično pomembne razlike glede na stopnjo tesnobnosti ter tudi, da študenti izkazujejo tesnobnost pri pouku oz. rabi angleščine (močno stopnjo tesnobnosti 44,0 % študentov, zelo močno pa 16,3 % anketiranih študentov PEF).

Nadalje smo iskali povezanost med stopnjo tesnobnosti in oceno pri maturi z dodatno možnostjo, da mature iz angleščine študenti niso opravljali. Hi-kvadrat preizkus hipoteze neodvisnosti med spremenljivkama 'stopnja tesnobnosti' in 'ocena pri maturi' je pokazal statistično pomembne razlike med stopnjo tesnobnosti in oceno pri maturi (χ^2 = 21,257, g=3, P=0,000), kar kaže, da obstaja povezanost med stopnjo tesnobnosti in oceno pri maturi (Preglednica 2).

Kot lahko razberemo iz Preglednice 2, večji delež študentov z nižjimi ocenami izkazuje višje stopnje tesnobnosti, pri študentih z višjimi ocenami pa je zaznati

Preglednica 2: Število in odstotek študentov glede na stopnjo tesnobnosti in oceno pri maturi

Stopnja tesnobnosti	Ocena pri maturi		Skupaj
	ni opravljal, nezadostno, zadostno	dobro, prav dobro, odlično	
ni tesnobnosti	5	12	17
	29,4%	70,6%	100,0%
šibka tesnobnost	13	21	34
	38,2%	61,8%	100,0%
močna tesnobnost	44	18	62
	71,0%	29,0%	100,0%
zelo močna tesnobnost	19	4	23
	82,6%	17,4%	100,0%
Skupaj	81	55	136
	59,6%	40,4%	100,0%
χ^2	21,257		
g	3		
P	0,000		

nižje stopnje tesnobnosti, ali pa tesnobnosti sploh ne izkazujejo.

Ker je hi-kvadrat izračun pokazal, da sta spremenljivki povezani, smo izračunali tudi Cramérjev kontingenčni koeficient, katerega vrednost znaša 0,395, kar pomeni, da je povezanost med stopnjo tesnobnosti pri študentih in pa njihovo oceno pri maturi iz angleščine močna. Lahko ponovimo, da kot kažejo rezultati (Preglednica 2), študenti z nižjimi ocenami izkazujejo višje stopnje tesnobnosti, študenti z višjimi ocenami pa nižje stopnje tesnobnosti. Dobljeni rezultati se skladajo tudi z rezultati kvalitativne raziskave avtoric Yan in Horwitz (2008), kjer so študenti poročali, da dojemajo povezavo med lastno tesnobnostjo in dosežki pri tujem jeziku.

Na podoben način smo iskali povezanost med stopnjo tesnobnosti pri študentih in med dejstvom, ali so maturo iz angleščine opravljali ali ne. Dobljeni rezultati so predstavljeni v Preglednici 3.

Tudi pri izračunu hi-kvadrata preizkusa hipoteze neodvisnosti za stopnjo tesnobnosti in opravljanje mature smo dobili statistično pomembne razlike (χ^2=9,986, g=3, P=0,019). Izkazalo pa se je tudi, da je povezanost med spremenljivkama zmerno močna, kar nam pokaže vrednost Cramérjevega koeficienta kontingence, ki znaša 0,271.

Iz Preglednice 3 razberemo, da večji delež študentov, ki mature iz angleščine niso opravljali, kaže višje stopnje tesnobnosti kot pri študentih, ki so angleščino pri maturi opravljali. Glede na pridobljene rezultate in

Preglednica 3: Število in odstotek študentov glede na stopnjo tesnobnosti in opravljanje mature iz angleščine

Stopnja tesnobnosti	Matura iz angleščine		skupaj
	je opravljal	ni opravljal	
ni tesnobnosti	13	4	17
	76,5%	23,5%	100,0%
šibka tesnobnost	23	11	34
	67,6%	32,4%	100,0%
močna tesnobnost	28	34	62
	45,2%	54,8%	100,0%
zelo močna tesnobnost	9	14	23
	39,1%	60,9%	100,0%
skupaj	73	63	136
	53,7%	46,3%	100,0%
χ^2	9,986		
g	3		
P	0,019		

vrednost Cramérjevega koeficienta lahko potrdimo, da študenti, ki mature iz angleščine niso opravljali, občutijo višje stopnje tesnobnosti kot študenti, ki so maturo iz angleščine opravljali.

SKLEPNE UGOTOVITVE

Pregled literature in rezultati empirične raziskave so pokazali, da igra tesnobnost pomembno vlogo pri učenju angleščine, saj jo v veliki meri občuti večina vprašanih študentov. Izkazalo se je tudi, da je stopnja tesnobnosti pri študentih močno povezana z njihovim uspehom (ocenami pri maturi in opravljanjem mature). Pomembna ugotovitev je tudi ta, da študenti, ki mature iz angleščine niso opravljali, občutijo močno stopnjo tesnobnosti, kar bi bilo smiselno podrobneje raziskati, saj je morda ravno njihova tesnobnost razlog, da si angleščine na maturi niso izbrali.

Rezultatov raziskave sicer ne moremo posploševati, saj vzorec ni reprezentativen. Ne glede na to smo mnenja, da predstavljajo dobro podlago za nadaljnje raziskovanje, saj kažejo na odkrit problem, ki vpliva na učinkovitost učenja angleškega jezika. V prihodnjih raziskavah bi bilo smiselno poiskati vzroke tesnobnosti, kar bi predstavljalo temelj za razvoj strategij za zmanjševanje tesnobnosti pri tujejezikovnem pouku.

ANXIETY IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

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SUMMARY

The paper focuses on the significance of anxiety in foreign language learning, as it seems that anxiety plays a significant role in the foreign language classroom. It provides insight into research already conducted in the field of foreign language anxiety. First, it examines the influence of specific factors on the English language achievement and then it focuses on the relationship between anxiety and foreign language achievement. Several authors argue that anxiety has a great impact on language learning. This study, therefore, seeks to explore the role of anxiety in the foreign language classroom. The quantitative case study aims to identify the level of foreign language anxiety among students of the Faculty of Education at the University of Primorska and to determine the connection between foreign language anxiety and performance. The study was based on a survey carried out among 141 students. The choice of the sample can be justified by the fact that university students have already developed their attitudes towards foreign language learning and they are capable of metacognition which would not be the case with younger learners. The data were analysed using descriptive statistics, as well as bivariate and multivariate inferential statistics. The results suggest that the majority of students exhibit high levels of foreign language anxiety and that there is a significant correlation between foreign language anxiety and students' matura grades. The findings show that students who achieved higher results in their matura examination exhibit lower levels of anxiety compared to students with lower grades. The results of the research also indicate a considerable correlation between foreign language anxiety and (not) taking the matura exam. Students who did not take the matura examination in English exhibit higher levels of foreign language anxiety compared to those who did. This seems to be a significant finding since there is a possibility that the students' anxiety might be the reason why they did not decide to take the English matura examination. The sample, however, is not representative which is why we cannot make any generalisations but the research resulted in some valuable findings that can represent a good foundation for further research.

Key words: anxiety, foreign language, English language, foreign language acquisition, instruction, grades, matura examination

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CHANGING THE CONTEXT OF RESEARCHERS' WORK IN ACADEMIA

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this paper is to explore the changes that have occurred in the work of academic researchers. It also addresses particularities and changes affecting the professionalisation processes in the last five years. Within the framework of the sociology of professions, it complements analyses of statistical data with a qualitative study in Slovenia and from selected European countries. The paper finds that the organisation of researchers' work and its position as a semi-profession is deteriorating dramatically. Researchers are confronted with the pressures of reduced public funding, higher unemployment, short-term research contracts, unproductive internal and external competitiveness and detachment from teaching processes.

Key words: professionalisation, academic researchers, precarisation of work, economic crisis

CAMBIAMENTI NEL CONTESTO DEL LAVORO DEI RICERCATORI UNIVERSITARI

SINTESI

Questo lavoro ha come obiettivo principale l'esplorazione di come si sia modificata nel tempo la professione del ricercatore universitario. Vengono descritte le peculiarità e i cambiamenti intervenuti negli ultimi cinque anni nel percorso di formazione professionale. Nell'ambito della sociologia del lavoro, si presentano i risultati degli studi che combinano l'analisi di dati statistici e qualitativi sull'attività dei ricercatori sloveni e di un gruppo selezionato di altri paesi. I risultati delle analisi indicano che l'organizzazione del lavoro dei ricercatori e la sua caratterizzazione come una "quasi professione" si sta deteriorando in modo drammatico. I ricercatori devono affrontare la pressione di fondi pubblici ridotti, elevata disoccupazione, contratti di lavoro di breve durata, improduttiva competizione interna ed esterna e progressivo allontanamento dall'insegnamento.

Parole chiave: professionalizzazione, ricercatori universitari, precarieta del lavoro, crisi economica

INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade processes of globalisation and the economic crisis have considerably changed the context of employment and working conditions in the Western world. One of many occupations which has experienced significant change is the researcher, an occupation that in the knowledge cycle generates new knowledge and therefore importantly contributes to the development of science, technology and society. In this paper we explore how the work of (academic) researchers has altered in recent years, and which driving forces have contributed to its deprofessionalisation.

The broader context of societal changes that present the relevant context of work were already theoretically described before the last crisis. Beck (1992) and Giddens (1994), for example, gradually developed the concept of the risk society in which norms and values are under threat. Hall and Soskice (2001) claimed that welfare systems and education systems are experiencing large transformation processes. In particular, social security mainly based on employment, unemployment and wage protection is becoming an increasingly flexible category (Estevez-Abe, Iversen and Soskice, 2001), which might be in line with the concepts of the knowledge-based society promoted politically a decade ago (Lundvall, 2001).

Due to 'leaner' and 'flatter' organisations Western labour markets are not only experiencing a decline in the number of jobs but also a decline in their quality (Heyes, 2011; Bieling, 2012). Job security is confronted with cost cutting, downsizing and outsourcing. A large proportion of jobs has experienced changes in payments, work time, continuity and the nature of employment relations. These factors indicate a general transition from traditional to customised careers (Valcour, Bailyn and Quijada, 2007) and changes in the proportion between 'good' and 'bad' jobs. In terms of full-time and lifelong perspectives, traditional careers are becoming increasingly rare. This situation is also accompanied by career success and family life value changes (Guest and Sturges, 2007: 312; Kanjuo-Mrčela and Černigoj-Sadar, 2011).

A scientific tradition that well explains how these external changes are related to personal experience of the nature of work is the sociology of professions and its concept of professionalism (e.g. Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001; Evetts, 2011). Scholars in this field have for several decades already been stating that a large number of professionals are experiencing the deprofessionalisation of their work. They are caught in a paradox of knowledge empowerment and knowledge standardisation (Rifkin, 1996), which is framed by globalisation processes (Friedman, 2006) and the repositioning of cultural values towards a wide new spectrum of services and the professionals who produce them (Cetina, 2006).

The occupation of a researcher working in the academic sphere is no exception here; on the contrary. While universities have traditionally played several roles in society such as legitimating professional domains, regulating social stratification, generating new developments and training new professionals (Abbott, 1988: 196), they are now faced with the massification of student enrolments, marketisation, cooperation with industry and calls for transparency (Zgaga, 2009). A key reason for this is the cuts in public finances whereby research and higher education systems are now expected to "do more with less" (OECD, 2010). In this situation, researchers seek to protect their core mission vis-à-vis external factors and do not want to become totally subordinate to emerging academic 'professionals' and teaching staff.

In this paper, we explore changes that have happened in the work of the academic researcher. The paper starts by considering the broader discourse of occupational (de) professionalisation. Second, it presents the profile of researchers' work and describes particularities of researchers' body of knowledge in relation to identity, ethics, values and careers. Third, it presents statistical data on researchers' employment in Slovenia. Fourth, it complements these data with a qualitative survey on changes in researchers' work in Slovenia in terms of the identification and explanation of professional work, factors of career success and the drivers of these changes. The results are subjected to a (preliminary) comparative evaluation by experts from selected European countries. By providing a theoretical and empirical overview of the functional role of researchers' work, the paper offers recommendations for future developments in this interdisciplinary area which can also be applied to other occupations.

OCCUPATIONAL PROFESSIONALISATION AND DEPROFESSIONALISATION

Theory of occupational professionalisation

For several decades sociological theory described *professionalism* as: i) a special organisation, ideology and experience of work; and ii) an occupational or normative value in the process of achieving personalised results. Professionalism has traditionally been contradicted by bureaucratic rules and the free market. However, in recent times sociological analyses have demonstrated that professionalism has started to merge with administrative and market principles, which has been labelled as the process of occupational deprofessionalisation or organisational professionalism (Evetts, 2013). As a result of this, traditional differences between professions and other occupations are becoming blurred. Yet it is important to consider classical theoretical approaches as they offer a proper analytical framework for studying ongoing changes in the world of contemporary work.

Those occupations which are the most respected, organised, institutionalised and attached to public finances have traditionally been labelled *professions*. Exam-

ples typically include medical doctors and lawyers, who for several decades have gained a strong jurisdiction over their own professional domain – also on the basis of professional knowledge and competencies which it is generally believed can only be acquired in long and demanding formal (higher) education (Freidson, 2001). Professions, in theory, have an authority and jurisdiction to identify and exclusively perform tasks in their domain. In this way they are different from other occupations. The process by which a certain occupation becomes a profession has been described as *professionalisation*. This is a very fragmented concept that in theory is related to the social division of work, training of professional workers, social stratification, and generating of an occupational culture (Rus, 1979: 1482). Several authors (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001) also see professionalisation as the process of creating a monopoly or jurisdiction over the utilisation of professional work.

In studies of professions, professionalisation and professionalism one can identify several theoretical approaches. The early *functionalistic perspective* took the position that a profession emerges due to the societal need for particular professional expertise. In this tradition, professions have been described as one of the key factors in society and also as links among individuals and the state. This perspective triggered debates related to the identification of professional elements as well as differences between professions and other occupations (Siegrist, 1990; Brante, 1990). The *critical ideological perspective* is more concerned with the basis upon which professions gain a special social status and power (Larson, 1977; Burrage, 1988) and what this means for changes in social stratification (Macdonald, 1996). The third approach is known as the *system of professions* (Abbott, 1988) that combines direct observations of professional work and professional jurisdiction with a historical analysis of professions and contains both perspectives.

For the purpose of this paper it is particularly important to distinguish between the *intrinsic-personal* perspective of professional work and the *extrinsic-group/social* perspective. On the intrinsic-personal level, the sociological tradition has focused on the relationship between work and other attributes of occupational professionalisation such as identity, autonomy, ethics or regulation. The extrinsic-group/social perspective has studied similar elements complemented with observations concerning how professions form institutions, how they gain jurisdiction over a particular domain, how they compete against each other and what is the importance of external factors for occupational changes (Pavlin, 2007). It is not rare for such research to combine both approaches.

In this way theories of the sociology of professions can be well complemented with career studies (Gunz and Peiperl, 2007). These approaches question the extent to which careers are the results of personal abilities in comparison to social determinism, external circumstances versus individual choice and how individual, organisation or society benefits from them. Similar to the intrinsic personal perspective of the sociology of professions, career studies observe outcomes of work such as performance or identity, processes of career stages, life cycles and typologies.

Towards occupational deprofessionalisation

Discourse on the proletarisation and deprofessionalisation of occupational work started already in the late nineteen century (see Marx, 2012/1894), and has recently re-appeared due to globalisation and the economic crisis (Kreutzer, 2003; Barley, 2005). With a growing number of university-educated workers over the last decades (Freeman, 1976; OECD, 2012), the concept of professionalisation is increasingly related to private capital and management (Hinings, 2005), and is losing its links with professional organisations.

The central question in studies of occupational deprofessionalisation explores how organisational governance, management, regulation, performance evaluation and auditing measurement impact the organisation of professional work and professional skills, and vice versa. Little is currently known about how these changes are linked to higher quality, efficiency and customer satisfaction. Discourse in the area of occupational professionalisation has also been described as a shift from occupational to organisational professionalism in reference to changes in the organisation of work, trust of clients with regard to professional services, practising work ethics, authority and responsibility (Evetts, 2013: 11).

Associated with this, Freidson (2001: 212-213) claims an important factor and consequence of occupational deprofessionalisation is rooted in the reduction of basic research which is the reason several professions are being forced to reduce their theoretical work and focus only on applied private work. Freidson believes this path only involves the solving of current problems and does not enable occupational development and adaptation to new technological processes. As a result, professions are being exposed to specialisations and heterogeneity (Hövels, 2004).

In a nutshell, we can described the process of occupational deprofessionalisation in four ways: i) as a weakening link between professional work, identity and ethics; ii) the general downgrading of the working conditions of professional workers; iii) the increasing internal competition of professional workers from a particular domain among themselves and also with other professions; and iv) a rise in bureaucratic and managerial work tasks. Hence, *occupational deprofessionalisation* can be described in general terms as a process in which occupational practitioners or occupational groups weaken professional elements such as theoretical knowledge, its practical applications and development, identity, identification, ethical standards, state funding and autonomy.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESEARCHERS' WORK

The job of a researcher is typically related to designing and implementing research projects in various disciplinary areas (see Neumann, 2009). This involves the manipulation of knowledge from its creation, dissemination and utilisation. The researcher's work is typically characterised by the highest level of formal education and strong analytical skills needed for conducting qualitative and quantitative research. Researchers' operational principles are characterised by networking in the sense of a community of practice (Wenger et al., 2002) in which groups of people share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic and deepen their domain. The work of researchers has recently been the subject of increasing changes caused by institutional, national and international factors linked to funding principles and work regulations. The outcome is that researchers and academic roles are ever more multi-faceted, fragmented and hybridised which relates in particular to the polarity – rather than the complementarity – between teaching and research. This is causing serious tensions in professional and personal areas of life (Ylijoki and Mäntylä, 2003).

A researcher has one of very few occupations whose main purpose is characterised by the process of knowledge creation and in this way it is different to the majority of other occupations that mainly utilise or disseminate knowledge. The core of researchers' work is well described by Boisot's model (2002) which describes knowledge creation with polarities between abstraction and concreteness, also referring to diffusion and codification. Abstraction means generalisation from concrete cases, and can be a twofold concept: reduction in the sense of a lack of specific contents, as well as formalisation in terms of providing frameworks, systems and methodology for the understanding of knowledge (Harald, 2003: 46). The complexity, broadness and controversy of researchers' tasks and competencies can also be seen in the occupational competency model developed by researchers at the University of Ljubljana in the course of the international DEHEMS project (2013-). According to this competency model, the spectrum of researchers' tasks includes: searching and applying for research projects, national and international networking, primary and secondary data analyses (qualitative and quantitative), writing project reports, technical specification of project reports, financial reporting, support to administration, managing auditing procedures, scientific publishing and supporting academic processes. These tasks require several generic competencies which until recently were more typical of the business sector: time management, stress management, team work or asserting authority against others. Professional competencies are related to own other disciplinary areas, methodology and teaching, and also include knowledge of foreign languages and special computer skills.

The core of researchers' work relates to applied and generic research. One could say that researchers do not generate science (only) for their own sake, but for associated professions in their own and other areas and for a wider range of stakeholders. In essence, their work reassembles and deepens all work processes of other professionals. Following Eraut (2006: 49), this includes understanding new situations, recognising which areas of knowledge are relevant to a particular situation, utilising those procedures which are needed for a particular decision or action, and have the capacity to transform previously acquired explicit knowledge and rules to suit new situations. The work of researchers is clearly based on an investigative type of vocational identity for which it is typical to have a strong scientific interest, to work with ideas and to have developed intellectual competencies related to reading and researching (Savickas, 2007: 83), and therefore seeks a corresponding work environment.

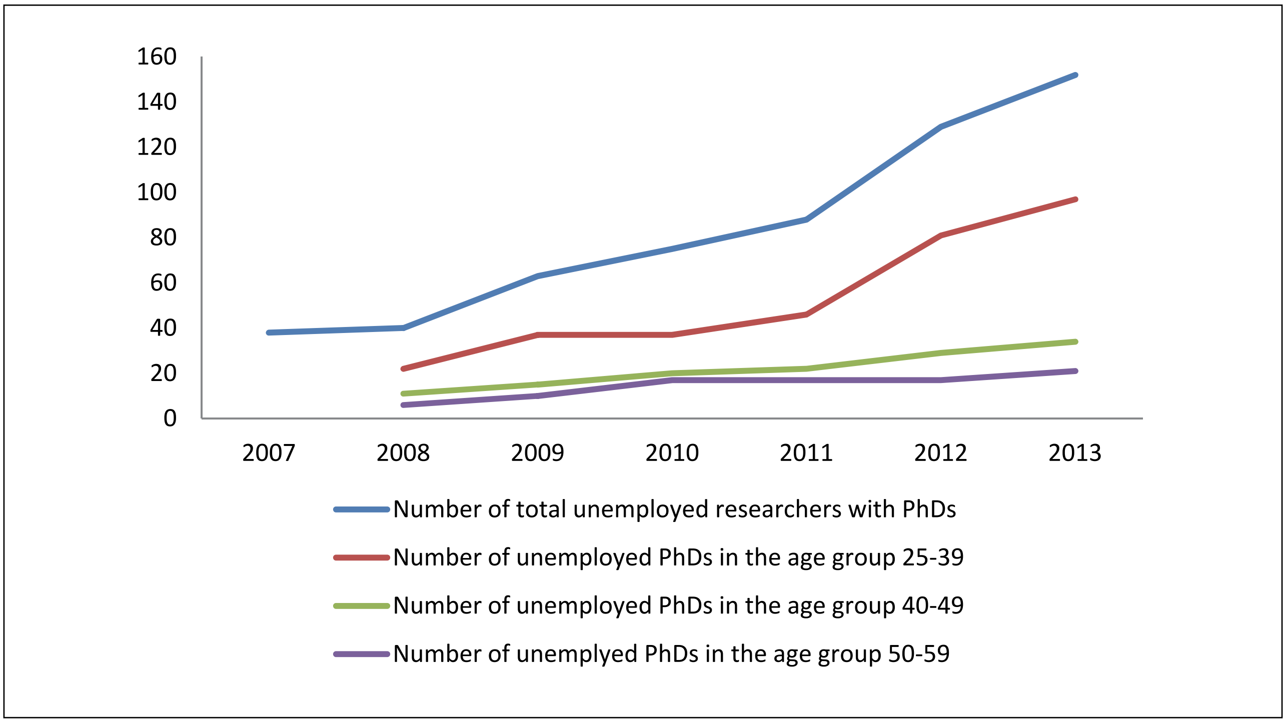
Since researchers' work is fluid and dynamic in nature and relates to different scientific disciplines, one might speculate that it is researchers' segmentation that has prevented this occupation from becoming a full profession. The occupation of researcher has instead been disintegrated into various industry sectors, academic disciplines and *attached* to other occupations and jobs like, for example, academic teachers. Researchers' work is therefore trapped in its exploration phase and finds it hard to establish or maintain its own position within an organisation. The downgrading of researchers' working conditions, global competition and the burdening of core tasks by administrative and managerial tasks makes an academic researcher one of the most quickly deprofessionalised occupations experiencing a spiral or transitory career type which is composed of several different careers – related to a particular contracting agency that stipulates changes in the nature of researchers' work.

We test the propositions set out above and earlier with an empirical case.

EXPLORING THE DEPROFESSIONALISATION OF RESEARCHERS' WORK IN SLOVENIA AND IN SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Short Elaboration of the Methodological Approach

The methodological approach in this paper builds on three interrelated steps. First, we present synthesised statistical data from various sources on the employment of Slovenian researchers. Second, we complement the conclusions and assumptions of the first step with a qualitative survey (face-to-face interviews) among 20 researchers in Slovenia. The respondents from various Slovenian universities and respective research institutes were aged 30 to 50 years. The selection of researchers was also proportionally distributed according to gender, disciplinary areas (hard and soft sciences) and geographic regions. All of the selected researchers have predominantly been engaged in scientific research (consuming at least 50 percent of their working time) in the



Sources: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SORS), 2012; Slovenian Research Agency (SRA), 2013; Slovenian Ministry of Education, 2010, Employment Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2013

Graph 1: Number of unemployed researchers with a PhD according to age groups, 2007–2013

last five years. Their remaining working time has mostly been devoted to university teaching and only exceptionally to other activities – which, over time, can be subject to variation. Given the resources available, in the view of the authors this figure and the composition of the interviews best complements the richness of the information and explanation of the results obtained in the previous quantitative data analysis. Particularly in the case of surveying occupational professionalisation, it is necessary to apply the principles of triangulation since relying on just one single method does not assure reliable and valid findings (Denzin, 1978/1989; Pavlin and Kogovšek, 2007).

The content of the interviews was related to the theoretical framework presented earlier in the paper and explored changes and relations among the following elements: the development of competencies, the determinants of professional success, work conditions, satisfaction, professional values, monetary aspects, overall organisation of work and, in particular, the bureaucratic principles, professional ethics and institutional arrangements. The time frame for assessing changes was the "last five years" (including 2008, and onwards). After analysing the interviews and synthesising the results, three analytical sets of problems were identified regarding changes in: i) professional expertise and professionalism; ii) employment status, ethics and career development; and iii) bureaucratisation and entrepreneurship. Third, the Slovenian results were assessed by experts from 10 European countries. The authors selected the countries based on Hall and Soskice's (2001) premises of varieties of countries in relation to welfare, labour market and education system regimes in a way so that at least one country from traditional each traditional country cluster clusters – north social democratic, continental, liberal, southern European and transitional – is represented in the sample.

Context

General situation – A case study on the hypothesis of researchers' (de)professionalisation is conducted in Slovenia, a Central European country with restrictive labour regulations and employment protection and an education system close to the German model. Around 40 percent of all researchers in Slovenia are employed in higher education and NGOs, 40 percent in the private sector (of whom some are researchers associated with academia) and 20 percent in the government sector. Data from different statistical sources show that the employment of researchers during the last five years has become extremely problematic. The number of new jobs in research is going down overall, whilst the number of individuals with appropriate education to work in the research field has disproportionately increased (SORS, 2012; SRA, 2013; Slovenian Ministry of Education, 2010).

The wider gap in the number of jobs and job-seekers in the field of research activities is most evident in records showing the number of unemployed researchers

Table 1: The number of reported young researchers funded by the Slovenian Research Agency 2008–201

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Natural sciences	66	87	72	80	66	53
Engineering	85	84	70	76	54	51
Medical sciences	28	27	23	21	18	14
Biotechnical sciences	36	27	22	20	16	13
Social sciences	24	30	25	24	18	16
Humanities	26	27	24	20	16	13
Interdisciplinary research	8	18	14	9	12	
Total	273	300	250	250	200	160

Source: Slovenian Research Agency (SRA), 2013

with a PhD. The data for 2008 reveal that the number of researchers with a PhD working in R&D activities in Slovenia is 4,087 of the total 16,243 employees engaged in R&D activities (SORS, 2012). According to estimates of official statistical data, at the end of 2012 there were 130 unemployed researchers with a PhD, whereas in 2013 the number is currently approaching 450 (Graph 1).[1] The data reveal that most unemployed PhDs come from the younger age groups, but they do not stay unemployed for longer periods[2] in comparison to other age groups.

Graph 1 illustrates the trend of the rapid growth of unemployed researchers with a PhD in general and according to specific age groups. Based on the data we can assume that the field of research is experiencing deep socio-economic structural changes that are gradually reducing the number of research-related jobs and, consequently, increasing the number of unemployed researchers registered with the employment office. It is highly probable that the upward trend of PhDs' unemployment will continue due to the existing structure of research jobs.

Young researchers – A programme for young researchers is the biggest national mechanism for training new researchers in academia. It was intended to gradually educate young researchers to obtain a PhD so they could evolve into "full-time researchers" with a stable employment relationship. However, instability in the economy, unclear state management, i.e. the distribution of institutional competencies between public bodies that govern the R&D field and the reduced financial contributions to schemes related to young researchers, have strongly impacted on the working conditions of young teams of researchers in the academic and business sectors[3] (SORS 2013). [4]

The problem of the professional training of young researchers is only one part of the worrying trend in the research field. The second part involves the unstable situation in the employment market, i.e. after young researchers have obtained their educational title. If the workload of young researchers in the business sector is greater than the potential burden put on young researchers who are funded by the Slovenian Research Agency (SRA), it must be emphasised that funding for these groups has been in decline since 2008 (SRA, 2013), while the total amount of financial sources for higher education and science has in the last two years been reduced by approximately EUR 30 million.

Nonetheless, the key problems for the group of SRA-funded researchers, despite the progressive cuts in financial support, appear after they have earned their

1 Due to a lack of specific information derived from official statistics of the Employment Office of the Republic of Slovenia, the above figures are merely indicative and not representative of the entire group of unemployed PhDs. For example, in 2010 less than 29 of a total of 66 unemployed PhDs did not indicate their vocational and professional education. It is important to mention that the field of natural sciences and engineering employs the largest number of researchers. Accordingly, the proportion of unemployed from these fields in relation to the total population of unemployed researchers is still the lowest. Unemployed PhDs by category in 2010: Natural sciences (0.4%); engineering sciences (0.3%); medicine (0%); agricultural sciences (1.0%); social sciences (0.8%) and the humanities (0.7%).

2 For example, in 2013 the group of younger unemployed PhDs (aged 25–39 years) stayed unemployed between 3 to 9 months, whilst the older groups (aged 40–49 and 50–59) remained unemployed for approximately 20 months (SORS 2013).

3 Cooperation between the academic and business sectors in the area of young researchers experienced key changes in the 2010–2011 period. During that period the transfer of management power from the Slovenian Technology Agency to the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology was implemented. After the transition period, specific provisions which had protected young researchers from pressures from employers were removed. According to the new legislation, young researchers from the business sector need to pay their university tuition fee themselves as an employer who receives co-funding for the employment of young researchers is no longer bound to pay tuition fees. Those changes may indicate considerably higher dependence on financial support from the employer and hence a greater burden on young researchers.

4 Data on the emigration of PhDs are currently not available. Data on overall migration abroad indicate a gradual increase in the extent of emigration since 1995 (SORS, 2013). In 2012 the number of Slovenian citizens emigrating was extremely high – 8,191 people emigrated from Slovenia, while only 2,741 people immigrated into Slovenia.

PhD. In this regard, new researchers with PhDs are beginning an extremely unstable career because employment in the public sector is being reduced and there is an ever greater surplus of researchers in the job market. According to the SRA (2013), 1,433 young researchers were reported as being supported by the Agency in the 2008–2013 period (Table 1) and the total number of enrolled doctoral students exceeds 3,000. Based on these figures, the following assumptions can be made. The increase, i.e. surplus, in the number of PhDs in the labour market could lead to the greater instability of researchers' potential career paths. In addition, the unclear institutional relationships and responsibilities among state institutions result in an insufficient or weak way of detecting important micro socio-economic changes taking place at the level of researchers' working conditions that thereby hinder researchers' career development. We could also speculate that, due to the poor supporting platform for the transition of young researchers to the job market, young researchers are poorly motivated for career planning and experience high levels of social and economic instability during different career phases.

In the next section of the paper, we further explore these statistically based conclusions and assumptions with the qualitative interviews. Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted in June and July 2013 in three Slovenian universities and four research institutes within the academic system. We analytically considered two broad disciplinary categories: science and engineering (which includes medicine), and the social sciences and the humanities.

Discussion of the Results from the Qualitative Interviews in Slovenia

Professional expertise, satisfaction and development – The researchers are usually quite satisfied with the nature of their work and would not easily switch to another job. They especially valued autonomy in organising their work processes, working methods and goals, controlling the rhythm of their work, and professional communication with colleagues – notably intensifying and extending the "networking" principle of communication. They emphasise the fact that their work is very specific with regard to the knowledge and skills required. It is evident that their particular expertise and specialisation is strongly part of its identity. Thus, retraining and redirection towards a fundamentally different type of work would be quite challenging should they not be able to continue in their profession.

New discoveries and approaches require a focus on goals, continuity in research and freedom at work. The more subjective employment security and relative autonomy at work are present, the more satisfaction will be derived from one's work, and a stronger work ethic maintained. The responses also reflect a self-critical awareness of the fixation on the cocoon of one's own profession, and the increasing need to open up beyond one's narrow specialty (within the same profession, among other professions, and society more generally). Work experience and satisfaction are particularly strongly eroded by the pressure of the quantification in the evaluation of research results which may not objectively reflect one's achievements. Again, the elements of perceived career success depend principally on the balance between employment security and autonomy at work at different levels. This permits the development of professional networks, publication and presentation of research results, accumulation and dissemination of knowledge, as well as professional integrity.

According to the respondents, professional development chiefly consists of international recognition in the profession, positive feedback in the specialty or research field, important publications and highly ranked citations, or successful patent applications and grants. The ever more precarious nature of research, such as waiting for a decision on a research grant or the acceptance of an article for publication, along with negative reviews and rejections, may be quite distressing for many individuals and might take away their energy and motivation for further work.

Employment principles, ethics and career development – The growing need to devise survival strategies, accompanied by the fear of job loss and failure to win research projects, may result in opportunism and conformism, unhealthy competition, deepening conflicts among colleagues and, consequently, personal frustrations which may impact the quality of work. In many senses, according to the respondents, the nature of the research profession is undergoing increased *precarisation*. Within research groups, valuable time and energy is spent on constantly reallocating researchers to various projects or even to tasks not related to research.

Unprincipled coalitions (strategic alliances) and hierarchies are established on non-meritocratic criteria, seniority, favouritism, cementing positions of power and fortifying connections with research policy decision makers. The younger the respondents, the more precarious their employment status has been, irrespective of their research results and professional competencies. Formal promotion to higher academic titles does not guarantee better employment security or an increased income. The upward mobility of a profession does not work since the institutional mechanisms are unclear or, in some cases, are not operational. Besides personal insecurity, conflicts within research groups and unstable project-based research, the respondents also mention the lack of systemic rules, especially in the relationship between research and teaching at university.

Job definitions related to teaching and research are completely untenable from the point of view of the university; these systemic uncertainties do not permit the transfer of research results into teaching, which contradicts the mission of higher educational principles. In addition to the dependence on winning research projects

and, consequently, the significantly lower employment security of researchers, they also experience less professional prestige within the academic community and lower levels of academic autonomy. Apart from achieving appropriate working position systematisation, some respondents also expect a transparent and objective evaluation of research and teaching integrity and the objectification of research results. In this regard, they feel the need to 'take the consequences' which, for certain individuals, should result in dismissal from a job or temporary exclusion from academic positions based on insufficient research outcomes over a longer period. Although we detected different viewpoints, the suitability of their salary is, generally, not viewed as a major problem, especially in relation to employment security.

There is no apposite systemic differentiation between independent research institutes (e.g. the Jozef Stefan Institute) and university-affiliated research centres. Likewise, no differentiated typology is available for evaluating the wider social benefits of research results (by particular research disciplines) as is applicable in industry. There is a distinct discrepancy between the systemic arrangement and specific nature of a profession on the level of the institutional valuation of the profession.

"Bureaucratic entrepreneurship" – The respondents described the institutional arrangements colourfully and critically as: unacceptable, intolerable, catastrophic, degenerative, untransparent, highly bureaucratic and incongruent with the nature of work. There are many problems: No officially defined relationship between teaching and research exists on the job definition level in academic professions, as we already stressed relative to job security.

According to the respondents, the field itself is strongly bureaucratically organised. A growing administrative burden is placed on the activities of a researcher: writing reports, the need for painstaking administrative paperwork for the payment of expenses through different tenders, an increasing fixation with working hours and mechanically controlled presence in the office. A special aspect of administrative procedures can be observed in the expected 'entrepreneurial' skills for winning research grants. A rising amount of time is spent on paperwork for research applications, accompanied by a growing likelihood that an application will not be successful at the end of the procedure. According to the respondents, the tendency towards project research is also, if too time-consuming, incompatible with the nature of research. Project-based research is not sustainable for the actors (research groups) in terms of organisation and time frames, nor financially.

On the level of research applications and the evaluation of research results the criteria are becoming ever more restrictive; however, this is not properly reflected in qualitative evaluations taking the nature of work into account. It seems that the high levels of the quantification of research evaluation are not transparent and are very narrowly standardised, along with the constantly changing rules on the classification of published research, patent applications and citation counts. The respondents mostly agree that the logic of "hunting for points" (particularly for those highly ranked) has been pushed to absurd levels. It no longer reflects genuine research results or valuable benefits to society, and encourages unhealthy forms of competition among researchers. Some researchers have learned very well the specific particularities of quantitative evaluations and adapted to the systems very efficiently so that they are successfully profiting from valuable formal quantitative rules and points. They organise all of their research activities with this sole goal in mind.

Only small differences related to disciplinarity – Contrary to expectations, we cannot corroborate a hypothesis concerning significantly different valuations (understandings) of the professional position in two analytical groups: i) the social sciences and humanities (SSH); and ii) natural sciences and technologies (NST). The difference mostly emerges in how the problem is articulated. The most distinctive is a different articulation of autonomy and freedom. In the SSH group, the erosion of critical thinking (a consequence of decreased work autonomy) is the prevailing cause for concern. In the NST group, the prevailing concern is the loss of control over the selection of work methods and goals. In the SSH group, we noticed a more consistent and strong emphasis on the viewpoint of ensuring a balance between individual work autonomy and work security in preserving professional ethics. The NST group is in this sense more pragmatic and emphasises the significance the natural organisational hierarchy plays in the quality of the tasks completed. In the NST group, professional ethics is understood in a narrower sense, more as a personality trait and less in the sense of benefits to the professional community and society at large. Among the SSH and NSTgroups we found no differences in institutionalised organisation, the incursion of market logic into the research domain, methods of work valuation, and the definition of career success.

Comparison of the Slovenian Results with Selected European Countries

We conducted a preliminary analysis of the researchers' comments regarding their research situation and potential trends towards the deprofessionalisation of research work with the objective of contrasting our findings with experts from 10 European countries[5]. The different institutional arrangements in these countries impede a comparison and any more effective generalisations. However, for the purposes of this analysis it was

5 Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Russian Federation, Spain and United Kingdom.

possible to disregard such differences and focus on the central premise of the increasingly uncertain professional position of researchers.

Researchers are typically employed by academic institutions of higher education (colleges, universities) and institutions outside the public academic system (NGOs, private institutes, think-tanks), except for Hungary and the Russian Federation where most researchers are employed by institutes affiliated with academies of sciences and arts. We found that, as opposed to in the countries under comparison, the position of researchers in Slovenia is not managed and organised in a systematic way and is outlined very unclearly in terms of academic classification. The reports by the experts indicate differences in the employment status of teachers and researchers; however, these differences are not attributable to the problems of academic classification but to the different weights accorded to both profession types and work areas within the profession.

Among all examples under study, research activities are more highly valued than teaching in terms of both prestige and income only in Austria and the Russian Federation, and to some extent also in the UK. The career expectations of non-researching teachers in the UK are evidently limited. An expert from Austria reports that the trend of placing overall importance on the evaluation of research outcomes is already having a negative impact on teaching. In terms of a profession, teaching is positioned better in the other countries. Teaching posts are more secure and bring a better income, especially in the Flemish part of Belgium. In this sense, the situation is comparable to the situation in Slovenia. Experts from Cyprus, Finland, Germany, Latvia and Spain report that their universities are dedicating ever fewer resources to research; researchers are subjected to the time limits set out in invitations for projects and tenders 'from the outside', especially in the framework of EU-funded programmes and industry-funded research.

Researchers usually do not enjoy a long-term employment position and are only paid by projects. An expert for Germany reports programmes financed by academic institutions from the government budget as becoming more and more "applied" in nature and increasingly limited by short-term contracts, with fundamental long-term research becoming ever rarer. This may result in a gradual marginalisation of both research and teaching, and the disintegration of research activities in academia. A deteriorating employment situation and reduced career expectations of younger researchers on the job market are the most important comparative characteristics of the countries under study.

CONCLUSION

Our key finding is that the status of researchers in Slovenia (particularly those of a younger age and SRA-funded), and in other European countries, is deteriorating dramatically. The security and stability of their employment, the institutional and organisational structure of the domain, the principles of validating scientific results and funding policy represent the main developmental threats.

In a certain sense, the nature of this profession is undergoing increased *precarisation, in some aspects*, drawing close to professions with lower levels of workforce education in the service industries. The decline of researchers' professionalism is associated with the weakening of multiple areas: freedom and autonomy, work atmosphere, loyalty to one's colleagues, work ethics, and work satisfaction. However, such positively rated elements are increasingly negatively influenced *'from below'* by elements *'from above'*, especially employment security, a relative employment permanence and job stability. These elements are gradually and inevitably leading to the erosion of professional integrity. Such a regression of one's capability to retain control over one's work (organisation, modes and content of work) represents a serious decline in professional autonomy.

A significant, mostly negative, element *'from above'* is represented by the reduction of public finances which generates an unsuitable societal (as well as market) valuation and quantitative institutional evaluation of researchers' work. This is leading to work utilitarianism and unproductive competitiveness on the level of a particular research group or working collective at large, and the profession in general. Only a smaller share of the respondents believes that the trends of the deprofessionalisation of their profession should be understood (and therefore accepted) as a component of the flexibilisation of the work processes of the modern market economy – therefore, one should strive towards inclusivity, i.e. inter- and intra-professional linking, thereby contributing to the demythologisation of the 'knowledge professions'.

The scientific structure, the internal organisation of science, and the production of outcomes is incompatible with the growing needs for instant usefulness and applicability, as understood by the political class – this notion is reflected in specific policies and principles of financial funding and budgetary planning. Any wider social understanding and recognition is low also due to researchers having to focus on meeting the high formal criteria of success, e.g. *publish or perish* and the growing *'citatocracy'*. This prevents any parallel popularisation and modes of disseminating research results by way of publication and presentation in the context of a more general interest – educational and otherwise.

The other level of observation that is highly dependent on the ways of social acceptance (institutionalisation) is reflected in the intra-institutional academic organisation of teaching and research. Lump-sum funding of academic institutions and dwindling budgetary funds for research purposes prevent efficient policy for the planning of scientific production. The state's expectations in the

direction of the self-financing of the research sphere by international and market projects is driving the management of research institutions to strongly reduce their research potential. Namely, university educational resources are predominantly being channelled into teaching or teaching-related activities. Thus, the position of teachers in Slovenia is becoming disproportionally stronger and safer, and university teaching as an academic activity is taking on a disproportionally dominant position in the academic enterprise. The position of researchers, on the other hand, is implicitly valued only as residual. Therefore, there is the danger of the complete marginalisation and, consequently, deprofessionalisation of the research profession in academic institutions.

In our observations we found that deprofessionalisation is characterised by the personality type and characteristics of researchers who have to react to the changing, notably aggravating conditions in the evaluation of their work 'from the outside', especially on the part of the Slovenian Research Agency and those involved in invitations for projects or tenders in the EU. The quantification of the national evaluation of results for the purposes of evaluating a professional qualification creates, to a smaller or bigger extent, a conforming and calculating self-interested type of researcher who is mostly concentrated on the formal aspect of survival in the profession, which runs counter to the expected principal characteristics of a scientist. The same applies to vying for EU-sponsored research where chief importance is attributed to following the strict formal criteria of report writing along with the related extensive paperwork and much less to the professional (scientific) quality of the outcome.

The main reason cited by the researchers is the shrinkage of state-controlled and other public budgetary resources. Such trend impedes the creation of new jobs, with the only jobs available being short-term in nature and unstable. This has not been found only in Slovenia but also in other countries under observation. Some experts, especially in Mexico and Spain, report trends of the non-meritocratic cementing of job positions and preserving of advantages secured in the past, including the extending of job contracts after formal retirement. Similar arguments were observed in Slovenia. However, we underline that this preliminary comparative analysis may only serve by way of exemplification; more experts from various additional countries would need to be included in the study for the purposes of allowing a better international generalisation.

The deprofessionalisation of researchers in Slovenia and other countries not only concerns those who work in this area. The degradation of (public) research by being transferred to another commercial sector regulated by various state rules means the end of research professionalism and its spirit.

SPREMENJEN KONTEKST DELA AKADEMSKIH RAZISKOVALCEV

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POVZETEK

Glavni namen članka je raziskati spremembe organizacije dela akademskih raziskovalcev, ki jih obravnavamo kot specifični vidik dolgoročnih družbenih sprememb in so se pojavile vzporedno s procesi globalizacije ter več let trajajoče gospodarske krize. Članek najprej predstavi klasični ter sodobni pregled socioloških teorij profesij v perspektivi splošnega trenda poklicne deprofesionalizacije in paradigmatskega premika od poklicne k organizacijski profesionalizaciji. Spremembe se še posebej dogajajo na osebni ravni uporabe profesionalnega znanja, poklicne identitete, etike, vrednot, avtonomije kot tudi na ravni poklicnih skupin in njihove institucionalne in pravne ureditve. Poklic raziskovalca, katerega ključna značilnost sta oblikovanje in produkcija znanja, se zaenkrat še vedno

pomembno razlikuje od večine ostalih poklicev, ki znanje le uporabljajo ali širijo. Na podlagi teoretskega pregleda so v članku s kombinacijo statistične analize in kvalitativnega raziskovanja, predstavljene ugotovitve in predpostavke o spremenjenem kontekstu dela raziskovalcev na univerzah. Analiza je vključevala sintezo statističnih podatkov o zaposlitvah raziskovalcev v Sloveniji od leta 2008 naprej, interpretacijo rezultatov vzorca dvajsetih pol-strukturiranih intervjujev v Sloveniji ter ekspertno evalvacijo teh rezultatov s strani ekspertov iz deset evropskih držav. Temeljna ugotovitev članka je, da se sistemska organiziranost raziskovalnega dela in poklicni ter karierni položaj raziskovalcev dramatično in hitro poslabšuje. Slovenski raziskovalci so soočeni z različnimi okoliščinami in pritiski, ki vodijo v deprofesionalizacijo njihovega z naraščajočim omejevanjem javnega financiranja, višjo nezaposlenostjo in delno zaposlenostjo, kratkotrajnimi delovnimi pogodbami, neproduktivno tekmovalnostjo znotraj in med raziskovalnimi skupinami, nevpetostjo ali pomanjkljivim vključevanjem v pedagoški proces, nujnostjo osredotočenja na izrazito formalne kriterije kariernega napredovanja in novejšim pojavom birokratskega podjetništva.

Ključne besede: profesionalizacija, akademsko raziskovanje, prekerno delo, gospodarska kriza

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FOLIKLI, TRANSFERJI, ZAMRZNJENČKI: REPRODUKTIVNE IZBIRE IN NOVE ETIČNE DILEME

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IZVLEČEK

Človeška reprodukcija je bila v Sloveniji še do nedavnega povezana bodisi s kolektivno prisilo bodisi z osebno izbiro utemeljeno na čustvih ali vrednotah posameznice. Danes pa je vse pogosteje odvisna od medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije, finančnih transakcij, genetike in od odločitev med številnimi izbirami v obdobju pred spočetjem otroka. Rojevanje se spreminja v natančen in racionalen proces, ki vsebuje številne postopke izločanja, vstavljanja, selekcije, spodbujanja in zaustavljanja, merjenja in opazovanja, ki potekajo pod pojmom medicinska reproduktivna tehnologija. Primerjalna analiza omenjenih procesov pokaže, da se ne povečuje le število medicinsko reproduktivnih posegov in število odraslih, ki biološko ali socialno sodelujejo pri rojstvu otroka tako v Sloveniji, kot v Evropi in po svetu, kar ustvarja nove oblike socialnega starševstva, temveč tudi število izbir in etičnih dilem.

Ključne besede: medicinska reproduktivna tehnologija, reproduktivne izbire, socialno starševstvo, etične dileme, bio-oblast, biosocialnost, otrokova pravica vedeti.

FOLLICOLI, TRANSFER, EMBRIONI CONGELATI: SCELTE RIPRODUTTIVE E NUOVI DILEMMI ETICI

SINTESI

La riproduzione umana è stata legata in Slovenia sino a tempi ancora recenti sia ad una costrizione di natura collettiva che a scelte personali fondate su sentimenti o valori del singolo individuo. Oggi, tuttavia, tutto ciò dipende sempre più spesso dalla tecnologia medica riproduttiva, dalle transazioni finanziarie, dalla genetica e dalle decisioni tra le numerose scelte che precedono il concepimento del bambino. La procreazione si sta trasformando in un processo preciso e razionale, che contempla numerosi procedimenti di separazione, innesto, selezione, stimoli e interruzioni, misurazioni e osservazioni, che si svolgono sotto il termine di tecnologia medica riproduttiva. L'analisi comparativa dei citati processi mostra come siano in aumento non solo il numero degli interventi di medicina riproduttiva e il numero di adulti che partecipano biologicamente o socialmente alla nascita del bambino, così in Slovenia come in Europa e nel mondo, producendo nuove forme di genitorialità sociale, ma anche il numero di scelte e di dilemmi etici.

Parole chiave: tecnologia medica riproduttiva, scelte riproduttive, genitorialità sociale, dilemmi etici, bio-potere, biosocialità, diritto del minore

Najina darovalka je pridelala 9 celic, od teh se jih je potem osem oplodilo. Mož je moral dati kri za testiranje na SPB, jaz ne. Kljub dobri kvaliteti semena so delali ICSI postopek. Embriolog dr. Hlynka je potem imel zarodke pod kontinuiranim monitoringom. V bistvu gre za to, da snema razvoj vseh zarodkov in nato zjutraj na dan transferja pogleda vse te posnetke in na osnovi značilnosti razvoja določi kvaliteto zarodkov. Tri je določil za transfer in pet jih je določil za zamrzovanje. Noben zarodek ni bil tako slab, da bi ne bil za zamrznit. No, potem smo se na dan trasnferja po posvetu z zdravnico dr. Lazarovsko odločili, da bomo naredili transfer dveh zarodkov, ostalih šest so pa zamrznili .[…] Medtem ko so na kliniki celice rastle, sva se preganjala po Pragi, vsak dan okrog devete zjutraj pa naju je poklicala koordinatorka Mirna in nama povedala, kaj se dogaja in kaj se predvideva za prihodnje dni. Tako da sva potem prišla na kliniko še drugič, to je za transfer, na četrti dan. […]Zdravnica in Mirna govorita hrvaško, drugo osebje češko in angleško, a smo se čisto fajn vse zmenili (Zaviršek, 2012,131)

Veste, so bile pa tako grde (spolne celice, op. D.Z), da smo jih kar stran vrgli!
Osebje v laboratoriju tekom postopka medicinske reprodukcije na UKC Ljubljana (Bregar, 2012,148).

UVOD

Mnogi starši niso še nikoli v zgodovini tako natančno kot danes vedeli, katere spolne celice so kakovostne in katere so slabe, in samoumevno ponotranjili poimenovanja, ki imajo manj opraviti s procesom rojevanja kot s kulturo dela. »Pridelati celice« ali pa »opraviti transfer« je govorica, ki daje slutiti, da se je človeška reprodukcija spremenila v racionalen proces. Ta poteka s pomočjo medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije (MRT), utemeljena pa je na ideji reproduktivne avtonomije, ki je pravica vsakega človeka, da sprejema reproduktivne odločitve brez zunanjih pritiskov, razen če so njegove odločitve v nasprotju s pravicami drugih (Blyth, Auffrey, 2008). Število medicinsko reproduktivnih posegov, uspešnih postopkov, število bolnišnic, kjer se izvajajo postopki in število medicinskih ustanov, ki posredujejo podatke, narašča iz leta v leto. Ko je po letu 2004 število otrok, rojenih s pomočjo umetne oploditve, darovanih spolnih celic, surogatskih in gestacijskih mater[1] začelo naraščati, je hkrati upadlo visoko število meddržavnih in transnacionalnih posvojitev otrok po vsem svetu (Zaviršek, 2012a).

Če je bila torej reprodukcija še do nedavnega povezana bodisi s kolektivno prisilo (dogovorjene poroke, serijsko rojevanje) bodisi z osebno izbiro, temelječo na čustvih ali vrednotah (ljubezen, žrtvovanje, poslanstvo, predanost), je danes naraščajoče povezana z biologijo, medicinsko tehnologijo, finančnimi transakcijami, genetskim testiranjem, etičnimi odločitvami v pred-spočetvenem obdobju, in z novimi oblikami starševstva. Socialno starševstvo postaja vse pogostejši odnos med otrokom in odraslim, med katerima ne obstaja biološka vez, temveč ekonomska, socialna in čustvena povezava v daljšem časovnem obdobju ter odnos navezanosti (Zaviršek, 2012, 31). Medicinska reproduktivna tehnologija je tako dodobra spremenila človekov odnos do biologije, reprodukcije in starševstva. Povečala je število reproduktivnih izbir in odločitev, pa tudi etičnih dilem.

REPRODUKTIVNA NAČRTOVANJA, BIO-OBLAST IN REPRODUKTIVNA POTROŠNJA

Ocenjuje se, da ima 12 do 15 odstotkov parov po Evropi izkušnjo neplodnosti in da je bilo do leta 2012 uradno v svetu z uporabo MRT rojenih približno 5 milijonov otrok (beleženje velja od osemdesetih let 20. stoletja naprej; Blyth, Landau, 2004; Zegers-Hochschild *et al.*, 2009; ESHRE 2012;)[2]. Za severnoevropske države velja, da je okoli tri odstotke otrok rojenih z uporabo reproduktivne medicine, medtem ko se v večini zahodnih držav njihovo število giblje od enega do manj kot dveh odstotkov (de Mouzon *et al.*, 2010). V Italiji je z uporabo medicinske reprodukcije rojen en odstotek otrok, medtem ko jih je na Danskem štiri odstotke. Vseeno je bilo leta 2006 največ reproduktivnih klinik prav v Italiji (202), sledile pa so ji Španija (182), Nemčija (122) in Francija (102).

Po Evropi je zaslediti tudi pogostejše darovanje ženskih spolnih celic, ki je bilo leta 2006 najvišje v Španiji (6.547), sledile so Velika Britanija (1.763), Rusija (1.100), Francija (573) in Češka (511) (de Mouzon *et al.*, 2010). Sistematično zbiranje podatkov po evropskih državah dokazuje, da se je med letoma 2004 in 2006 število vseh znanih bolnišnic, kjer opravljajo postopke MRT, povečalo z 1.121 na 1.160, število ženskih reproduktivnih ciklusov, tekom katerih so potekali posegi, pa se je v istem obdobju povečalo s 367.966 na 458.759 (ibid.). Leta 2008 je bila MRT v 36 evropskih državah uporabljena v 532.260 ženskih reproduktivnih ciklusih (kar je bilo 7,9 odstotno povišanje od leta 2007), leta 2009 pa že v 537.287 reproduktivnih ciklusih (Ferraretti *et al*., 2012; ESHRE, 2012).

Zadnji podatki dokazujejo, da se Slovenija uvršča med države z visokim številom uporabe MRT na milijon prebivalcev. Tako je na Danskem letno opravljenih

1 V besedilu ločimo surogatsko in gestacijsko materinstvo. Prvo označuje situacijo, ko ženske spolne celice lahko pripadajo ženski, ki otroka rodi za drugo osebo ali par ali pa ne. Drugo pa označuje situacijo, ko je genetski material v celoti bodisi od para, ki bo privzela starševsko skrb za otroka ali od tretje osebe.

2 Številke vsebujejo otroke, ki so rojeni z IVF in ICSI (vnos semenčice v citroplazmo jajčne celice) z vsemi pripadajočimi postopki. Najpreprostejši postopek, to je intrauterina oploditev s tujo spolno celico, ki pomeni vnos sperme bodisi moža ali partnerja (v medicini označena z IUI-H) bodisi znanega ali neznanega darovalca (označena z IUI-D) v maternico, danes ne sodi več med medicinsko reproduktivno tehnologijo. Po mednarodni klasifikaciji International Committe for Monitoring ART – World Health Organisation (ICMART-WHO) gre zgolj za mehanski postopek (vnos sveže ali zmrznjene sperme s katetrom v maternico) (Blyth, Landau, 2004; Zegers-Hochschild *et. al,* 2009).

2.726 reproduktivnih ciklusov, v Belgiji 2.562, na Češkem 1.851, v Sloveniji 1.840, na Švedskem 1.800, na Norveškem 1.780 in na Finskem 1.701 (ESHRE, 2012). Manj reproduktivni ciklusov pri katerih je bila uporabljena MRT pa imajo v Veliki Britaniji, kjer je letno na milijon prebivalcev opravljenih 879 reproduktivnih ciklusov, v Italiji 863, v Nemčiji 830 in v Avstriji 747 reproduktivnih ciklusov (ibid.).

Medicinska reproduktivna tehnologija ne blaži le tistega, čemur nekateri hudomušno pravijo »babyblues«, temveč proizvaja tudi nove definicije bolezni. V diskurzu bio-oblasti je postala neplodnost »bolezen« in ljudje, ki si želijo otroka z uporabo medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije, »bolniki«. Foucault (1990 [1976], 1981) je opredelil bio-oblast kot vrsto strategij, znanj in diskurzov, povezanih z zdravjem, boleznimi, hendikepom, in vrsto praks poseganja v telo. Bio-oblast zdravi bolezni in konstruira nove in je tako specifična oblika upravljanja življenja in discipliniranja teles (z diagnostičnimi postopki, tehnikami zdravljenj, zdravili, ipd.).

Spomnimo se samo, da je bil v letih 2000 in 2001 eden od ideoloških argumentov nasprotnikov pravice samskih žensk do uporabe medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije v Sloveniji prav ta, da samska ženska pač ni »bolnica« in je potemtakem medicina ne bo »zdravila« (Keržan 2008, Klampfer 2010). Prav ta argument pa je doživel zdrs leta 2013, ko je samska ženska na ustavno sodišče posredovala pobudo za oceno ustavnosti Zakona o zdravljenju neplodnosti in postopkih oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo (2000), ki je nastal na temelju tovrstnih argumentov. Dokazovala je, da je sicer samska, a po medicinski indikaciji ginekologov potrebna pomoči medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije, če hoče roditi otroka. Ta pa ji s strani nosilcev biopolitike [3] (centra za OBMP in Državne komisije za OBMP), sklicujoč se na ta zakon, ni bila odobrena. Prizadeta je argumentirala, da gre za še en dokaz, da je zdravstvena pravica, ki jo ženski zagotavlja omenjeni zakon, vezana na zakonski stan in ne na zdravstveno indikacijo osebe, saj bi v primeru, ko bi bila poročena ali živela v zunajzakonski skupnosti, možnost uporabe plačane medicinsko reproduktivne tehnologije dobila (Dnevnik, Objektiv 02. 03. 2013)[4].

Če je bila torej neplodnost nekoč stvar usode ali božje kazni, je postala v dobi medicinizacije družb stvar bio-oblasti in biopolitike. Za Foucaulta je bio-oblast medicinska dominacija nad telesom drugega in poskus, da se intervenira v človeški obstoj. Maternica, zaradi katere so bile ženske nekoč patologizirane, kot posebej nagnjene k histeriji (*cf.* Zaviršek 1994), tudi danes mobilizira nove podobe »ženskih bolnic«.

Medicinska reproduktivna tehnologija, ki telesa deli na reproduktivno sposobna in nesposobna, tako vpliva na nova medicinska pa tudi pravna normiranja, nove paradokse in nove ambivalentne situacije. Ljudi spreminja v proizvajalce in potrošnike človeških celic ali celo življenj. Na hodniku bolnišničnega oddelka za medicinsko reprodukcijo kjerkoli na svetu lahko čakata na medicinske posege ženska iz revne vasi in urbana ženska iz bogate države, ki ne moreta imeti otrok. Na istem hodniku se lahko srečata revna Vzhodnoevropejka, ki za plačilo dovoli ekstrakcijo svojih spolnih celic (punkcijo) in ženska, ki ji bodo čez nekaj ur ali dni proti plačilu v telo vstavili prav to celico oz. zarodek (transfer). V isti bolnišnici se lahko znajdeta revna Azijka iz tradicionalne agrarne skupnosti, ki bo kot gestacijska mama donosila otroka za tuje ljudi, in beli par, ki bo čez devet mesecev od nje prevzel svojega biološkega potomca. »Kot zapiše Rožman (2013, 407) »biomedicina pri zdravstveni obravnavi žensk praviloma ne upošteva vzrokov in posledic za negativne reproduktivne izide, ki izhajajo iz njihovih nezaželenih sociokulturnih matrik – etnična pripadnost, zakonski stan, starost, veroizpoved, izobrazba, kraj bivanja, partnerski odnos, osebna stališča in vrednote«. Ti ljudje so si med seboj hkrati povsem tuji in obenem povezani, saj nosi nadomestna mati v sebi genski material para. Medicinska reproduktivna tehnologija povezuje ljudi po vsem svetu, pa naj bo zanje značilen moderni ali predmoderni način razmišljanja in stil vsakdanjega življenja.

Nezmožnost reprodukcije proizvaja torej nove bolnike, osebne konflikte in včasih stigmo. A kar je bilo pred časom »nenormalno«, se normalizirana. To se odraža v velikanski ponudbi reprodukcijskih »proizvodov«. V danskem Cryosu, največji semenski banki na svetu, ki na naslove bolnišnic ali posameznic dobavlja spermo več kot 70 državam po vsem svetu, je največ darovalcev Dancev in Skandinavcev, med njimi pa so tudi romunski študentje, Poljaki in Tamilec.[5] V primeru bolezni otrok in mladih, ki povzročajo neplodnost v odraslosti, omogočajo tudi shranjevanje spolnih celic (do deset let) in zarodkov. Tako lahko med oploditvijo in dejanskim rojstvom otroka preteče več let. V oglasu neke druge organizacije za posredovanje spolnih celih in gestacijskih mater pa je napisano: »Naši donatorji in donatorke iz Gruzije, Ukrajine, Indije in Tajske so vam pripravljeni pomagati pri družinskih začetkih. Pripravljeni so potovati tja, kjer živite.«[6]

Danski Cryos je zaradi velikega povpraševanja po skandinavskih darovalcih na ameriškem trgu ustanovil tudi nekaj svetovnih podružnic, kot je na primer Cryos New York. Leta 2002 so odprli podružnico v Seattlu

3 Z biopolitiko v foucaultovskem smislu označujemo sistem vednosti in postopkov, ki se tičejo reguliranja človekovega zdravja vključno z natalitetnimi politikami.
4 Ustanovno sodišče RS je njeno pobudo zavrglo. Na to se je odzvala skupina parlamentarnih poslank, ki je vprašanje ponovno poslala v presojo ustavnemu sodišču. Do julija 2013 njegova odločitev še ni znana.
5 Cryos Denmark http://dk.cryosinternational.com/private-customers.aspx (25.06. 2013).
6 New Life Thailand. http://www.newlifethailand.net/Egg_Donation (20. 06. 2013).

(Scandinavian Cryobank), s sloganom: »Vikingi so zasedli Seattle« *(The Vikings are invading Seattle)*[7]. V tržnih strategijah so podobne tudi druge velike semenske banke, kot recimo Xytex Corporation[8] in California Cryobank[9]. Dansko seme je cenjeno zaradi skandinavskega genotipa in zato, ker ima država od leta 2006 (pravno pa od 2008) enega uporabnikom najbolj prijaznih sistemov, kar pomeni, da si družina ali posameznica lahko izbereta spolno celico bodisi znanega ali neznanega darovalca. A tudi Xytex Corporation na primer med novostmi objavlja, da lahko klient in klientka dobita ime ali vzdevek darovalca ali darovalke, kar naj bi v kontekstu anonimnosti zbujalo vtis večje bližine med darovalcem/darovalko in prejemnico spolne celice[10]. Če pa darovalec podpiše, da se njegovo ime lahko posreduje bodočemu otroku, ga ta s polnoletnostjo lahko dobi. California Cryobank po novem omogoča tudi ogled darovalčevih fotografij iz otroštva.

S številom reprodukcijskih postopkov postajajo ta vse bolj javna, donedavna absolutna anonimnost darovalcev pa se spreminja v odprt odnos med dajalci in sprejemalci, med biološkimi in socialnimi starši in otrokom[11]. Številne skupine in organizacije odraslih otrok, ki so bili spočeti s pomočjo medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije, delujejo danes kot globalne mreže ljudi, ki jih druži podobna izkušnja (Blyth *et al*., 2010; Parent Link, 2011). Donor Conception Network iz Velike Britanije povezuje več kot 1600 družin, katerih člani so otroci in odrasli, ki so bili spočeti s pomočjo darovalcev spolne celice[12].

Ameriški par Deb in Kevin McCrea, ki jima je po uspešnih postopkih medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije ostalo še 18 zarodkov, pa se je odločil, da jih ne bo podaril bolnišnici, temveč neposredno bodočim staršem. Oglas o darovanju embrijev sta objavila kar na enem od globalnih oglaševalskih portalov Craigslist[13] (Bioedge, 12. 05. 2012). Zainteresirani bodoči starši so se našli takoj. Vse zarodke sta podarila dvema paroma, vsakemu po devet. V ekonomskem smislu je šlo za darežljivo gesto, saj nakup »zamrznjenčkov« sicer stane veliko denarja[14]. Zanimivo pa je, da sta zakonca McCrea želela ostati v stiku z ljudmi, ki bodo postali starši nujnim biološkim otrokom, saj sta hotela spremljati njihov razvoj. V Združenih državah Amerike se tovrstni odnosi med genetskimi in gestacijskimi starši imenujejo kar »posvojitev zarodka« (Zaviršek, 2012a, 100). Gre namreč za podoben odnos kot pri tim. odprti posvojitvi, kjer biološki starši poznajo socialne starše in kjer tudi otrok pozna praviloma mater, ki ga je rodila. Starši, ki oddajo zarodke, ki jih ne potrebujejo več, pa se pogosto srečajo s podobnimi občutki izgube in tesnobe v zvezi s tem, kako gre njihovem potencialnemu otroku kot tisti, ki so v posvojitev oddali že rojenega otroka.

REPRODUKTIVNE IZBIRE IN IZKUŠNJE BIO-OBLASTI V SLOVENIJI

V Sloveniji naj bi imel težave z zanositvijo vsak šesti do sedmi par, kar je 15 odstotkov slovenskih parov[15]. Kljub vsemu je to vprašanje zavito v molk. Ta se izraža deloma v tem, da imamo majhno število darovalcev in še manjše število darovalk. Med leti 2004 in 2006 je bilo na primer darovanih le 37 ženskih spolnih celic , zato so uporabniki, ki čakajo na darovane spolne celice, leta 2011 organizirali veliko kampanjo z naslovom »Daruj spolne celice in izpolni veliko željo!« Kljub že tretjemu letu kampanje danes na darovano seme čaka 40 parov, 25 parov pa na darovane jajčne celice[16]. Na drugi strani pa se reproduktivni molk izraža v negotovosti staršev, ali naj okolici in predvsem otrokom povedo o njihovi predspočetni zgodovini ali ne.

Od leta 2007 do 2012 se je vztrajno zviševalo tudi število prošenj za sofinanciranje oploditve z darovano spolno celico v tujini, tako da jih je v zadnjih treh letih letno med 45 do 47[17]. Od leta 2009 do leta 2012 je Za-

7 Seattle Post-Intelligencer Reporter, 21. 11. 2002.
8 Xytex Cryo International Sperm Bank http://xytex.com/ (25. 06. 2013).
9 California Cryobank http://www.cryobank.com/ (25.06. 2013).
10 Xytex Cryo International Sperm Bank http://xytex.com/ (25. 06. 2013).
11 A stigma še ni izginila. Zato poskušajo starši »sramoto« neplodnosti skriti pred seboj, okolico in pred bodočim otrokom. Izraelski zdravniki na primer pomagajo neplodnim moškim, da se ne počutijo stigmatizirane, saj velikokrat moževo spermo zmešajo s tujo spermo, tudi če vedo, da je mož neploden (Birenbaum-Carmeli *et al.*, 2008). Mešanje sperme dveh moških, ki je pri nas prepovedano, utemeljujejo s tem, da obstaja pri takšnem mešanju večja verjetnost, da prav moževa ali partnerjeva sperma oplodi jajčece ženske. Vitalnejša in hitrejša sperma naj bi utirala pot počasnejši, ob tem pa bi prav počasnejša (moževa) penetrirala jajčece ženske. Raziskovalci opisujejo, da je v intervjuju eden od zdravnikov priznal, da vsaki ženski po opravljenem reproduktivnem postopku in po zanositvi reče: »Vaš mož me je imel za norca. Mislil sem, da bo dojenček iz sperme, ki sem vam jo dal, a zdaj vidim, da je od vašega moža!« (2008, 433). Mešanje sperme naj bi torej razbremenilo zakonski par ali moškega in ohranilo fantazijo, da so otroci »njihovi«. Bolj ko je država moško-centrična, večja je verjetnost, da bodo tako moški kot ženske svoje identitetne fantazije oblikovali okoli vprašanja ali so genetsko-biološki starši ali ne. Pri tem je ključno tudi zdravnikovo »zagotovilo«, da je sperma »očetova« (Zaviršek, 2012, 140).
12 Donor Conception Network. http://www.dcnetwork.org/ (12.06.2013).
13 Craigslist je spletni portal, ki oglašuje lokalne dogodke, menjavo uslug, storitev, predmetov v državah širom sveta. Samo v ZDA ima Craigslist 49 milijonov obiskov mesečno. (20. 06. 2013).
14 Cena je od države do države zelo različna in odvisna od povpraševanja, cen privatnih medicinski storitev in od števila potrebnih medicinskih preiskav in postopkov tekom enega reprodukcijskega ciklusa in se giblje od 3.000 do 25.000 dolarjev za zamrznjenčka.
15 »Daruj spolne celice« http://www.neplodnost.net/ (16. 11. 2012).
16 Spregovorimo o neplodnosti! http://neplodnost.net/ (12.06. 2013).
17 Podatki o številu prošenj se uradno zbirajo šele od leta 2007.

vod za zdravstveno zavarovanje Slovenije letno odobril med 20 do 41 prošenj, nekaj pa jih je tudi zavrnil[18].

Med letoma 2007 in 2009 je raziskava na primeru šestih parov, ki so bili vprašani, ali bodo otroku povedali, da so bili spočeti s pomočjo darovane spolne celice, ugotovila, da starši otrokom praviloma ne želijo razkriti zgodbe o spočetju (*»Nimava namena, da bi mu razlagala.«; »Naša okolica je grozna. Tradicionalna, biološko osredotočena. Rekli bi, ta pa ni njihov!«; »Nobenemu ne poveva.«; »Ker nihče ne ve, poteka naše življenje normalno, saj sta otroka kot drugi otroci.«*) Le ženska, ki je živela v istospolni partnerski skupnosti, je odgovorila, da bo otroku povedala *(»V smislu, da je oče zelo zelo prijazen gospod, ki je daroval del sebe mamici, da je lahko nastal on, ki ga drugače nikoli ne bi bilo. Da niti jaz ne vem, kdo je, ampak da mora biti že v redu človek, če si je vzel čas, da pomaga ostalim» ;*Urh, 2009, 116-117).

Diskurzivna analiza pogovorov na spletnih forumih, ki je bila opravljena v letu 2011, pa že daje slutiti, da tudi pri nas prihaja do destigmatizacije uporabe MRT. Večina bodočih mater se je strinjala, da je otrokova pravica vedeti o lastni genetski predporodni zgodovini *(»Pri dveh, treh letih bi mu ob kakšnih slikicah razlagala, kako je rasel v mojem trebuščku, mimogrede pa bi povedala, da je pikico, iz katere se je razvil, v trebušček vstavil zdravnik, saj je mamica ni imela;*«Zaviršek, 2012, 143). Nekatere ženske so imele pripravljene tudi besede, s katerimi bi otroku na prijazen način posredovale resnico o njegovi genetski zgodovini *(»Midva sva se odločila, da bova o postopku spregovorila takoj in ne bova skrivala. Tako sva že sedaj povedala domačim in prijateljem in tudi otroček bo vedel za prijazno in dobro tetico, ki bo darovala jajčeca, od prvega trenutka dalje. To je, po moji oceni, tudi njegova pravica;*« Zaviršek, 2012, 144).

Na Ginekološki kliniki v Ljubljani opravijo letno približno 1.200 postopkov zunajtelesne oploditve (deloma kot IVF in deloma kot ICSI), 500 postopkov intrauterine inseminacije, in 300 postopkov odmrzovanja zarodkov. Tudi v UKC v Mariboru opravijo letno okoli 1.000 tovrstnih posegov[19]. Na Univerzitetnem kliničnem centru Maribor se je s pomočjo reproduktivne medicine rodilo 5.000 otrok, trenutno pa je samo v tej bolnišnici v medicinske reproduktivne postopke vključenih 2.000 ljudi (TV Maribor, 17. 03. 2012). Med letoma 2001 in 2011 je 423 parov zaprosilo za reproduktivne postopke z darovano spolno celico (295 parov za postopke z darovanim semenom in 128 parov za postopke z darovanimi jajčnimi celicami). Statistika Ginekološke klinike v Ljubljani pa priča, da je bilo med leti 2001 in 2012, le 125 domačih darovalcev in 50 darovalk, ki so omogočili, da se je s pomočjo darovane moške spolne celice rodilo 160 otrok, in s pomočjo ženske celice 15 otrok[20].

Ker pa zakonodajne omejitve, kot na primer prepoved hkratne uporabe spolnih celic dveh darovalcev, in prepoved medicinske reprodukcije v primeru samskih žensk in istospolnih parov, spodbujajo »reproduktivna potovanja« (na Hrvaško, Češko, v zahodne države, v Izrael itd.), je dejansko število otrok, rojenih z uporabo MRT, neznano. O reproduktivnih potovanjih zgovorno pričajo spletni forumi s povsem nedvoumnimi naslovi, kot so »Po darovano jajčece na Češko«, ali pa »Posvojitev zarodka« (kar je ljudsko poimenovanje pridobitve obeh tujih spolnih celic). Gre za simbolno povezavo med mednarodnimi posvojitvami, kjer starši pripeljejo otroka iz druge države, in postopkom, v katerem zdravnik v maternico vstavi tuje jajčece, oplojeno s tujo spermo, in ki se skupaj z žensko ali parom v trebuhu pripelje domov.

Nacionalne zakonodaje, temelječe na različnih zgodovinskih spominih, vladajoči morali, političnem kompromisarstvu in specifičnem razumevanju človekovih pravic, posegajo v reproduktivno avtonomijo posameznic in posameznikov in določajo, kdo si mora medicinsko reprodukcijo plačati sam, komu jo pa plača država. V državni statistiki ostajajo velike sive lise, saj ZZZS beleži le podatke o tistih posameznikih in parih, ki so formalno oproščeni plačevanja reproduktivnih postopkov v tujini (ker v Sloveniji primanjkuje spolnih celic, uvoz pa je zakonodajno prepovedan). Uradna statistika pa ne beleži ljudi, ki so reproduktivno pomoč poiskali v tujini bodisi zato, ker so njihova osebna razmerja označena kot zakonsko neprimerna za prejem medicinske reproduktivne pomoči (samske ženske in istospolni pari), ali pa potrebujejo obe, moško in žensko spolno celico, kar slovenska zakonodaja prepoveduje (ZZNPOB, člen 8).

Srečamo se z zanimivim paradoksom. Po eni strani imajo ljudje načelno možnost in dostopnost do uporabe visoke tehnologije, ki oblikuje reproduktivne biografije ljudi in njihovih potomcev, po drugi strani pa normativno prevladuje predmoderno razumevanje starševstva[21]. Intenca slednjega je ohraniti tradicionalne družine in

18 Zavod za zdravstveno zavarovanje Slovenije, Poslovna poročila 2002-2012. http://www.zzzs.si/ZZZS/info/egradiva.nsf/poslovno_porocilo_slo?OpenView&count=1000 (27. 06. 2013).

19 UKC Maribor (2013): Oddelek za reproduktivno medicino in ginekološko endokrinologijo. http://www.ukc-mb.si/oddelki-sluzbe-enote/klinika-za-ginekologijo-in-perinatologijo/oddelek-za-reproduktivno-medicino-in-ginekolosko-endokrinologijo/ (16. 07. 2013).

20 UKC, Ginekološka klinika Ljubljana (2012): Klinični oddelek za reprodukcijo. http://www.reprodukcija.si/o-nas/ (16.07.2013).

21 Primer zanimivega soobstoja različnih ali celo nasprotujočih si vrednot najdemo v Izraelu. Po eni strani je država utemeljila pronatalizem kot nacionalno dogmo in je natalitetna politika del državnega načrta za širitev nacionalne države, čemur je zavezana tudi reproduktivna medicina (Birenbaum-Carmeli et al., 2008). Po drugi strani pa je oploditev z eno ali dvema spolnima celicama tujega darovalca ali darovalke omogočena vsakomur, ne glede na zakonski status in spolno usmerjenost. V državi, kjer umetne oploditve opravljajo že od konca 70. let, imajo tudi največje število bolnišnic za medicinsko reprodukcijo na število prebivalcev in so na vrhu lestvice uporabnikov medicinsko reproduktivnih posegov. Ti v javnem diskurzu niso prvenstveno stvar moralnih diskusij, temveč manifestacije dosežkov in napredka medicinske znanosti in uspešnosti izraelskih zdravnikov. Ideja v ozadju je, da lahko rodi vsakdo, ki si to želi, če le ima država od tega tudi nekaj natalitetne koristi.

podobo neprekinjene biološke povezanosti med starši in otroci, ob neupoštevanju nove biosocialnosti, ki jo je medicinska reproduktivna tehnologija omogočila.

Bio-oblast pa se manifestira tudi tekom samih postopkov medicinske reprodukcije. V edini znani kvalitativni raziskavi v Sloveniji o zadovoljstvu ljudi, ki majo izkušnjo s postopki MRT, je leta 2012 večina izmed 19 parov izjavila, da niso bili zadovoljni z dostopnostjo informacij in postopkov, ki so jih dobili od medicinskega osebja, in s pridobljeno podporo med hormonskimi terapijami ter prejemanjem injekcij, punkcij, histeroskopij, ultrazvokov in vstavljanj spolnih celih ali zarodkov (Bregar, 2012).[22] Ženske so najpogosteje poudarjale bolečine ob postopkih in prepičlo uporabo substanc za blaženje bolečine; pomanjkanje informacij v smislu, da si ljudje niso mogli ustvariti celotne podobe o tem, kako poteka postopek *(»vedno povedo samo do naslednjega koraka, tako da ne veš, kaj te čaka«)*; pomanjkanje časa za pogovor z zdravnikom; nedostopnost zdravnikov (večurni poskusi telefonskega stika, da se pridobi informacija) in stiske, ko so informacije o možnostih reproduktivne medicine v tujini pridobili na neformalen način in/ali slučajno (s strani medicinskih sester na primer).

Tako se ustvarjajo odvisna in krotka telesa: »*Še preden ti vstavijo, pa moraš hoditi gor na ultrazvok, da vidijo koliko se jajčeca razvijajo, in ko oni vidijo, da so »bum«, potem sledi punkcija*« (Bregar, 2012, 138). Bolj ko je bio-oblast učinkovita, bolj deluje na neviden način, in sicer tako, da posameznice in posamezniki ponotranjijo njeno discipliniranje: »V bistvu ti ne povedo, ker to nočejo, ampak, ker se bojijo, da se boš preveč sekiral!« (ibid., 133). Racionalizacija in opravičevanje ohranja razmerja odvisnosti in reproducira dominacijo. Tu in tam omogoča tudi »prostore svobode«, ki pa so ostro uokvirjeni v model medicinske intervencije: *»Še vesela sem bila, da ne bom rabila punkcije čez dati, bom kot kraljica, samo prišla, pa not mi bodo dali!«* (Bregar, 2012,154).

Bio-oblast pomeni tudi posedovanje specifičnega znanja, ki si ga med seboj delijo le posvečeni. Nekatere uporabnice so pripovedovale, da so leta in leta opravljale postopke umetne oploditve in čakale na darovalce spolnih celic, dokler niso končno izvedele, da je spolno celico mogoče pridobiti tudi v tujini. Nosilci vednosti konstruirajo tudi normalnost in hendikep, znanje pa se zdi nezmotljivo: *»Takole so se mi roke tresle, ko sem kuverto odpirala. Ampak itak če je vse v redu je čist na kratko, samo piše plod a, plod b BP, V glavnem…in sva se stisnila pa zjokala, to je, da veš, da imaš zdrave otroke«* (Bregar, 2012, 130).

Bio-oblast nadzoruje tudi duševno zdravje ljudi. V Sloveniji morajo pari, ki v postopkih medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije potrebujejo tujo spolno celico, opraviti obvezno psihosocialno svetovanje[23], le-to pa ni obvezno, če so bile za reprodukcijo uporabljene lastne spolne celice. Zakon reflektira večinska razmišljanja, da je umanjkanje lastnega genetskega materiala nekaj »nenormalnega«. Svetovanje ni pravica posameznika ali posameznice glede na morebitno potrebo, temveč posledica vnaprejšnje predpostavke, da je »ne imeti svojega otroka« posebna patologija, kateri se vnaprej pripisujejo prihodnje težave: človek ne bo sprejel otroka, ki »ni njegov«; žalovanje za »svojim« otrokom, ki ga ne bo; pričakovanje čustvenih zapletov, ko bo otrok že na svetu ipd.

SOCIALNO STARŠEVSTVO : OD BIO-OBLASTI K BIOSOCIALNOSTI

Razvoj medicinskih reproduktivnih tehnologij med ljudmi omogoča nova razmerja in nove socialne vezi. Za njihovo razumevanje lahko uporabimo pojem biosocialnost, ki ga je razvil ameriški antropolog Paul Rabinow (1992, 1996). Biosocialnost je koncept, ki implicira preseženo binarno opozicijo narava/kultura, premikanje meje med njima in novo razumevanje biološkega in socialnega. Rabinow s pojmom biosocialnost zaobseže učinek genetskih raziskav, testiranj in drugih medicinskih postopkov, ki bodo oblikovali nove tipe socialnih interakcij tudi tako, da se bodo v prihodnosti ljudje združevali tudi glede na biološke posebnosti. Biosocialnost vsebuje nove oblike socialnosti, ki so posledica sprememb na področju biologije, kot na primer nove oblike sorodstva, medčloveških vezi in starševstva.

Pri oploditvi s spolno celico tretje osebe nastanejo družinske formacije, ki so povezane prav z zaznanim novim premikanjem meje med biologijo in socialnim. Pravnoformalni oče s svojim otrokom ni več genetsko povezan in je v resnici njegov socialni oče. Z otrokom je genetsko povezan darovalec, ki ga slovenska zakonodaja opredeljuje kot moškega, »katerega semenske celice se uporabijo za oploditev ženske« (ZZNPOB, člen 9). Enako velja za žensko, ki za spočetje potrebuje jajčece darovalke in postane otrokova socialna mama, saj z otrokom ni genetsko povezana. Rojeni otroci imajo v biološko socialnem smislu tri starše. Za spočetje otroka sta fizično sicer potrebna dva odrasla, v socialno pravnem smislu pa trije.

Pri osebah, ki v tujini pridobijo obe potrebni spolni celici, ima otrok štiri starše, dva socialna in dva biološka. Če pa genetska mati in/ali oče potrebujeta še gestacijsko mater, ki bo otroka donosila, v procesu spočetja sodeluje pet odraslih: dva socialna starša, darovalec sperme, darovalka jajčeca in gestacijska mati.

Z novimi oblikami biosocialnosti, ki jo omogoča medicinska reproduktivna tehnologija, biološko-genet-

22 Od 19 intervjuvanih parov je v 10 primerih ženska prejela darovano bodisi moško bodisi žensko spolno celico, v 9 primerih pa je prejela partnerjevo spolno celico. Od desetih parov, ki so prejeli darovano spolno celico, jih je šest prejelo darovano žensko spolno celico v tujini, vsi na Češkem (Bregar, 2012).

23 ZZNPOBP, Ur.l. RS, št. 70/2000, člen 12.

ski starši in socialni starši niso več iste osebe, vežejo pa jih razmerja, ki brez medicinske tehnologije ne bi bila mogoča. V zadnjem času so ti odrasli in otroci vse pogosteje med seboj tako pravno-formalno kot tudi neformalno povezani (otrok lahko spozna darovalca; genetski starši ostanejo v stiku s starši, katerim so darovali zmrznjen embrio, si z njimi dopisujejo, spoznajo otroka ipd.). V tujini pa že obstajajo tudi sodne odločitve, kjer je sodišče prisodilo pravno-formalni status staršev trem odraslim osebam (Zaviršek, 2009).

Čeprav obstoj medicinsko reproduktivne tehnologije ljudi pri ustvarjanju potomstva vedno bolj osvobaja bioloških omejitev (neplodnosti, kroničnih bolezni, ki povzročajo neplodnost, višja postaja starostna meja žensk ob rojstvu otroka ipd.) in pomeni v nekem smislu osvoboditev od biološkosti in prepričanj, da je pravo ali dobro starševstvo le biološko, pa ljudje s pomočjo medicinske reprodukcije pogosto želijo ohraniti navideznost biološkega starševstva ali ga mimikrirati. Te težnje se manifestirajo npr. v željah, da bi bili darovalci enakega ali podobnega fenotipa kot starši ali v izraelskem primeru »mešanja spolnih tekočin«. Ženska iz Slovenije, ki je po spolne celice odšla na Češko, je opisovala, kako so potencialni starši vključeni v fenotipske »izbire« (»*Po navadi iščejo donatorko, ki ima isti fenotip (fizične karakteristike) kot ti. Lahko pa se prilagodijo vajinim željam. Jaz sem o svoji donatorki izvedela vse podatke, ki jih je naštela, razen hobijev. […]Ponudijo ti samo eno donatorko, če z opisom nisi zadovoljen, počakaš na drugo«;* Zaviršek, 2012, 141).

Moški v istospolnih skupnostih, ki za rojstvo otroka potrebujejo gestacijsko mater, radi pomešajo spolne celice obeh, da ustvarijo fantazijo, da je »otrok njun skupni«, kar reproducira mit biološkega starševstva. Nekateri ljudje se namesto za posvojitev otroka odločijo za gestacijsko materinstvo zgolj zato, ker jim to zagotavlja genetsko nasledstvo. V Izraelu so si ženske poleg fenotipa, ki je bil podoben partnerjevemu, najpogosteje izbrale darovalca, ki je bil višji, bolj vitek in bolje izobražen kot povprečni Izraelec (Birenbaum-Carmeli *et al.*, 2008, 435). Tudi samske ženske so v Izraelu iskale spermo visokega, slokega moškega, svetlo rjavih las in svetlih oči. Dejansko je bilo v registru največ takšnih moških, kar pomeni, da so zdravniki, ki so bdeli nad postopki darovanja, tudi sami preferirali prav takšne darovalce (ibid.).

Nova biosocialnost, temelječa na medicinski reprodukcijski tehnologiji, je torej polna paradoksov. Na eni strani premika in zabrisuje meje biološkega in socialnega, na drugi pa ohranja dominacijo biologije, pa tudi nekatere družbene neenakosti. Včasih se medicinska reprodukcijska tehnologija uporablja znotraj nacionalističnih in pronatalističnih zakonodaj, spet drugje zakonodaje, ki jo regulirajo vztrajajo, da se na takšen način lahko reproducirajo le ljudje, ki živijo v specifičnih intimnih razmerjih (heterospolni, poročeni), včasih očitno ohranja ekonomska razmerja neenakosti. Ob tem pa se odpira vse več etičnih dilem.

NOVA VPRAŠANJA IN ETIČNE DILEME

Zaustaviti se je mogoče že pri vprašanju, ali je pravica odraslega, da ima otroka, zares temeljna človekova pravica, in ali naj ima potemtakem vsak človek brezpogojno pravico do biološkega ali nebiološkega otroka, ne glede na različne okoliščine (biološke, politične, socialne)? Peter Singer je junija 2013 znanstveno javnost razburil s tezo, da je morda prišel čas, ko bo zaradi vzdržnostnega razvoja potrebno omejiti pravico posameznika ali posameznice do tega, da imata lahko toliko otrok, kot si jih želita (Bioedge, 08. 06. 2013)[24].

Nadalje se je mogoče vprašati, ali naj imajo vsi ljudje pravico do uporabe medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije, ali samo nekateri (npr. ljudje brez gibalne in drugih oviranosti, premožni). V Veliki Britaniji je vse več mladih, ki jim bo zaradi napredujoče bolezni onemogočeno imeti biološke otroke. Socialne delavke poskrbijo za shranjevanje sperme že pri 14-letnih dečkih, kar zagotovi, da ima človek pravico do reprodukcije »z zamikom« in v obdobju, ko bo iz bolezenskih razlogov že neploden. Ob tem se nekateri sprašujejo, ali ta pravica ne ogroža nekaterih drugih pravic, kot na primer telesne integritete in zaščite pred spolnimi zlorabami (v primeru vodene ejakulacije, ki takega otroka spremeni v proizvajalca sperme, ki jo bodo zamrznili).

Nekateri ljudje danes zaradi ekonomskih razlogov ne morejo biti udeleženi pri postopkih umetnih oploditev, ali pa si jih lahko privoščijo le na račun velikanskih predspočetvenih odpovedovanj. Roberts (2008) govori o »predporodnem žrtvovanju« in finančnih »investicijah v otroka« bodočih staršev v Ekvadorju, še preden je ta rojen. Urbane ženske in pari srednjega sloja se morajo odpovedati številnim dobrinam, da bi privarčevali za reproduktivne postopke. Težko si je predstavljati, da bodo revni starši prišli do postopka mitohondrijskega transferja, kjer se pri ugotovljeni genski okvari v jajčni celici mitohondrijski material biološke matere zamenja z darovalkinim in kjer je zgodnji zarodek produkt treh spolnih celih ali treh genetskih staršev (postopek ki je bil pred kratkim uspešno opravljen v Veliki Britaniji) (Guardian, 28. 06. 2013).

Eno izmed etičnih vprašanj je tudi, ali ima otrok pravico izvedeti o svoji reproduktivni zgodovini in o biološkem darovalcu/darovalki, in ali imajo starši, ali pa nacionalne zakonodaje, pravico, da mu to vedenje odrečejo ali zamolčijo? Omenili smo že, da je danes večina zahodnih držav že spremenila nacionalne zakonodaje, ki v zadnjih letih dovoljujejo darovanje le tistim ljudem, ki so pripravljeni biti potomstvu, h kateremu prispevajo z biomaterialom, poznani (Blyth, Frith, 2009). A do teh

24 Izjava je bila nenavadna, saj jo je izrekel ugledni libertarni bioetik, a je spomnila na avtoritarno »politiko enega otroka« izpred desetletij na Kitajskem.

sprememb je prišlo postopoma šele po letu 2006, zato danes številni otroci, spočeti in donošeni z biomedicinsko intervencijo, nimajo možnosti identifikacije svojih genetskih staršev/darovalcev. V Sloveniji znani darovalci niso dovoljeni in zakonodaja določa, da morajo biti in ostati anonimni[25]. Nobenega dvoma ni, da je sprejetje takšne zakonodaje ustrezalo družbi, ki je starševstvo utemeljevala na biologiji, in da se je anonimiziranje podatkov zdelo najboljša opcija predvsem staršem, ki so tako otroku lažje prikrili svojo genetsko tujost, pa tudi darovalcem, ki se niso hoteli razkriti.

Zato se starši upravičeno sprašujejo, kako naj otroku pomagajo, da se bo sprijaznil s tem, da biološkega starša/darovalca ne bo nikoli poznal. (*»Najhujši dvom, ki ga imam, ali povedati okolici in potem otroku. Ponavadi je tako, da posvojeni otroci, ko zvejo, si želijo spoznati svoje prave starše. Kako naj otroku v tem primeru razložim, da svojega „biološkega" očeta ne more spoznati?«; »Tudi sama razmišljam, da bi otroku povedala, da je iz donirane celice (pri nas bo to moška). Vendar se bojim, da bo otrok enkrat hotel poiskati biološkega očeta, jaz pa mu ne bom mogla pomagat, ker so podatki varovana skrivnost«*; Zaviršek, 2012, 143-45). Gornje izjave pričajo o tem, da bodoči slovenski starši genetske starše/darovalce še vedno poimenujejo »prave«, kar kaže na normativno biološko pojmovanje starševstva. Socialni starši so potemtakem »ne-pravi« ali drugotni.

Podobna razmišljanja najdemo na področju posvojitev. Zato prevladujejo zaprte posvojitve: odrasli, ki so bili kot otroci posvojeni, še danes od pristojnih služb ne morejo dobiti podatkov o bioloških starših. Socialni starši in socialne delavke se namreč bojijo, da bi to negativno vplivalo na odnos med socialnimi starši in otroki (Zaviršek, 2012a). Tako gre razumeti tudi tesnobo tistih, ki se zavestno odločijo, da otroku ne bodo povedali o predspočetveni ali posvojitveni zgodovini, ker se bojijo, da jih otrok ne bi več imel za »prave« starše (*»Odločila sva se, da ne bova nikomur povedala, da gre za darovano celico. Ker ljudem bi bilo to zanimivo, en bi kot zanimivost to povedal drugemu, vse skupaj bi se malo okrog obrnilo, in rezultat bi lahko bil, da bi kdaj čez leta morda kak drug otrok najinemu v kakšnem otroškem prepiru zabrusil, da njegova mama pa ni njegova prava mama. Tega pa otroku nikakor ne želiva."* Zaviršek, 2012, 145).

V tovrstnih razmišljanjih so starši v Sloveniji v marsičem podobni staršem po svetu. Eric Blyth, ugledni avtor s tega področja, navaja nekaj najpogostejših razlogov, zaradi katerih starši otroku oploditev s tujo spolno celico zamolčijo (Blyth, Frith, 2009). Molk je lahko posledica nasvetov zdravnikov, socialnih delavcev in delavk in psihologov in psihologinj, naj otroku ne povedo (*cf.* Zaviršek, 2012; Bregar, 2012). Včasih je starše strah stigme npr. zaradi očetovih oploditvenih težav. Bojijo se, da se jim bo otrok čustveno odtujil, če bo vedel, da starši niso biološki. Starše je lahko strah reakcije širše rodbine in poslabšanja odnosov z njimi, pa tudi učinka takega razkritja na otrokovo samopodobo. Molk lahko pomeni stisko staršev, ker ne morejo odgovoriti na vprašanja o anonimnem darovalcu, saj tudi sami ne vedo o njem ali njej prav nič, in ne vedo, kako otrokom povedati. Včasih pa jih je strah, da bi okolica otroka in družino stigmatizirala. Raziskovalci poudarjajo, da je le malo dokazov, da se strahovi staršev uresničijo, saj so intervjuji z otroki po vsem svetu dokazali, da razkritje o otrokovem spočetju utrdi družinske vezi (Blyth *et al.,* 2010). Zato naj otrok o tem izve čim bolj zgodaj, sicer postane zgodba nepotrebno breme molka in zanikanja v družinskih odnosih.

Etično vprašanje je tudi, ali bi bilo potrebno pravico do reproduktivne medicine omejiti samo na »dobre starše« ? Najprej se zastavlja vprašanje, kdo je »dober starš« in kdo je tisti, ki ima pravico definirati dobro starševstvo? Za nekatere so starši lahko »dobri« zaradi ekonomske blaginje, ki otroka varuje pred pomanjkanjem (socialne delavce in delavke na področju posvojitev v Sloveniji najpogosteje zanima ekonomski položaj staršev; ali imajo sobo za otroka, kaj mu bodo lahko materialno nudili, ipd.). Za druge je kriterij »dobrega starša« psihosocialna zrelost, ki zagotavlja, da se bo otrok ob staršu lahko razvijal v avtonomen subjekt. Za tretje pa je lahko kriterij »dobrega starša« to, ali je nosilec dobrih genov, ki zagotavljajo otroku dobro zdravje in dolgo življenje, in torej to kategorijo razumejo striktno v okvirih biologije.

Zato nekateri danes tudi poudarjajo, da so bodoči starši, ki uporabljajo medicinsko reproduktivno tehnologijo in pri katerih obstaja tveganje za prenašanje težkih dednih obolenj, pravnoformalno in moralno dolžni opraviti predimplantacijsko genetsko testiranje in tako omogočiti selekcijo genetsko poškodovanih zarodkov (Malek, Daar, 2012; Martin, Baertschi, 2012). Predimplantacijsko genetsko testiranje omogoča, da starši izberejo, kateri embrio od več oplojenih zarodkov bo vstavljen v maternico, in kateri bo zavržen. Ob tem Malm (2012) opozarja, da lahko starši zavržejo celo vse zarodke, a ne le zaradi genetskih poškodb, temveč tudi zaradi spola, barve oči ali drugih posebnosti, in začnejo nov krog oploditvene tehnologije. V letu 2008 je bilo v 36 evropskih državah tekom postopkov MRT opravljenih 2.875 predimplantacijskih genetskih testiranj (Ferraretti *et al.*, 2012).

Nekateri poudarjajo, da je medicina sama dolžna zagotoviti preiskave, s katerimi bo preprečila širjenje genetskih poškodb in zagotovila, da starši opravijo obveščeno izbiro (Goldsammler, Jotkowitz, 2012). Menijo, da bosta zdravstvena stroka z dodatnimi medicinskimi postopki, kot so genetska testiranja, zagotoviti ugotavljanje poškodovanih zgodnjih zarodkov, saj medicinska reprodukcija ljudi »zdravi« neplodnosti in je tudi sicer namenjena zdravljenju in ne »proizvajanju« bolezni in telesnih oviranosti.

25 Otrok lahko po 15. letu starosti izve darovalčevo ali darovalkino ime le v primeru bolezni, ko bi za preživetje potreboval celice genetskega starša. ZZNPOBP, Ur.l. RS, št. 70/2000, člen 18.

Mnogi zagovorniki predimplantacijskega genetskega testiranja tudi menijo, da testiranje prispeva h kvaliteti življenja, saj preprečuje rojevanje hendikepiranih ali obremenjenih z gensko prenosljivimi boleznimi. Povečala naj bi se tudi človekova samoodločba v kasnejšem življenju, saj človek zaradi ovire in bolezni ne bo odvisen od volje drugega. Na ta način pa naj bi se povečala tudi družbena enakost, saj bi hendikepiran posameznik v življenju sicer preživljal številne neenakosti in diskriminacije.

Ti argumenti so bili že v preteklosti, še preden se je MRT dodobra razširila, pogosta tarča napadov aktivistov na področju hendikepa. Ti so se spraševali, kdo je tisti, ki definira »kvaliteto življenja« v določeni družbi in kdo lahko z gotovostjo trdi, da je kvaliteta življenja otroka z oviro slabša od kvalitete življenja otroka brez ovire. To je po prepričanju aktivistov na področju hendikepa in tudi vseh zagovornikov študij hendikepa (*disability studies*) bolj odvisno od vključevalnega družbenega konteksta kot od same ovire (Zaviršek, 2000, 234-248). Upravičeno so se spraševali tudi o tem, v kolikšni meri je moralni argument »starševske dolžnosti« v predspočetvenem obdobju v resnici podaljšek historičnega evgeničnega diskurza o tem, da so ljudje z oviramo »ekonomsko breme«, v času (neo)liberalnih družb.

Tudi bioetiki so kritizirali idejo »prokreativne koristi« in poudarjali vprašljivost skrbi za najboljšo možno genetsko »kvaliteto« otrok. Zdravniki pogosto ne morejo z gotovostjo oceniti, kako hendikepiran bo otrok, ko se bo rodil, v čem bo oviran in kako bo to vplivalo na njegovo življenje.

Nove etične dileme povzroča tudi praksa izvenmaternične oploditve s tem posebnim namenom, da bi na osnovi spola izbirali med zarodki. Sistematično uničevanje ženskih zarodkov (in pomori dojenčic, torej infanticid, skupaj imenovana tudi »umor spola«, *gendercide*), se je pojavilo, ko je postala uporaba ultrazvoka in medicinsko reproduktivne tehnologije ljudem širše dostopna. Kulturno usidrane in pogostne prakse infanticida dojenčic poznajo v Indiji, na Kitajskem, južni Koreji, v Azerbajdžanu, Armeniji in Gruziji, na določenih predelih Balkana in še kje, s selekcijo izventelesno ustvarjenih zarodkov pa se praksa širi na zarodke ženskega spola. Paradoks je, da v takšnih primerih moderna tehnologija ne učinkuje kot dejavnik preseganja tradicionalne neenakosti med spoloma, temveč se s pridom uporablja za to, da se mentaliteta neenakosti ohranja (Zaviršek, 2012).

Zaradi takšnih praks, ki jih medicinska reprodukcijska tehnologija omogoča, se nekateri zavzemajo za idejo »zmanjšanja škode« namesto »kvalitete življenja« (Martin, Baertschi, 2012). Uporaba predimplanatcijskega genetskega testiranja naj se omeji zgolj na preprečevanje »škode«, nikakor pa se z njo ne sme povzročati »škode« (za selekcijo spola ali pa za izbor kakšne druge človekove posebnosti, kot je barva oči ali celo kaka zaželena ovira). Pred leti je veliko prahu dvignil primer iz Marylanda, kjer sta gluhi materi načrtno pridobili moške spolne celice gluhega darovalca, da bi se jima rodil gluh otrok (Die Zeit, 25. 04. 2002). Trdili sta, da gre za »otrokovo korist«. Vzgoja otroka v skupnosti in kulturi gluhih, ki sta ji pripadala starša, naj bi zagotovila boljšo povezanost in medsebojno razumevanje med starši in otrokom, kakor če bi se jima rodil slušeči otrok, ki bi ga starši morali vzgajati v kulturi slušečih. Materi sta trdili, da je bila selekcija spolnih celic v otrokovo korist in da je pripomogla h kvaliteti otrokovega življenja. Zagovorniki uporabe predimplantacijskega genetskega testiranja, ki ne sme »povzročati škode«, vidijo v tem primeru zavestno povzročanje škode, ki pa je bila storjena z argumentom, da bo gluhost povečala kvaliteto otrokovega življenja zaradi socialnega okolja, katerega del bo postal gluhi otrok. V tem primeru je torej ideja »dobrega življenja« prednjačila pred konceptom »zmanjšanja škode«.

Eno od etičnih dilem pa sproža tudi vprašanje, ali naj gestacijsko materinstvo postane plačan poklic kot vsak drug (in kot je ponekod prostitucija, danes imenovana spolno delo)? Ta je za nekatere postranski vir zaslužka, za druge vir preživetja in za tretje industrija z velikanskimi profiti. Darovanje spolnih celih in »izposoja maternic« naj bi bila altruistično dejanje, a je v resnici najpogosteje odločitev, ki jo narekuje ekonomska stiska. V ZDA v zadnjem času skokovito narašča število žena ameriških vojakov, ki v času moževega bivanja na vojaških misijah po svetu opravljajo gestacijsko[26] materinstvo. Ocena je, da so 15 do 20 odstotkov vseh otrok, rojenih z uporabo gestacijskega materinstva, v ZDA donosile žene ameriških vojakov (ABC News, 15.10. 2010). Glavni razlog je ekonomski, podpira pa ga univerzalna dostopnost do zdravstvenega zavarovanja, do katerega so upravičene zakonske žene osebja v ameriški vojski. A če je za ameriške ženske gestacija dodatni vir zaslužka, je za indijske vir preživetja. Stroški gestacijskega materinstva znašajo v ZDA med 70.000 in 90.000 tisoč dolarji, zato ni čudno, da se vse več ljudi odloča, da »najame« surogatno ali gestacijsko mater v Indiji, kjer so stroški med 12.000 in 25.000 dolarjev za otroka (NBC Today, 26. 08. 2009).

Izkoriščanje »cenejšega blaga« je zavito in maskirano v obliki dobro urejenih klinik in reproduktivnih centrov, kjer mlade ženske ostanejo vse obdobje nosečnosti. Reklamna industrija prikazuje podobe nasmejanih Indijk, ki se zleknjene na posteljah kratkočasijo pred televizijskimi ekrani. Dobro hranjene imajo na voljo tisto, česar nima nobena izmed žensk v njihovih domačih vaseh: zdravnika, psihologa in strokovnjaka uravnotežene prehrane. Rojevanje se predstavlja kot »delo« v učinkovito organizirani in humano urejeni tovarni. Takšne podobe gestacijske matere spreminjajo v dobro

26 Surogatsko materinstvo je danes ponekod povsem legalizirano, drugod pa dovoljeno s pravno-formalnimi omejitvami ali pa neregulirano (a ne prepovedano). Te evropske države so: Belgija, Nizozemska, Ciper, Estonija, Luxemburg, Romunija, Slovaška, Grčija, Irska Malta, Združeno kraljestvo, Ukrajina. Zunaj Evrope pa je gestacijsko materinstvo dovoljeno še v Indiji, ZDA, Južni Afriki, Novi Zelandiji in v Izraelu (ESHRE, 2008; Pelka, 2009).

preskrbljene maternice, torej zdravo gestacijsko okolje za zarodek premožnejših ameriških staršev.

Reklamna industrija, ki nadomestno gestacijo spremlja, poudarja predvsem altruistični vidik surogatstva (»revna Indijka je pomagala tako neplodnemu paru kot svoji družini«)[27]. Obenem pa prikrije velikansko neenakost med izvajalko in naročnikom storitve, saj si večina žensk z denarjem zagotovi komajda osnovne materialne pogoje za življenje (za enega otroka dobi ženska okoli 4.000 dolarjev kot neposredno plačilo, ves preostali denar pa gre za stroške zdravstvenih in drugih storitev in za dobiček zdravnikov in lastnikov zasebnih reprodukcijskih bolnišnic): kupijo bivališče, zdravila za moža, zagotovijo šolanje za otroka ali pa porabijo denar za vsakdanje preživetje (NBC Today, 26.08. 2009). Diskurz altruizma prikriva tudi zdravstvena tveganja, ki so jim izpostavljene revne ženske, ki rojevajo za druge (npr. smrt ob porodu). Posamezni gestacijski materi v Indiji so zdravniki tekom reproduktivnih postopkov še nekaj let nazaj vstavljali kar šest do sedem embrijev naenkrat[28] (danes pa tri do štiri), da bi povečali verjetnost rojstva otroka, ob tem pa so ogrožali zdravje žensk. Vprašanje je, ali bo v duhu nove biosocialnosti otrok imel možnost, da bo kdaj spoznal revno gestacijsko mater, ki ga je rodila?

ZAKLJUČEK

Reproduktivne izbire prinašajo torej nove etične dileme, nove prakse bio-politike pa tudi novo biosocialnost. V uglednih dokumentih, ki se ukvarjajo s človekovimi pravicami in izboljšanjem kvalitete človekovega življenja širom po svetu, so reproduktivne pravice posameznic in posameznikov opisane kot ena od temeljnih človekovih pravic (IFSW, 2012). Ta vključuje pravico načrtovanja rojstev, preprečevanje nezaželenih nosečnosti in zdravstveno pomoč pri reproduktivnih ovirah posameznic in posameznikov. Hkrati isti dokumenti zavračajo komodifikacijo spolnih celic in morebitno izkoriščanje revnih za namene transnacionalnih reproduktivnih potovanj ljudi iz bogatejših držav. A za ljudi iz bogatega severa so takšna reproduktivna potovanja stvar ekonomske izbire, za ženske globalnega juga pa ekonomske nuje. Tako kot nekateri v času velikanske nezaposlenosti v Evropi poudarjajo, da je človeški delavec postal ne samo strošek, temveč po svoji nevrednosti in zamenljivosti deloma podoben odpadku (*cf*. Baumann, 2004), tudi na področju postopkov medicinske reproduktivne tehnologije nastaja vse več odpadkov in smeti (odvečni zarodki, ki se jih zamrzne, podari ali zavrže; slabe spolne celice in genetsko poškodovani zarodki, ki se jih selekcionira in uniči ipd.). Temeljno vprašanje je, kako naj dosežki MRT pripomorejo k dobremu življenju vseh ljudi, k človeški raznoličnosti namesto normiranosti in uniformiranosti, in k zmanjšanju neenakosti na osnovi bioloških in telesnih posebnosti, spola, spolne usmerjenosti ali etničnega porekla.

FOLLICLES, TRANSFERS, FROZEN EMBRYOS: REPRODUCTIVE CHOICES AND THE NEW ETHICAL DILEMMAS

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SUMMARY

Human reproduction was until recently in Slovenia associated either with the collective coercion or with a personal choice based on emotions and values of the individuals. Today, it is increasingly dependent on medical technology, financial transactions, genetics and decisions among many choices which have to be taken prior of the child's conception. Giving birth to the child has been increasingly turned into a precise and rational process, which includes procedures of extraction, selection, stimulation, stopping measurements, insertion, and observations, carried out under the concept of medical reproductive technology. Comparative analysis of these processes shows the increased number of medical reproductive interventions as well as an increased number of adults who are either biologically or socially involved in the birth of a child and who represent new forms of social parenthood. In addition, the analysis also shows a growing number of personal choices which are made and some new ethical dilemmas. The paper presents some of the choices and ethical dilemmas, which are reflected upon by using the concepts of bio-power, bio-politics and biosociality. Special attention is paid to the situation in Slovenia. It presents figures, existing legislation, reproductive tourism and the parental dilemma weather to tell the child about his or her birth history, or not. The official data show that there are more than thousand couples every year, who seek reproductive help. Nevertheless, the topic remains silenced. The consequence is that the reproductive bank lacks gametes, and that the

27 Surrogacy Clinics. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IcMkWOVuvXY&feature=endscreen (1.06. 2013).
28 Ibid.

number of female donors remains very small. The figures from the Gynaecological Clinic of Ljubljana for instance, report that between 2001 and 2012 there were only 125 local male and 50 female donors. With the use of the male donated gamete, 160 children were born in this period of time, and with the use of female donated gamete 15 children were born in the same decade. Such situation drives people into the reproductive tourism. The official statistic records only limited segments of people seeking reproductive assistance abroad, but excludes single mothers, older couples and same-sex couples, who do not have a formal right for medical assisted reproduction. A paradox is that the society is faced with a highly developed technology, which affects the reproductive biographies of people and their descendants, and at the same time with a prevailing pre-modern morality which aims to maintain the domination of the traditional family and the image of the biological relationship between parents and children untouched. The field of medical reproduction is therefore an area of many conflicting concepts of morality and ethics, and it shows an interesting biological and social interconnectedness of new forms of biosociality in today's societies.

Key words: medical reproductive technology, reproductive choices, ethnical dilemmas, social parenthood, bio-power, biosociality, the child's right to know.

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POMOČ »NARAVI«?: O POSTOPKIH OPLODITVE Z BIOMEDICINSKO POMOČJO V TISKANIH MEDIJIH

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IZVLEČEK

Tehnologije oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo so močno spremenile uveljavljena razumevanja sorodstva, starševstva in družine ter percepcijo odnosa med »naravnim« in »kulturnim« v človeški reprodukciji. V besedilu izhajamo iz podmene, da je človeška reprodukcija nadzorovan proces, ki ga določajo ideologije o tem, kdo sme rojevati in/ali spočeti otroka. Zato predpostavljamo, da se tudi skozi govor o reprodukcijskih tehnologijah izražajo ideje o »primerni« sestavi prebivalstva in predstave o odnosih med spoloma. Osnovna metoda je analiza vsebin poročanja tiskanih medijev v Sloveniji o oploditvah z biomedicinsko pomočjo od osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Ugotovljeno je bilo, da si pisci medijskih besedil v svojem poročanju najpogosteje prisvajajo glasove medicinskih strokovnjakov in da v večji meri kot o moških govorijo o ženskah kot primarnih uporabnicah omenjenih postopkov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: reproduktivne tehnologije, umetna oploditev, oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo, študije spolov, feministična teorija, množični mediji, Slovenija

AIUTARE »LA NATURA«?: SUI PROCESSI DELLA FECONDAZIONE BIOMEDICALMENTE ASSISTITA NEI MEZZI DI INFORMAZIONE A STAMPA

SINTESI

Le tecnologie della fecondazione biomedicalmente assistita hanno profondamente mutato il modo tradizionale di intendere la parentela, la genitorialità, la famiglia e il modo di percepire il rapporto tra »naturale« e »culturale« nella riproduzione umana. Nel testo si parte dall'ipotesi che la riproduzione umana è un processo controllato, determinato dalle ideologie, su chi può partorire e/o concepire un bambino. Pertanto, si presuppone che anche attraverso il discorso sulle tecnologie riproduttive si esprimano le idee sulla composizione »appropriata« della popolazione e le rappresentazioni sulle relazioni tra i sessi. Come metodo fondamentale si è assunta l'analisi dei servizi prodotti dai mezzi di informazione a stampa della Slovenia sulle fecondazioni biomedicalmente assistite a partire dagli anni Ottanta del secolo scorso. È stato riscontrato che gli autori dei testi mediatici molto spesso si appropriano nei loro resoconti delle voci degli esperti di medicina e che parlano delle donne, in misura maggiore che degli uomini, come delle principali utenti dei citati processi.

Parole Chiave: tecnologie riproduttive, fecondazione artificiale, fecondazione biomedicalmente assistita, studi di genere, teoria femminista, mass media, Slovenia

UVOD

Čeprav vse družbe poznajo različne načine nadzorovanja rojstev, smo zlasti v zadnjih treh desetletjih priča neslutenemu razvoju tistih vrst reproduktivnih tehnologij,[1] ki so človeško reprodukcijo ločile od spolnega odnosa. Mejnik v razvoju tovrstnih tehnologij je bilo rojstvo prvega otroka iz epruvete, rojenega po uporabi tehnike *in vitro*[2] oploditve leta 1978 v Angliji. Morda se na prvi pogled zdi, da so te tehnologije zlasti domena medicine, vendar ne smemo spregledati dejstva, da se dotikajo tudi naših temeljnih idej o družini in starševstvu, ki se v javnem govoru pogosto prikazujeta kot samoumevni in »naravni« dejstvi (prim. Skušek, 1996).[3] Posledično v političnem in medijskem prostoru vedno bolj prihajajo v ospredje vprašanja, povezana z osebnimi, ekonomskimi, etičnimi in drugimi socialnimi vidiki omenjenih tehnologij.

V večini evropskih držav, Severni Ameriki in Kanadi od začetka sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja na nacionalni ravni nenehno upada stopnja rodnosti, zato postajajo posledice trendov staranja prebivalstva, upadanja števila delovno aktivnih oseb in vedno večjih stroškov zdravstvenega in pokojninskega zavarovanja vedno bolj pereče. Kljub temu ostaja človeška reprodukcija nadzorovan proces, ki ga določajo ideje o tem, kdo sme in kdo ne sme rojevati oziroma spočeti otroka (McDaniel, 1996). Malin (2003, 302) s tem v zvezi zapiše, da so »v kontekstu tehnologij pomoči pri človeški reprodukciji pri uporabi teh tehnologij na delu tako simbolne kulturne meje kot tudi procesi konstrukcije identitet, ki postavljajo vprašanja, kdo je bolj ali manj primeren kandidat/-ka za dostop do teh tehnologij«. Primer so predvsem ženske, ki pripadajo manjšinskim etničnim skupinam, seksualnim manjšinam in ženske brez moškega partnerja. Analiza tovrstnih ideologij je ena osrednjih tem pričujočega besedila. Razprave o družbenoekonomskih posledicah nizke rodnosti so namreč po besedah Knežević Hočevar (2011, 9) razkrile tudi »različna razumevanja predstave o nacionalni populaciji razlagalcev demografskih sprememb«. Sprva zato analiziramo uveljavljanje predstave o nacionalni populaciji na evropskih tleh v začetku 19. stoletja. S tem v zvezi razlagamo naraščajoči pomen tistih znanstvenih disciplin, ki naj bi bile »primerno opremljene« za nadzor nad gibanjem in zdravjem nacionalnih populacij. Pokažemo tudi, da so predstave o primerni »sestavi« tovrstnih populacij določene po spolu. Nato orišemo temeljne družbene posledice reproduktivnih tehnologij, ki posegajo na področje oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo. Množične medije razumemo kot enega izmed temeljnih polj, s katerim se znanstvena spoznanja razširjajo v javnost. V empiričnem delu besedila zato analiziramo govor tiskanih medijev o tehnologijah oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo. Analizirali smo članke (*klipinge*) iz tiska v Sloveniji, shranjene v Novinarski dokumentaciji Dela v mapah *Umetna oploditev* in *Referendum o zakonu OBMP* in *Referendum o zakonu OBMP – proti* za obdobje med letoma 1983[4] in 2011.

»SESTAVA« NACIONALNEGA PREBIVALSTVA IN PERSPEKTIVA SPOLA

Konec 18. stoletja so razlagalci prebivalstvene dinamike začeli vedno bolj poudarjati nujnost varovanja zdravja nacionalnega prebivalstva (Szreter, 2003, 422). V Evropi in ZDA se je posledično vedno bolj uveljavljala potreba po statističnem zbiranju podatkov o t. i. nacionalnih populacijah kot celotah in ne samo o nekaterih slojih prebivalstva v okviru državne entitete (Kreager, 1997, 154–155). Zbiranje nacionalnih statistik o prebivalstvu so politične elite pojmovale kot način »modernizacije države« (Kertzer in Arel, 2002, 6), saj naj bi bile te statistike nekakšno »diagnostično orodje« za spremljanje socialne in ekonomske blaginje nacionalnega telesa (Krause, 2001, 579). Bile naj bi tudi pokazatelj »fizične moči« prebivalstva in naj bi opozarjale na potencialne »grožnje« tej moči (Seale, 1998, 81). Na veljavi so zato pridobile tiste znanstvene discipline, ki so bile opremljene s primernim »pojmovnim in metodološkim

1 Reproduktivne tehnologije so širši pojem, ki ga Beckman in Harvey (2005, 1) opredeljujeta kot zdravila, medicinske in kirurške postopke in pripomočke, ki olajšajo oploditev, preprečujejo ali končajo nosečnost in preprečujejo okužbo in prenos spolno prenosljivih bolezni. Razvoj reproduktivnih tehnologij ženskam po eni strani daje večjo možnost nadzora nad svojimi telesi, hkrati pa poveča možnosti za nadzor nad njihovimi življenji, kar se v vsakdanjem življenju žensk pokaže v dostopu do kontracepcije, splava in pri ne/možnosti izbire načina rojevanja. Z izrazom nove reproduktivne tehnologije poleg postopkov za vodenje in spremljanje nosečnosti (t. i. prenatalna diagnostika) ponavadi označujemo tudi postopke oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo, ki posameznicam in posameznikom pomagajo pri oploditvi. Teh postopkov ne uporabljajo le osebe z medicinsko diagnozo neplodnosti, temveč tudi osebe, ki po določenem obdobju niso zanosile, čeprav za to ni jasnega vzroka; tiste, za katere bi bilo spočetje veliko zdravstveno tveganje, in nosilci določenih genetskih nepravilnosti in/ali bolezni, ki bi jih lahko prenesli na otroka, s katerim bi bili genetsko povezani. Te postopke uporabljajo tudi samske in/ali istospolno usmerjene ženske pa tudi moški (Langdridge in Blyth, 2001, 46). Izraz oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo sicer ne zajame vseh postopkov, s katerimi se s pomočjo medicine dosega oploditev (na primer jemanje zdravil za spodbujanje plodnosti), a ga v besedilu uporabljamo zaradi uveljavljenosti v slovenskem prostoru. Mestoma navajamo kar v vsakdanji razpravi najpogostejši izraz umetna oploditev, ki ga pogosto uporabljajo tudi pisci analiziranih besedil.

2 Gre za tehniko, pri kateri se s pomočjo laparoskopa vzame zrelo jajčece iz jajčnika tik preden bi se to samo izločilo. Jajčece se pomeša s semenčicami, in če pride do oploditve, ga ponovno vstavijo v maternico (Skušek, 1996, 131).

3 Postopki oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo se v znanstvenih kot tudi laičnih krogih po mnenju Langdridga in Blytha (2001, 46) pogosto opisujejo kot način, na katerega medicina pomaga »naravi« (prim. Keržan, 2008).

4 To leto je bil v mapi shranjen prvi članek na to temo.

aparatom« za nadzor nad gibanjem in zdravjem nacionalnih populacij (Seale, 1998, 81–82). O tem Foucault (1991, 68) meni, da so šele v takih družbenopolitičnih okoliščinah »nastali« problemi demografije, javnega zdravja, higiene, bivanjskih razmer, dolgoživosti in plodnosti. Turner (1993, 112) podobno opozarja, da so bila nadzorstva nad populacijami združena prav s pojavi demografije in načrtovanja mest, usmerjanje notranjega in zunanjega telesa pa je zahtevalo posege psihologije, klinične medicine in kriminologije.

Sicer so že začetne opredelitve nacionalnih populacij, zlasti tiste iz druge polovice 18. stoletja, izražale skrb »za uravnoteženo sestavo prebivalstva v številčnem in ‚kvalitetnem' smislu« (Knežević Hočevar, 2003a, 30), a je sčasoma ta strah postal selektiven: »nujno je spodbujati rodnost tistih članov nacionalne enote, ki zasedajo visoke in srednje položaje na družbeni lestvici, hkrati pa omejevati rodnost tistih na najnižjih položajih« (Knežević Hočevar, 2003a, 31).[5] Zanimanje za prebivalstveno dinamiko se je namreč ob koncu 19. stoletja še povečalo; upadanje rodnosti je bilo vedno večje (Camiscioli, 2001, 593–594; Demeny, 2003, 9). Ko je na prehodu iz t. i. tradicionalne v moderno družbo reproduktivni potencial naroda pridobival vedno pomembnejšo vlogo, so razlagalci tega pojava vedno bolj poudarjali tudi pomen spolno specifičnih predstav o značilnostih prebivalstva. Takratni prebivalstveni strokovnjaki so odgovornost mater povezovali celo z idejo o »izumiranju naroda« (prim. Camiscioli, 2001, 593–595; Cole, 1996, 643): »V Evropi poznega 19. in zgodnjega 20. stoletja je populacijski diskurz demografsko moč izenačeval z mednarodno prevlado, saj za tekmovanje med narodi ni bila pomembna le produktivna zmožnost, ampak je prej zasebna, ‚ženska' sfera reprodukcije dobila pomembno vlogo v političnem življenju naroda. Ko je reproduktivni potencial naroda postal objekt družbenega raziskovanja, so higieniki in drugi ‚strokovnjaki' svojo pozornost usmerili na zdravje in blaginjo prebivalstva in na narodove otroke in matere« (Camiscioli, 2001, 594).

V različnih javnih debatah upadanje rodnosti tudi v sodobnosti postaja vedno bolj zaznan pojav. V javnem govoru je zlasti močno poudarjena vloga žensk kot primarno odgovornih za reprodukcijo in skrb za otroke (McDaniel 1996, 84). Parry (2005, 134) ocenjuje, da pronatalistična ideologija, po kateri je družbena vrednost posameznice oziroma posameznika določena s tem, ali ima otroka, še vedno primarno zadeva ženske, tiste ženske, ki niso matere, pa se gleda kot »nepopolne« in »neizpolnjene«. Folbre (2004, 345) celo meni, da se v zahodni kulturni tradiciji odlaganje materinstva razume kot sebično dejanje. V takem govoru se po oceni Krause (2001, 586) implicira, da ženske ne prevzemajo v zadostni meri odgovornosti za ohranjanje naroda, seveda pa ni naključje, da je način, na katerega so demografi sedanjo nizko stopnjo rodnosti definirali kot problem, krivdo v veliki meri prenesel na ženske, ki namesto otrok izbirajo kariero in izobrazbo (prim. Žnidaršič-Žagar, 2000).

Nekateri preučevalci rodnostnega vedenja zato opozarjajo na problematičnost razumevanja nizke/visoke rodnosti kot »problema«. Taka obravnava rodnosti ima namreč pomembne posledice za produkcijo vednosti, ki presega polje demografije, saj se nanaša na ideologije o spolu, razredu, rasi in etnični skupini (Krause, 2001). Spolne, razredne in etnično specifične razlike oziroma evalvacije reproduktivnega vedenja različnih družbenih skupin so namreč ključnega pomena tudi za raziskovanje individualnih rodnostnih praks in strategij, saj družbena percepcija nizke/visoke rodnosti kot »družbenega problema« lahko pomembno vpliva na individualne rodnostne prakse in izbire (prim. Krause, 2001, 591). Prav različne evalvacije rodnostnega vedenja posameznih družbenih skupin pa prihajajo vedno bolj v ospredje z razvojem reprodukcijskih tehnologij, ki so človeško reprodukcijo ločile od spolnega odnosa. Tovrstne tehnologije so namreč omogočile naraščajoč nadzor tudi nad samim procesom spočetja. Kot zapiše Rožman (2013: xx) v pričujočem tematskem sklopu, je bila tudi umetna oploditev »doslej obravnavana predvsem v ‚jeziku' biomedicine in zdravstvene politike. Biomedicina pri zdravstveni obravnavi žensk praviloma ne upošteva vzrokov in posledic za negativne reproduktivne izide, ki izhajajo iz njihovih ‚nezaželenih' sociokulturnih matrik – etnična pripadnost, zakonski stan, starost, veroizpoved, izobrazba, kraj bivanja, partnerski odnos, osebna stališča in vrednote«. Mencin Čeplak (2013: xx) poudarja, da gre pri tovrstnih ideologijah o rojevanju »za vprašanja, katere ženske so vredne materinstva, koliko, kdaj, pod kakšnimi pogoji in komu ali za koga naj rojevajo«.

DRUŽBENE POSLEDICE RAZVOJA TEHNOLOGIJ NA PODROČJU OPLODITVE Z BIOMEDICINSKO POMOČJO

Keržan (2008, 13) meni, da družboslovno in humanistično raziskovanje hitremu biomedicinskemu razvoju na področju pomoči pri spočetju ni sledilo z enako hitrostjo, saj so se šele v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja začele v večjem številu pojavljati družboslovne in humanistične raziskave na to temo. Na podlagi pregleda raziskav s področja oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo se zdi, da je večina študij, ki so obravnavale družbene implikacije teh tehnologij, nastala v okviru feministične teorije oziroma študij spolov. Vendarle pa nam da temeljitejši vpogled v te raziskave slutiti, da feministične teoretičarke nimajo enotnega mnenja o posledicah uporabe reproduktivnih teorij za ženske (več na primer v Donchin, 1989; Handwerker, 2003). Nekatere teoretičarke so že v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja izpostavile proble-

5 Heinsohn in Steiger (1993, 309) pravita celo, da je v novem veku ljudem odvzeto odločanje o razmnoževanju, saj je to postalo osrednja sestavina državne politike.

matično uporabo pojmov »naravno« in »nenaravno« v tovrstnih študijah. Ne strinjajo se namreč s predstavo, da je nosečnost brez uporabe reproduktivnih tehnologij »naravna«, medtem ko je uporaba tehnologije za zanositev »nenaravna«, saj ni jasno, kaj naravna nosečnost sploh pomeni, niti ni nujno, da je za nekatere ženske taka zanositev bolj zaželena od uporabe reproduktivnih tehnologij (Stanworth v Donchin, 1989, 139). Na raznolikost feminističnih teoretičnih perspektiv v obravnavi tehnologij oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo opozarja tudi Handwerker, ki shematično navaja različne poglede na tovrstne tehnologije v okviru feministične teorije (2003, 115). Nekatere feministke, pravi Handwerker, so na primer članice mreže FINNRAGE (*International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering – Mednarodna mreža odpora proti reproduktivnemu in genetskemu inženiringu*), ki nove reproduktivne tehnologije razume kot za ženske nevarne in zatiralske. Libertarne feministke so po drugi strani zavezane ideji ženske reproduktivne svobode; teoretičarke, ki zavzemajo egalitarno pozicijo, pa zanimajo zlasti načini, na katere družbeni položaj posameznice oziroma posameznika vpliva na rabo tehnologij. V tem oziru McDaniel (1996, 93) presoja prispevek feministične teorije na področju novih reproduktivnih tehnologij in priznava, da so te analize problematizirale prej nevidne ali nepriznane vidike spolne določenosti rodnostnega vedenja. Gre na primer za predpostavko, da naj bi bile vse ženske matere, da si to tudi želijo in da rojstvo otrok določa identiteto ženske bolj kot katerikoli drug dogodek.

Številni raziskovalci ugotavljajo tudi, da so nove reproduktivne tehnologije spremenile pojmovanje medicinskega zdravljenja. Keržan (2008, 13) meni, da je tak hiter tehnološki razvoj medicino »potisnil daleč onkraj njene tradicionalne vloge zdravljenja bolezni in poškodb, s tem pa se je spremenil tudi njen vpliv na življenje posameznikov, saj nove reprodukcijske tehnologije tisto, kar so bili nekoč zgolj medicinski problemi, ali pa je bil tak vsaj videz, umešča v širše polje znanstvenih razprav, zlasti humanističnih in družboslovnih«. Winston (v Snowden, 1996, 252) na primer razlikuje med zdravljenjem obstoječega bolezenskega procesa, ki je povzročil neplodnost, z operativnimi tehnikami in *in vitro* oploditvijo, kjer gre za način oploditve in ne za zdravljenje neplodnosti ali bolezenskega stanja, ki je do neplodnosti privedlo. Enako velja za uporabo darovalčevih gamet; na primer pri oploditvi z darovalčevim semenom. Partnerica neplodnega moškega lahko zanosi z darovanim semenom, a to seveda ne vpliva na stanje, ki je povzročilo neplodnost njenega partnerja. Kljub temu se darovanje semena tako v laičnih kot v strokovnih diskurzih pogosto opisuje kot eden od načinov zdravljenja moške neplodnosti (Snowden, 1996, 252).

Nove reprodukcijske tehnologije pa imajo tudi širše socialne implikacije, saj so predrugačile tudi pojmovanja družinskih razmerij in samo opredelitev družine. Z naraščajočo uporabo reproduktivnih tehnologij za pomoč pri spočetju se je močno spremenilo zlasti pojmovanje starševstva. Družbene vloge, kot so »biološki«, »genetski«, »socialni«, »nadomestni« starš so namreč vedno pogosteje razdeljene med različne osebe (Beckman in Harvey, 1995; Langdridge in Blyth, 2001; Skušek, 1996; Snowden, 1996).[6]

Vendar se je z razmahom reproduktivnih tehnologij na področju oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo še bolj izrazito pokazalo, da je človeška reprodukcija proces, nad katerim imajo nadzor mnogi akterji, ki določajo, ali bo do nje sploh prišlo, in hkrati vplivajo na kontekst, v katerem se dogaja (McDaniel, 1996, 93). Po mnenju Snowdena (1998, 251) imajo te tehnologije protislovne učinke: po eni strani so omogočile več izbire osebam, ki se srečujejo z neplodnostjo, po drugi strani pa se odgovornost za odločitve, ki se tičejo človeške reprodukcije, vedno bolj prenaša na zdravnike in znanstvenike. McDaniel (1996, 93) celo sklene, da so nove reproduktivne tehnologije bolj kot katerikoli znanstveni dosežek pokazale na strukturne neenakosti v procesu človeške reprodukcije. Mnoge analize so zlasti na primeru ZDA opozorile, da imajo do njih dostop predvsem t. i. »elitne skupine« belih in finančno preskrbljenih žensk iz večinskih skupin (Beckman in Harvey, 1995). Langdridge in Blyth (2001) sta v zvezi z dostopom do teh tehnologij poudarila, da zakonodaja na področju medicinske pomoči pri človeški reprodukciji v večini evropskih držav ne ustreza vedno bolj raznolikim oblikam družinskega življenja. Ob omejevanju dostopa do teh postopkov za določene skupine prebivalstva govorita celo o poskusih regulacije družine. Millns podobno (2002, 20) piše, da gre pri vprašanju upravičenosti do teh tehnologij tudi za njihovo instrumentalizacijo, da bi se spodbujale le določene oblike družinskih razmerij.[7]

Proučevanje oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo v slovenskem prostoru je poleg analize medicinskih vidikov teh postopkov[8] pritegnilo tudi pozornost bolj družboslovno in humanistično usmerjenih raziskovalcev in raziskovalk, ki so proučevali socialne implikacije omenjenih tehnologij zlasti v luči njihove komercializacije in posledic za družbeno razumevanje družinskih razmerij in starševstva (na primer Drglin, 2002; Keržan, 2008; Repinc, 2001; Skušek, 1996; Urh, 2009). Keržan (2008) in raziskovalci v okviru projekta *Socialno starševstvo kot ključni vidik sodobnih družinskih politik*, ki je potekal na Fakul-

6 O teh spremembah in teoretičnih pristopih na področju proučevanja oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo v slovenskem jeziku obširno piše Keržan (2008). Pregled pristopov v pričujočem besedilu je zaradi prostorske omejenosti bolj kot ne shematski.

7 Morda ni nepomembno dejstvo, da se države članice Evropske unije še niso dogovorile o skupni konsistentni politiki EU na tem področju.

8 Z njimi se v pričujočem besedilu ne ukvarjamo, saj gre za izključno naravoslovno oziroma medicinsko usmerjene študije. Mnenja medicinske stroke o teh postopkih v analizi navajamo takrat, ko gre za komentar socialnih implikacij postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo.

teti za socialno delo (Zaviršek idr., 2008), so z uporabo metode bolj kvalitativno zasnovanega intervjuja pokazali, kaj reproduktivne tehnologije za pomoč pri spočetju pomenijo konkretnim posameznikom in posameznicam. Drugi avtorji so se večinoma ukvarjali z analizo govora različnih akterjev – na primer poslancev, akterjev v množičnih medijih – v času referenduma o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo leta 2001[9] (na primer Hrženjak, 2001; Mencin Čeplak, 2005) ter s pravnimi in z etičnimi vidiki umetnih oploditev (Finžgar, 1992; Valenčič, 2004; Zupančič in Šinkovec, 1998; Zupančič, 2001; Žnidaršič in Pipan, 1997). Pričujoče besedilo je poskus nadgradnje analize govora o tem vprašanju na primeru tiskanih medijev, vendar z analizo daljšega časovnega obdobja, kot je zgolj obdobje v času referenduma o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo.

ANALIZA GRADIVA

Motivi in cilji

Ni malo raziskovalcev, ki zatrjujejo, da imajo množični mediji temeljno vlogo pri identificiranju določenih tematik kot družbeno relevantnih. Jamrozik in Nocella sta celo prepričana, da mediji o dogodkih ne le poročajo, ampak jih tudi ustvarjajo, saj jih uvrščajo na dnevni red javne razprave (Jamrozik in Nocella, 1998, 71). Novice namreč po Hartleyju (1989, 56) »pripomorejo k ustvarjanju nekakšne ‚mnenjske klime', ponujajo horizonte možnosti in označujejo meje spremenljivega mišljenja in delovanja, ali, z drugimi besedami, ustvarjajo družbeno vedenje in kulturne vrednote«.

Številni razlagalci delovanja množičnih medijev se prav tako strinjajo, da so mediji v »sodobnih družbah« eden izmed pomembnejših kanalov, s pomočjo katerih se širša javnost seznanja z znanstvenimi vsebinami, ki so bile »tradicionalno« nedostopne širši javnosti (Calsamiglia, 2003: 140; Calsamiglia in López Ferrero, 2003; Malone idr., 2000, 713). Posledično se je kot pomembno polje znanstvenega proučevanja postavilo vprašanje, kako novinarji selekcionirajo in transformirajo določeno znanstveno vedenje in ga predstavijo širšemu bralstvu oziroma kako in katere vsebine strokovnjaki razširjajo v medijski prostor. Znanstveni jezik ima namreč svojo lastno terminologijo s posebnimi jezikovnimi normami, vzorci in stili (Calsamiglia in López Ferrero, 2003, 148). Skladno z družbenokonstruktivistično[10] perspektivo obravnave vloge množičnih medijev, ki poudarja pomen medijev pri »izumljanju« družbenih pojavov kot problemov, je analiza reprezentacij oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo v slovenskih tiskanih medijih osrednja tema pričujočega besedila. Motiv za navedeno analizo izhaja iz ugotovitve Kirejczyk (2000, 178), da »pogajanja« o praksah, ki v različnih kulturnih in političnih kontekstih regulirajo prakso oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo, niso omejena le na politična omrežja, temveč potekajo tudi v množičnih medijih in specializiranih profesionalnih krogih, zlasti v profesionalnih združenjih zdravnikov. Sprva nas zato zanima, katera stroka je najbolj pogosto zastopana v medijskem poročanju o umetni oploditvi. Skladno z vlogo medicine kot temeljne razlagalke zdravja in bolezni v sodobni družbi domnevamo, da tiskani mediji v svojem poročanju o oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo prisvajajo zlasti glasove medicinskih strokovnjakov. Na podlagi ugotovitve, da se na ženske gleda kot na primarno odgovorne za rojevanje in reprodukcijo, nadalje predpostavljamo, da zapisi o oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo ženske naslavljajo v večji meri kot moške. Pregled razvoja koncepta nacionalne populacije in temeljnih pristopov v proučevanju tehnologij oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo pa nas je vodil v postavitev splošnejše domneve, da se v govoru o družbeni sprejemljivosti in upravičenosti do postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo izražajo ideje o primerni sestavi prebivalstva v državi in ideje o »primernih« starših in družinskih razmerjih.

V ta namen smo pregledali in analizirali članke na temo oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo, ki so zbrani v novinarski dokumentaciji Dela, kjer dokumentalisti od leta 1968 sistematično pregledujejo in klasificirajo članke.[11] Analizirali smo 308 člankov, zbranih v mapah *Umetna oploditev* (131 člankov), *Referendum o zakonu OBMP* (168 člankov) in *Referendum o zakonu OBMP – proti* (9 člankov), ki so izšli v obdobju med letoma 1983 in 2011. Članki s tega področja so shranjeni tudi v drugih mapah, v katerih pa je le majhno število člankov (na primer *Nadomestno materinstvo*, *Semenske banke*).

Uspeh medicine: prvi slovenski dvojčici iz epruvete (1983–1990)

V obravnavanem obdobju je bilo na temo umetne oploditve v tiskanih medijih objavljenih le malo člankov,

9 Naj spomnimo, Zakon o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo je bil sprejet julija 2000 in še vedno velja. Zakon med drugim določa, da imajo možnost oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo le ženske s stalnim moškim partnerjem. Popravljeni predlog zakona, ki bi razširil krog upravičencev do tovrstnih postopkov tudi na samske ženske in hkrati dovolil uvoz spolnih celic, ki je trenutno prepovedan, je bil zavrnjen na naknadnem zakonodajnem referendumu leta 2001

10 Zagovorniki danes v humanistiki in družboslovju že splošno uveljavljenega družbenokonstruktivističnega pristopa zatrjujejo, da je produkcija znanstvenega vedenja zgodovinski produkt delovanja družbenih skupin, ki delujejo v zgodovinsko specifičnih političnih in ekonomskih kontekstih (Greenhalgh, 1996, 29–30).

11 Bolj natančno sicer obdelujejo le dnevnik Delo, članke iz drugih slovenskih časopisov in revij pa pregledujejo bolj po »lastni presoji«. Kljub temu dokumentacija Dela v primerjavi z drugimi novinarskimi hišami hrani največji obseg sistematiziranih člankov iz slovenskih dnevnikov, tednikov in revij.

saj je bilo po letu 1983, ko je bil dokumentiran prvi članek na to temo, pa do leta 1990 v mapo o umetni oploditvi shranjenih le deset člankov. Skladno s tem je tudi nabor vsebin, ki se pojavljajo v medijskem poročanju o umetni oploditvi, dokaj ozek, članki pa so praviloma kratki, v obliki novice. Pisci medijskih vsebin so poročali zlasti o rojstvu prvih dvojčic iz epruvete v Sloveniji, ki sta se leta 1984 rodili v ljubljanski porodnišnici. Zgovorni so na primer že naslovi člankov, kot so »Dvojčici iz epruvete v Ljubljani« (Delo, 6. 1. 1984), »Prvi slovenski dvojčici iz epruvete« (Delo, 8. 10. 1984), »Naši dvojčici iz epruvete« (Jana, 10. 10. 1984). Avtorji poznejših zapisov so tudi v naslednjih letih izpostavljali nove primere rojstev otrok »iz epruvete«. Poudarjali so zlasti tehnične vidike teh postopkov (Nedeljski dnevnik, 6. 11. 1983; Delo, 13. 10. 1984)[12] in velik pomen tovrstnega razvoja v reproduktivni medicini (Delo, 8. 10. 1984; Delo, 13. 10. 1984). Le v članku iz leta 1990 (Večer, 7. 4. 1990) je pisec bolj podrobno razpravljal tudi o družbenih implikacijah tovrstnih tehnologij. Zlasti se je navezal na argumente proti tem tehnologijam, ki so jih oblikovali strokovnjakinje in strokovnjaki v okviru feministične teorije in psihologije, opozoril na nevarnost komercializacije teh postopkov in na dejstvo, da so predragi. Hkrati je zaznal tudi demografski moment vpeljave tovrstnih postopkov v reproduktivno medicino.

O družbenih vidikih tehnologij na področju oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo (1991–1999)

V tem obdobju že zasledimo večje število objavljenih člankov na temo oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo, od nič pa do deset letno. Zdi se, da je temeljna značilnost zapisov iz tega obdobja vedno večja prisotnost razprav o družbenih vidikih uporabe omenjenih tehnologij. Pisci besedil so tudi v tem obdobju pogosto poročali o novih uspehih na področju reprodukcijskih tehnologij oziroma o uspehih, ki jih imajo na tem področju slovenske klinike za zdravljenje neplodnosti, ne le v nacionalnem, temveč tudi v evropskem oziroma svetovnem merilu. Poudarjali so, da s tovrstnimi metodami strokovnjaki lahko pomagajo tudi tistim parom, ki jim prej niso mogli (Dnevnik, 29. 7. 1993; Dnevnik, 13. 10. 1995; Slovenske novice, 13. 10. 1995; Delo, 22. 12. 1995).

Kot posebna težava so se v zapisih pojavljale dolge čakalne dobe za postopke umetne oploditve, ki so po oceni večine piscev povezane zlasti s slabim financiranjem tovrstnih postopkov. Pojavljale so se tudi pritožbe civilnodružbenih akterjev ter posameznikov in posameznic, da ljubljanska klinika posameznikom in posameznicam omejuje število poskusov oploditve, oziroma da se v enem letu izvede največ en postopek. V zvezi s tem so zahtevali določitev standardov za pravice iz zdravstvenega zavarovanja in pravico do izbire ginekologa oziroma specialista za tovrstno zdravljenje. Nekateri so menili celo, da je tako omejevanje števila postopkov neustavno in nezakonito ter v nasprotju s človekovimi pravicami (Delo, 4. 5. 1996; Delo, 25. 4. 1998; Delo, 27. 2. 1999; Dnevnik, 22. 9. 1999). V tem obdobju se je govor o umetni oploditvi prvič povezal tudi s političnimi vprašanji. Ginekologinja dr. Helena Meden Vrtovec je povedala: »Nesmiselno je, da se politika, predvsem pa nekatere stranke, vtikajo v naše delo. Ne gre za politični problem, gre za to, koliko denarja za te namene imamo. Nobena država na svetu nima toliko denarja, da bi na primer ženskam plačevala tudi po 20 ciklusov za oploditev« (Delo, 22. 12. 1995). Po zakonu iz leta 1977 sta imela namreč vsaka ženska oziroma par pravico do tovrstnega zdravljenja, ki ga plača država, zato naj bi strokovnjaki predlagali, da se število poskusov oploditve predvidoma omeji na štiri (Delo, 22. 12. 1995; Nedeljski dnevnik, 7. 1. 1996).

Pisci besedil so pogosto omenjali tudi spor, ki že vrsto let poteka med ljubljansko ginekološko kliniko in zasebno kliniko enega izmed ginekologov, ki je deloval v okviru postojnske porodnišnice. Ozadje zapleta naj po besedah strokovnjakov iz ljubljanske klinike ne bi bilo le finančno, torej vprašanje, kateri ustanovi se bodo financirali tovrstni postopki, temveč naj bi šlo tudi za etično spornost takih postopkov v zasebnem sektorju. Problematično naj bi bilo predvsem vprašanje ravnanja s spolnimi celicami ter možnost pretirane komercializacije takih postopkov. Nekateri medicinski strokovnjaki pa so se po drugi strani spraševali, ali je z vidika stresnosti dolgega čakanja za konkretne posameznice in posameznike še vzdržno, da pari na postopek oploditve čakajo tudi poldrugo leto. Iz zapisov je mogoče izluščiti določeno stopnjo nestrinjanja v medicinski stroki o tem, katere postopke naj bi bilo zasebnemu centru na področju umetnih oploditev sploh dovoljeno opravljati (Slovenske novice, 7. 10. 1996; Mladina, 25. 2. 1997; Delo, 4. 2. 1999; Večer, 30. 4. 1999).

Prav tako se je v tem obdobju začelo pojavljati več zapisov o vprašanju upravičenosti do oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo. Nekaj zapisov je že opozarjalo, da je neplodnost težava para in ne konkretne posameznice oziroma posameznika, zato naj ne bi kar vsevprek prevzeli vseh novosti na tem področju. Nekateri strokovnjaki so zaradi premajhnega nadzora in majhnosti Slovenije nasprotovali tudi semenskim bankam. V tem smislu je povedna izjava ginekologa dr. Tomaža Tomaževiča: »Slovenija pa ima zaradi tega, ker nas je samo dva milijona, poseben položaj. Pomanjkanje strogega nadzora

12 Pri citiranju virov naštevamo le nekaj značilnih zapisov. Zlasti v poznejših časovnih obdobjih, ko je bilo število člankov, ki govorijo o določeni tematiki, dosti večje, je to nujno za jasnost zapisa, saj bi bil v nasprotnem primeru seznam citiranih člankov predolg za ohranitev jasnosti zapisa. Iz omenjenega razloga seznam virov praviloma navajamo na koncu odstavka, razen kadar gre za vsebinsko specifično oziroma konkretno vprašanje ali za dobesedni citat iz posameznega besedila.

na tem področju prinaša številne nevarnosti. Predstavljajte si, da bi s semenom moškega oplodili več žensk! Čez dvajset let bi se lahko zgodilo, da bi se polbratje in polsestre poročali med seboj« (Mladina, 25. 2. 1997). Pri nasprotovanju določenim vidikom tehnik oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo so se nekateri medicinski pa tudi pravni strokovnjaki sklicevali na predpostavko, da je treba pri tovrstnih postopkih kar najbolj posnemati naravo in naravno človeško razmnoževanje. Po besedah pravnika dr. Karla Zupančiča z ljubljanske Pravne fakultete je tako »treba posnemati naravo, omogočiti ljudem to, za kar jih je narava prikrajšala, nenavadni in nenaravni postopki ne pridejo v poštev« (Mladina, 25. 2. 1997). Kot primer so izpostavljali restriktivne prakse v drugih evropskih državah. Nasprotovali so že tudi dostopu do teh postopkov za samske ženske in istospolno usmerjene osebe. Nekateri strokovnjaki so poudarjali tudi pravico otroka do družinskega življenja in pomen očeta ter menili, naj bodo ti postopki na voljo le heteroseksualnim parom. Naj navedemo mnenje pravnika dr. Karla Zupančiča, ki se v svoji izjavi sklicuje na prakse drugih držav: »Tudi v državah, kjer so omogočili registracijo homoseksualne skupnosti in partnerjem dali skoraj enake pravice kot zakoncem, istospolna partnerja ne moreta skupaj posvojiti otroka, izrecno pa je zapovedano, da za homoseksualne partnerje predpisi o umetnem razmnoževanju ne pridejo v poštev. Obrazložitve večinoma pravijo, da so izhajali iz otrokovih koristi« (Mladina, 25. 2. 1997). Ali pa mnenje ginekologa dr. Tomaža Tomaževiča o predlogu zakona o zdravljenju neplodnosti in postopkih oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo, da »postopek zunajtelesne oploditve nikoli ne sme biti predstavljen kot prva rešitev, poleg tega pa tudi ne more biti dostopna vsem, ampak le heteroseksualnim parom in na podlagi medicinskih vzrokov. Prav tako pa v poslanskem zakonu ni dovolj velikih varovalk proti trgovanju s spolnimi celicami« (Delo, 25. 9. 1999). Nekateri strokovnjaki so se zavzemali za manj omejevalen pristop, zavzemali so se, na primer, za uvoz celic iz skandinavskih držav in tudi za ustanovitev zasebnih centrov za opravljanje teh postopkov. Poudarjali so, da zato, ker pri nas ne opravljajo oploditve s semenom darovalca, veliko neplodnih parov ne more dobiti otroka. Dejstva, da samskost kot kategorija posameznicam onemogoča dostop do postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo, pisci besedil in strokovnjaki, na katere so se sklicevali, v zapisih iz tega obdobja niso posebej problematizirali. Debata v tiskanih medijih se je namreč bolj osredotočala na vprašanje, ali in pod kakšnimi pogoji naj v Sloveniji deluje semenska banka (Mladina, 25. 2. 1997; Ona, 9. 6. 1997; Ona, 29. 6. 1999; Delo, 25. 9. 1999).

V tem obdobju se pojavljajo tudi zapisi o vzrokih za neplodnost pri posameznicah in posameznikih. Omenjali so se zlasti vzroki, ki so specifično povezani z žensko neplodnostjo, namreč odlašanje z rojstvom otroka in posledično višja starost ob odločitvi za otroka. Med njimi je sklicevanje novinarja na raziskave neplodnosti: »Raziskave povedo, da ima približno osem do deset odstotkov parov v plodnem obdobju težave z neplodnostjo. Pri veliko parih je vzrok za neplodnost nepojasnjen. Prevladuje mnenje, da je neplodnosti čedalje več. Vse več je namreč vnetij ženskih spolnih organov in spolno prenosnih bolezni. Vse več žensk zaradi študija, kariere ali nerešenih socialnih vprašanj odlaša z rojstvom prvega otroka« (Dnevnik, 29. 7. 1993). S tem v zvezi so strokovnjaki iz medicinskih vrst nasprotovali umetnemu oplojevanju žensk zunaj rodnega obdobja (Delo, 12. 3. 1997; Dnevnik, 29. 7. 1993). Po drugi strani pa so nas pisci besedil seznanjali tudi z novejšimi metodami, s katerimi se odpravlja moška neplodnost, ki naj bi bila v porastu (Mladina, 25. 2. 1997; Nedeljski dnevnik, 27. 7. 1997).

Redki zapisi poudarjajo širši družbeni – demografski – moment postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo, in sicer dejstvo, da se v družbeni situaciji, ko rodnost upada, pari srečujejo z omejevanjem števila postopkov, do katerih so upravičeni. To se dogaja bodisi zaradi dolgih čakalnih dob bodisi zaradi omejitve števila postopkov, ki jih plača zavarovalnica. Nekateri avtorji tovrstnih zapisov so poudarjali, da je odločitev za otroka primarno osebna (Nedeljski dnevnik, 7. 1. 1996; Slovenske novice, 7. 4. 1999), saj z besedami enega med njimi »otrok neplodnemu paru pomeni osebno srečo, zadovoljstvo, potrditev poslanstva in torej rešuje vsakič zgolj dva človeka in ne naroda« (Nedeljski dnevnik, 7. 1. 1996). A vendar je avtor istega zapisa izrazil tudi skrb za nataliteto naroda, saj je »za narod, katerega rodnost zadnja leta vztrajno slabi, žalostno slišati, da omejuje število poskusov zdravljenja neplodnosti, ker je to pač predrago« (prim. Slovenske novice, 7. 10. 1996; Jana, 16. 2. 1999; Slovenske novice, 16. 4. 1999).

Leta 1999 pa se je v tiskanih medijih že razvila tudi debata o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo, ki ga je v parlamentarno proceduro vložil eden izmed poslancev LDS. Nekateri strokovnjaki so menili, da je predlog zakona drugačen, kot ga je izoblikovala medicinska stroka, in zato zahtevali popravke zakona, ki naj bi po njihovem mnenju ne bil strokoven. Po drugi strani so podporniki zakona poudarjali, da jih je zanimala le pomoč tistim posameznicam in posameznikom, ki zaradi pravne praznine na tem področju težko čakajo na njegovo urejanje (Delo, 4. 2. 1999; 7D, 24. 2. 1999; Slovenske novice, 3. 4. 1999; Dnevnik, 22. 9. 1999).

Polarizacija stroke in javnosti: Referendum o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo (2000–2001)

V mesecih pred referendumom o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo in po njem se je število objavljenih člankov o umetni oploditvi močno povečalo. Leta 2001 so dokumentalisti za-

radi koncentracije zapisov o referendumu o omenjenem zakonu gradivo namreč zbirali tudi v mapah *Referendum o zakonu OBMP* in *Referendum o zakonu OBMP – proti*; v njih je shranjenih kar 177 člankov. Prva ugotovitev analize je, da se v tem obdobju v razpravo o umetni oploditvi v veliko večji meri kot v prejšnjih obdobjih vključujejo tudi strokovnjaki iz družboslovnih in humanističnih krogov in ne le predvsem medicinski strokovnjaki, kar je bila značilnost preteklega poročanja. Tovrstno vključevanje zasledimo ne le v pismih bralcev in kolumnah, temveč so tudi novinarji začeli prevzemati glasove strokovnjakov iz humanističnih in družboslovnih vrst.

Vsaj načeloma lahko ugotovimo, da so bili medicinski strokovnjaki bolj odklonilno naravnani do predloga zakona, kot pa je to veljalo za humaniste in družboslovce.[13] V nasprotovanju predlogu zakona so se jim pridružili tudi predstavniki nekaterih političnih strank.[14] Nasprotniki so se sklicevali zlasti na predpostavko, da za umetno oploditev samskih žensk ne obstajajo nikakršni medicinski razlogi. Indikativno je mnenje ginekologinje dr. Bojane Pinter, da »je tovrstna medicina namenjena zdravljenju neplodnosti in ne reševanju socialnega položaja žensk, ki nimajo ali ne želijo partnerja« (Delo, 13. 6. 2001). Posledično so ti strokovnjaki menili, da je zdravljenje zdravih – plodnih, a samskih – žensk z medicinskega vidika neupravičeno (Delo, 13. 6. 2001; Finance, 14. 6. 2001). Niso nasprotovali le vsebini zakona, temveč tudi njegovemu domnevno prehitremu in nepremišljenemu sprejemanju. Pri tem pa so se sklicevali tudi na ideje, ki niso neposredno povezane z zdravljenjem v medicinskem smislu. Njihov temeljni argument je bila predpostavka, da je t. i. naravna družina sestavljena iz matere, očeta in otrok. Po mnenju ginekologinje dr. Bojane Pinter naj bi bila »pravica ženske do materinstva omejena s pravico otroka do obeh staršev« (Delo, 15. 6. 2001). Še bolj indikativno je mnenje predsednika državne komisije za biomedicinsko etiko, dr. Jožeta Trontlja, ki je svoje odklonilno stališče do predloga zakona izrazil takole: »Uporabljati tako visoko specializirano medicino za to, da se naredi otroka samski ženski, se mi zdi popolnoma nepotrebno in z etičnega stališča nesprejemljivo. Tako ustvarjamo nepopolno družino in se zelo oddaljujemo od načela, ki pravi, da je pravica otroka do optimalnega družinskega okolja veliko nad pravico recimo samske ženske do materinstva« (Mag, 9. 5. 2001). Predpostavka, da bi možnost umetne oploditve samskih žensk povzročila naraščanje istospolno usmerjenih parov in/ali posameznic z otroki, je bila med nasprotniki zakona prisotna v manjši meri, manj pogosto so se nasprotniki zakona sklicevali tudi na pravico moškega, da ima otroka (Delo, 15. 5. 2001; Delo, 13. 6. 2001). Nasprotniki zakona so bili večinoma tudi proti dvojnemu darovanju in so nasprotovali uvozu spolnih celic, ki ga je predvideval predlog zakona, saj so bili zaskrbljeni zaradi možnosti pretirane komercializacije na področju uporabe tehnologij za oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo (Večer, 9. 5. 2001; Delo, 19. 5. 2001; Delo, 2. 6. 2001; Družina, 14. 6. 2001). Taki strahovi se odražajo v mnenju psihologa dr. Huberta Požarnika, ki je menil, da se v primeru, če zakon na referendumu ne bo potrjen, obeta »najprej potrebno, zatem nepotrebno in še pozneje obvezno pomoč medicine pri oploditvi, končalo pa se bo z industrijskim popravljanjem in izdelovanjem človeških zarodkov ter trgovanjem z njimi« (Družina, 14. 6. 2001).

Teologi so se v analiziranih zapisih pridružili nasprotovanju predlogu zakona. Zdi se celo, da so bili v svojih interpretacijah še restriktivnejši, saj so v načelu nasprotovali uporabi reproduktivnih tehnologij, ki omogočajo spočetje tudi ko gre za pare, ter poudarjali, da ima že zarodek pravice. Po njihovem mnenju otrok ni pravica, temveč dar, spočet v ljubezni med očetom in materjo (Družina, 20. 5. 2001; Mag, 30. 5. 2001; Delo, 13. 6. 2001). Značilno je stališče profesorja na Teološki fakulteti, dr. Antona Mlinarja, da »je šele razmerje pogoj za otroka« in da »ni vsak človek poklican, da ima otroka, otrok pa ni zdravilo za nek položaj, temveč dar v medsebojni podaritvi zakoncev v odgovornem starševstvu oziroma zavestna odločitev na temelju ljubezni« (Delo, 13. 6. 2001).

Kljub navedenemu načelnemu nasprotovanju medicinske stroke predlogu zakona pa so bili tudi v medicinskih vrstah strokovnjaki, ki so podpirali predlog zakona (Večer, 9. 5. 2001; Delo, 25. 5. 2001; Gorenjski glas, 15. 6. 2001; Delo, 16. 6. 2001). Eden med njimi, dr. Aleksander Merlo, je poudaril, da so »plodne samske ženske še najmanj problem medicinske stroke. To je problem družbe, ki se mora odločiti, ali bo solidarna z manjšino in ki mora vedeti, da noben zakon ne more predvideti vseh okoliščin, ki botrujejo takšni odločitvi« (Delo, 14. 6. 2001). Zagovarjali so tudi bolj celostno definicijo zdravja, po besedah ginekologa dr. Primoža Reša namreč »zdravje ni le odsotnost bolezni, ampak tudi socialno in psihično blagostanje. Ta del stroke [nasprotniki zakona, op. avt.] se preveč strogo drži le medicinskega aspekta, treba se je vživeti v osebo, ki je kompleksna celota, ki ni le medicinsko, ampak tudi sociološko, psihološko bitje« (Gorenjski glas, 15. 6. 2001). Strokovnjakom iz medicinske stroke so se pridružili tudi številni humanisti in družboslovci ter poslanci strank ZLSD in LDS. Podporniki predloga zakona so tako pou-

13 V tem smislu je zanimiva teza, ki jo na primeru primerjalne analize regulacije postopkov za pomoč pri spočetju v različnih evropskih državah razvijata Langdridge in Blyth (2001), in sicer, da se vedno bolj uveljavlja predpostavka družboslovnih znanosti, da so za družino ključni medsebojni odnosi med družinskimi člani, kar je večinoma v nasprotju s predstavami oseb in organizacij, ki delujejo na področju nudenja in regulacije postopkov za pomoč pri spočetju. Primat na tem področju ima še vedno medicinska znanost, ne le pri njihovem izvajanju, temveč tudi z delovanjem v različnih etičnih in drugih komisijah, v katerih se odloča ne le o medicinskih, temveč tudi o drugih socialnih implikacijah teh postopkov.

14 Postopek za razpis naknadnega zakonodajnega referenduma so sprožili poslanci SDS, NSI, SNS, SLS-SKD in SMS.

darjali, da je materinstvo temeljna pravica vsake ženske (7D, 16. 5. 2001; Slovenske novice, 15. 6. 2001). Pri tem so se nekateri sklicevali na predpostavko, da naj bi bila želja po otroku legitimna in naravna (Slovenske novice, 15. 6. 2001) in poudarjali primarnost vezi med materjo in otrokom, saj naj bi že narava ustvarila razlike med moškim in žensko – zmožnost zanositve je namreč dana samo ženskam (Delo, 21. 4. 2001). Povedano z besedami predstavnice Odbora za svobodno odločanje, dr. Spomenke Hribar: »Po mojem mnenju pa je narava vendarle uredila neke stvari. Nosi in donosi ženska« (Večer, 26. 5. 2001). Ali pa mnenje sociologinje Mojce Dobnikar: »Nekatere razpravljavce moti, da bi pravica do umetne oploditve obstajala samo za samske ženske, za samske moške pa ne. Narava je tu pač ustvarila razliko med moškim in žensko. Toda če je narava prikrajšala moške, to ni nikakršen argument za to, da zdaj družba prikrajša ženske za medicinski poseg, ali da jih deli na telesno, čustveno, duševno ali socialno bolj in manj upravičene do takšnega posega« (Delo, 21. 4. 2001). Čeprav so po eni strani poudarjali, da je materinstvo pravica vseh žensk, so v podporo zakonu navajali tudi argument, da bo zakon zadeval le peščico samskih žensk, ki do otroka ne bodo mogle priti po drugi poti. Tedanji minister za zdravje, dr. Dušan Keber, je zapisal: »Prav je, da oploditev plodne ženske s pomočjo medicine ne vstopi v našo družbo skozi široko odprta vrata. Komisija, ki jo predvideva zakon in v kateri sodeluje strokovnjak s področja ginekologije, medicinske etike, psihologije, sociologije in prava, poleg tega pa še predstavnik urada varuha človekovih pravic, so ustrezno sito, ki naj ločuje utemeljene razloge od lahkotnih muh enodnevnic« (Delo, 21. 4. 2001). Šlo je celo za interpretacije, da gre pri možnosti umetne oploditve samskih žensk za »človeško stisko samske ženske, izzvano z naravnim hrepenenjem po otroku« (Ona, 29. 5. 2001).

Menili so tudi, da ni smiselno, da družbena večina odloča o manjšini na referendumu (Delo, 31. 5. 2001; Nedeljski dnevnik, 17. 6. 2001). Vendar naj referendum po njihovem mnenju ne bi zadeval le peščice državljanov, saj so poudarjali, da gre tudi za vprašanje državljanske solidarnosti in svobodo odločanja. Povedna je javna izjava Odbora za svobodno odločanje, v kateri so člani odbora med drugim tudi zapisali, da je »resnična vsebina referenduma osnovna civilizacijska pridobitev: svoboda odločanja«, in menili, da je »Slovenija danes dovolj pluralna in tolerantna, da se ji zaradi posluha za pravice manjšine ni treba bati za skupne vrednote, državljani in državljanke pa dovolj zreli in solidarni, da v svobodi drugega vidimo grožnje svoji svobodi« (Dnevnik, 12. 5. 2001). Podporniki zakona so poudarjali tudi dejstvo, da je za sodobne družbe značilna raznovrstnost družinskih oblik in da jedrna družina ni edini legitimni družinski model. Naj ponazorimo s primerom izjave Odbora za svobodno odločanje: »Zavračamo trditve predlagateljev referenduma, ki opredeljujejo vse enostarševske družine, ki so v sodobnih družbah le ena od oblik raznoterih družinskih skupnosti, za nesprejemljive. […] Otroci iz enostarševskih družin zaradi dejstva, da ne živijo v skupnosti z očetom, niso nič slabši. Enostarševska družina torej ni nenormalna, nekakovostna in otrokovim pravicam sovražna oblika preživljanja otroštva« (Jana, 29. 5. 2001; prim. na primer Mladina, 14. 5. 2001). Bolj kot samo strukturo (obliko) družine so podporniki zakona poudarjali pomen njene vsebine, saj naj bi družino sestavljali ljudje, ki se imajo radi, ne pa zakon ali heteroseksualnost. Nekateri strokovnjaki in novinarji so tudi menili, da rezultati referenduma ne bodo zadevali le samskih žensk, temveč tudi pare, saj naj bi se odločalo zlasti o tem, ali bo medicina končno dobila tehnične zmožnosti, da začne pomagati tudi njim (Mladina, 14. 5. 2001). Predstavnica ene od civilnodružbenih organizacij je v zvezi s tem povedala: »Ne obstaja samo ena plat morale. Nikoli ni nihče vprašal teh ubogih parov, kaj si oni želijo in zakaj so se odločili za biomedicinsko pomoč. Nihče jih ni vprašal, kako jim je, ko zaman trkajo na vrata domačih klinik, od katerih pričakujejo pomoč. Nihče ne razmišlja o čustvih ljudi brez otrok« (7D, 9. 5. 2001).

Po tem, ko so volivci na referendumu zavrnili predlagano novelo zakona o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo, se zdi, da se je »razkol« med podporniki in nasprotniki zakona nadaljeval. Tako podporniki kot zagovorniki zakona so govorili o nekakšnem »spopadu« med liberalnim / naprednim in konservativno / patriarhalnim / tradicionalnim / avtoritarnim pogledom na svet. Nasprotniki zakona so menili, da je referendum pokazal, da se ljudje v svojem odločanju ne ravnajo po strankarski pripadnosti zlasti takrat, ko gre za vprašanje temeljnih vrednot. Podporniki zakona so po drugi strani ocenjevali, da so zmagali neracionalni argumenti in da je šlo za zlorabo stroke in etičnih argumentov v politične namene. Ponovno so poudarjali dejstvo, da je o tovrstnih vprašanjih nesmiselno odločati na referendumu. Nekateri komentatorji so tudi menili, da ni šlo za poraz podpornikov zakona, saj se je referenduma udeležila le četrtina državljanov, kar naj bi kazalo na dejstvo, da ljudje nimajo interesa glasovati o zakonu, ki se jih v glavnem ne tiče (Delo, 18. 6. 2001; Delo, 19. 6. 2001; Slovenske novice, 19. 6. 2001; Dnevnik, 19. 6. 2001). Takratni minister za zdravje, dr. Dušan Keber, je izid referenduma komentiral takole: »Zagovorniki novele na podlagi glasovanja spoznavamo, da so dopolnitve zakona, ki omogočajo zdravljenje neplodnosti in postopke oploditve tudi ženski brez moškega partnerja, očitno zahtevale prevelik zasuk v tradicionalnih pogledih glasovalcev in glasovalk na sprejemljive oblike razmnoževanja, pa tudi življenja v skupnosti« (Delo, 19. 6. 2001).

Nove metode za neplodne pare (2002–2011)

Zdi se, da je medijska razprava o postopkih oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo po referendumu v veliki meri potihnila, oziroma se v veliko manjši meri prob-

lematizirajo družbene okoliščine, ki naj bi omogočale ali onemogočale dostop do tovrstnih postopkov (kot je bila v prejšnjem obdobju zlasti samskost ženske in v manjši meri istospolna usmerjenost), saj zapisi skoraj izključno govorijo o parih kot upravičencih do tovrstnih postopkov (izjeme na primer Nedelo, 7. 12. 2008; Večer, 7. 3. 2009). Kljub navajanju nekaterih bolj »liberalnih zakonodaj« in rezultatov posameznih študij, ki ugotavljajo, da otroci, ki jih vzgajajo samske ženske ali lezbijke, niso v ničemer prikrajšani glede na otroke iz dvostarševskih družin (Nedelo, 7. 12. 2008; Večer, 7. 3. 2009), pa stališče dobršnega dela medicinske stroke ostaja podobno kot že leta 2001, in sicer, povedano z besedami ginekologinje dr. Bojane Pinter, da je »pri nas ta oblika zdravljenja rezervirana samo za najhujše oblike neplodnosti parov, ko eden od partnerjev nima svojih spolnih celic. Želja po otroku ženske brez partnerja ali moškega brez partnerice pa ni medicinski problem neplodnosti […] Stanje brez partnerja ali partnerice pa ni bolezen in uporaba postopka v teh primerih je zloraba medicine« (Nedelo, 7. 12. 2008). Pisci besedil in strokovnjaki so v zapisih opozarjali, da pari na zdravljenje neplodnosti še vedno pogosto odhajajo v tujino. V Sloveniji namreč čakalne dobe ostajajo predolge, organizacija dela je slaba in nepregledna, financiranje nezadostno, premalo je tudi darovanih spolnih celic (Večer, 5. 2. 2004; Slovenske novice, 12. 10. 2004; Ona, 12. 7. 2005; Delo, 15. 11. 2005). Zlasti so bili na področju kot že prej dejavni civilnodružbeni akterji, leta 2007 se je razprava osredotočila predvsem na izjemno dolge čakalne dobe (Delo, 12. 3. 2007; Ona, 27. 3. 2007; Delo, 3. 4. 2007). Razprava je kritizirala tudi politični in zdravstveni (zavarovalniški) sistem, ki omejuje število poskusov umetne oploditve. Nekateri zapisi so poudarjali demografski vidik neplodnosti (Večer, 24. 11. 2005; Večer, 7. 3. 2009), saj se je na primer leta 2004 po besedah avtorja enega izmed člankov »3,7 odstotka novorojenih otrok rodilo s pomočjo umetne oploditve, to pa ni nezanemarljiv prispevek k višanju natalitete« (Večer, 24. 11. 2005). Ginekolog dr. Veljko Vlaisavljević je v zvezi s tem poudaril: »Demografski in ekonomski vidik neplodnosti je postal za Evropo, ki se stara in umira, pomembno vprašanje, in državam članicam je naloženo, da omogočijo večjo dostopnost do vseh oblik zdravljenja neplodnosti vsem, poročenim in neporočenim« (Večer, 7. 3. 2009). Kot že v prejšnjih obdobjih, so se tudi v zadnjem analiziranem desetletju pojavljali zapisi o velikih uspehih slovenske medicine na področju oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo tudi v svetovnem merilu in o razvoju novih tehnologij in postopkov na tem področju. Kot beremo v enem izmed zapisov, temu lahko pripišemo tudi dejstvo, da so »od začetkov razvoja metod zunajtelesne oploditve, ki jih je sprva zaradi nedostopnosti in skromne uspešnosti spremljal sloves izjemnosti in elitizma, v zadnjem dobrem desetletju metode za zdravljenje neplodnosti postale uspešnejše in primerljive z drugimi terapevtskimi postopki v medicini« (Delo, 7. 4. 2005). Pri tovrstnih novostih gre na primer za prvo rojstvo z darovano jajčno celico leta 2004, prvi primer zanositve z opravljeno gensko preiskavo zarodka pred zanositvijo leta 2005, raziskave na področju metabolizma in morfologije zarodka, raziskovanje matičnih celic, itn. (Večer, 5. 2. 2004; Dnevnik, 11. 10. 2004; Ona, 20. 12. 2005; Delo, 14. 10. 2010). Nadaljuje se tudi poročanje o vedno večjem številu neplodnih posameznikov in posameznic. Večinoma se je govorilo o naraščanju neplodnosti tako pri moških kot tudi pri ženskah (Nedelo, 3. 12. 2006; Ona, 27. 3. 2007); saj naj bi bilo prav »pozno odločanje za naraščaj pogost vzrok za težave, saj se plodna sposobnost z leti zmanjša tako pri moških kot pri ženskah« (Ona, 12. 7. 2005). Zgovorni so tudi deli člankov, povezani z na »ženske usmerjene« razloge za neplodnost. Povedano z enim izmed primerov: »Danes se ženske za materinstvo zelo pozno odločajo zaradi kariere, ker se skušajo vklopiti v okolje, ker skušajo biti enakopravne z moškimi« (Večer, 24. 11. 2005). Pisci besedil so kot že poprej opozarjali tudi na komercializacijo postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo, ki so jo označevali celo kot fertilnostni turizem (Nedeljski dnevnik, 25. 7. 2004; Večer, 18. 9. 2004; Nedelo, 7. 12. 2008).[15] Zlasti medicinski strokovnjaki (pri čemer ne vemo, kakšno je stališče strokovnjakov iz drugih disciplin, saj zapisov o njihovem mnenju o tem vprašanju ni v mapah) so nasprotovali trgovanju s spolnimi celicami in nadomestnemu materinstvu (Večer, 18. 9. 2004; Ona, 12. 7. 2005; Delo, 7. 9. 2006). Podobna mnenja so izražena tudi v zapisih, v katerih so strokovnjaki iz medicinskih vrst opozarjali, da so postopki oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo le pomoč naravi, oziroma da želijo strokovnjaki tovrstne postopke kar najbolj približati naravnemu spočetju (Delo, 27. 1. 2005; Delo, 7. 4. 2005; Ona, 12. 7. 2005; Večer, 7. 3. 2009). Kot je poudarila ena med strokovnjakinjami na tem področju, biologinja dr. Irma Virant Klun: »Kljub vsemu trudu in znanju smo samo pomočniki narave« (Delo, 27. 1. 2005). Novost v primerjavi s prejšnjimi obdobji so zapisi, ki opozarjajo na stigmo, ki jo v družbi povzroča neplodnost, in na fizične in psihične obremenitve, ki jih povzročajo postopki za zdravljenje neplodnosti oziroma postopki oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo (Ona, 12. 7. 2005; Ona, 27. 3. 2007; Dnevnik, 19. 11. 2011).

ZAKLJUČKI

Že bežen pregled člankov o oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo na Slovenskem v zadnjih treh desetletjih

15 Pojav fertilnostnega turizma je posledično postal tudi predmet raziskovalnega zanimanja. Primer takega raziskovanja je doktorska disertacija Eve-Marie Knoll z Univerze na Dunaju *Navigating Socio-technical and Moral Landscapes: Reproductive tourism in Europe* (2011). Vir je navedel anonimni recenzent prispevka.

pokaže, da število zapisov o tej tematiki z leti narašča. Če je bilo v prvem analiziranem obdobju (1983–1990) na to temo objavljenih (oziroma dokumentiranih) le deset člankov, je bilo že v drugem obdobju (1991–2000) objavljenih že nič pa vse do deset člankov letno. Seveda ni presenetljivo, da je bilo daleč največ zapisov o tej tematiki objavljenih (oziroma dokumentiranih) leta 2001, ko je bil izveden referendum o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo in je bila tema predmet intenzivne javne razprave. Takrat so članki poleg splošne mape *Umetna oploditev* shranjeni tudi v mapah *Referendum o zakonu OBMP* in *Referendum o zakonu OBMP – proti*, v katerih je kar 177 od skupaj 308 analiziranih člankov. Zdi se, da bi naraščanje števila člankov lahko pripisali zlasti razmahu reproduktivnih tehnologij, ki omogočajo oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo, in novim dosežkom, ki se na tem področju pojavljajo, manj pa na splošno povečanemu zanimanju medijev za to temo. To tezo podkrepi dejstvo, da se je več člankov pojavljalo na primer ob »pionirskih« dogodkih, kot so na primer rojstvo prvih dvojčic iz epruvete, prvo rojstvo z darovano jajčno celico, premikih v raziskovanju morfologije zarodka in matičnih celic, ipd.

Podrobnejša analiza gradiva je potrdila izhodiščno hipotezo, da so v medijskem poročanju o oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo najpogosteje zastopani glasovi medicinskih strokovnjakov. Izjema so dogajanja v času tik pred referendumom o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo, ko se v medijih pojavlja več različnih strokovnjakov. Prednjačijo zlasti glasovi strokovnjakov iz družboslovnih in humanističnih disciplin. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih pa so se pisci besedil sklicevali tudi na stališča različnih civilnodružbenih organizacij, ki se v Sloveniji ukvarjajo z neplodnostjo in rodnostjo. Potrdila se je tudi predpostavka, da se govor o oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo v večji meri kot na moške naslavlja na ženske kot primarno odgovorne za človeško reprodukcijo. Predvsem od devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja pa so vedno pogostejši zapisi, ki poudarjajo, da neplodnost ni le problem žensk, temveč je vedno bolj pogosta tudi pri moških. To težnjo v poročanju bi morda lahko pripisali razvoju novih postopkov v reproduktivni medicini, ki omogočajo zdravljenje neplodnosti tudi moških in ne le žensk. Posledično se zdi, da se povečuje družbena zaznava moške neplodnosti kot relevantne tematike. Toda kljub temu se govor o vzrokih neplodnosti v večji meri kot moške še vedno ukvarja z ženskami. Odlaganje rojstev (zlasti zaradi vedno večje izobraženosti žensk) in posledično vedno višja starost žensk ob rojstvu otroka se namreč v zapisih pojavlja kot eden izmed temeljnih vzrokov za njihovo naraščajočo neplodnost. Zdi se, da ti zapisi ženske posredno »svarijo«, naj ne odlagajo rojevanja. Analiza je tudi pokazala, da se tako v strokovnih kot v laičnih krogih pogosto pojavljajo interpretacije, da so tovrstne tehnologije »pomoč naravi«. Keržan (2008, 16) meni, da je to posledica dejstva, da so ideje reprodukcije, spolnosti, nosečnosti in rojstva v evropski kulturni perspektivi vedno umeščene v polje naravnega, čeprav so tehnologije v svojem temelju seveda stvar kulture.

Rezultati so potrdili tudi našo izhodiščno predpostavko, da se v govoru o družbeni sprejemljivosti in upravičenosti do postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo izražajo ideje o primerni sestavi nacionalnega prebivalstva in ideje o »primernih« starših in družinskih razmerjih, ki so določene zlasti po spolu, zakonskem stanu in/ali spolni usmerjenosti posameznika oziroma posameznice. Tak govor o postopkih oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo je prisoten zlasti v zadnjem analiziranem desetletju. Omenjenega dejstva najbrž ne smemo pripisati le referendumu o tem vprašanju iz leta 2001, temveč tudi dejstvu, da razvoj omenjenih tehnologij sproža vedno nova vprašanja, povezana z vprašanjem upravičenosti do obravnavanih postopkov. Posledično se zdi, da narašča tudi strokovni in laični interes za omenjena vprašanja. Kljub temu da je zlasti v zadnjih dveh desetletjih v tiskanih medijih mogoče zaznati tudi govor o zaskrbljujoče nizki stopnji rodnosti v Sloveniji,[16] pa je analiza pokazala, da se tudi v govoru o umetni oploditvi izražajo predstave o tem, kdo lahko ima otroka in katere oblike družinskih razmerij so družbeno nezaželene.

Podrobnejša analiza poročanja tiskanih medijev ob referendumu o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo leta 2001 je pokazala, da so se nasprotniki zakona sklicevali zlasti na naturalistično predpostavko, da t. i. naravno družino sestavljajo mati, oče in otroci. Zlasti se je pokazalo, kot je ugotovila tudi Mencin Čeplak (2005, 120), da so se dileme v zvezi z zakonom odprle prav zaradi možnosti uporabe postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo pri samskih ženskah, manj pa se je govorilo o drugih vidikih zakona. V tem smislu so nasprotniki zakona poudarjali zlasti pravico otroka, da pozna oba starša. Opozarjali so tudi, da izvajanje postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo pri samskih ženskah ni več zdravljenje v medicinskem smislu. Manj prisoten, a kljub temu zaznan je bil govor o tem, da bi možnost umetne oploditve samskih žensk omogočila naraščanje števila istospolno usmerjenih parov z otroki. Zdi se, da so nasprotniki zakona bolj kot vsebino družinskega življenja v svojih interpretacijah poudarjali družinsko strukturo: torej vlogo obeh staršev oziroma pomen jedrne družine. Redko, a vendarle, lahko zasledimo tudi spraševanje, kaj bi se v primeru, da dovolimo umetno oploditev samskih žensk, zgodilo s pravico moškega do otroka. Prav tako so nasprotniki predloga zakona nasprotovali uvozu spolnih celic in se pri tem sklicevali na pomanjkanje nadzora pri

16 O tem je za Slovenijo na primeru zapisov tiskanih medijev o rodnosti obširno pisala Duška Knežević Hočevar (2003a; 2003b; 2011).

tovrstnih postopkih. Na prvi pogled se sicer zdi, da so zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo nasprotovali predvsem strokovnjaki iz vrst medicine in teologije. Kljub temu je podrobnejša analiza pisanja o tej tematiki razkrila, da medicinska stroka v svojem nasprotovanju zakonu ni bila enotna, saj so se v medijih pojavljali, čeprav v manjšini, tudi glasovi zdravnikov, ki so jasno izrazili svojo podporo zakonu. Vendarle pa se zdi, da je bila medicinska (naravoslovna) stroka v svojem pogledu na postopke oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo do teh bolj zadržana, kot bi to lahko rekli za bolj družboslovno in humanistično usmerjene strokovnjake. Nemara ni toliko problematična sama zadržanost do tovrstnih tehnologij, temveč bolj dejstvo, če se navežemo na ugotovitev Keržana (2008, 248), da so pogosto izražali svoja stališča glede samskih žensk, družine in družinskih razmerij ter istospolno usmerjenih, ki so bolj kot na znanstvenih ugotovitvah temeljila na njihovem moralnem prepričanju. Po drugi strani je bil temeljni argument podpornikov zakona, da je imeti otroka temeljna človeška pravica vsake ženske. Pri tem so, paradoksalno, pogosto poudarjali prav primarnost, celo naravnost vezi med materjo in otrokom ter želje žensk po otroku in s tem naturalizirali reprodukcijo (Keržan, 2008, 251). Še več, zdi se, da so tako posredno sprejeli in okrepili zanje sicer problematično predpostavko o centralni vlogi žensk v reprodukciji.

V pisanju o oploditvah z biomedicinsko pomočjo po referendumu leta 2001 se v medijskih zapisih vedno bolj pogosto pojavlja pisanje o komercializaciji teh postopkov, pomanjkanju darovalcev, etičnih vidikih teh tehnologij in vprašanju financiranja postopkov. V tem obdobju zasledimo mnogo manj problematiziranja družbenih okoliščin, od katerih je odvisen dostop do teh postopkov (kot so na primer samskost, istospolna usmerjenost), saj se kot »enota zdravljenja« skoraj izključno omenja par. Zdi se, da je v zadnjem desetletju v tiskanih medijih manj zapisov o vprašanjih in dilemah, ki jih je v strokovni in laični javnosti odprl referendum o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo.

Bistvo problematične razmejitve med medicinskimi postopki zdravljenja in družbeno upravičenostjo posameznih skupin prebivalstva do postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo je nemara zajeto prav v interpretaciji Hrženjak (2001, 109), ki zapiše: »Če dostop do postopkov umetne oploditve ni odvisen od plodnosti ali neplodnosti, temveč od zakonskega stanu, potem to ni več strokovno medicinsko vprašanje, pač pa je ideološko vprašanje družbenih vrednot.« Prav to so v besedilu, ki je nastalo po referendumu o zakonu o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo, posredno priznali tudi nasprotniki tega zakona: »Kot se je izkazalo, predlagatelji novele [zakona o zdravljenju neplodnosti in oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo, op. avt.] niso imeli strokovnih podlag, zato je šlo očitno za nekatere druge stvari: ali bo v Sloveniji ostala dvostarševska družina ena temeljnih vrednot ali pa bomo začeli uvajati vrednoto enostarševske družine, kjer ne bo znano, kdo je oče otroka, ali morda celo za vzgojo otroka v istospolnih zvezah. Šlo je za to, ali bo Slovenija ena prvih držav na svetu, ki bo brez primernih nadzornih mehanizmov dovoljevala posege v spočetje človekovega življenja, in ne nazadnje: šlo je tudi za to, ali lahko politična elita s svojo močjo potepta strokovne argumente in voljo ljudi. Šlo je torej predvsem za vrednote« (Zajec idr., 2001, 276). Vsakršna podobnost z argumentacijo in s postopki, ki so vodili v nedavni referendum o družinskem zakoniku, verjetno ni naključna.

HELPING “NATURE”? PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON MEDICALLY ASSISTED REPRODUCTION IN PRINT MEDIA

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SUMMARY

Especially in the last three decades we are witnessing a massive development of those reproductive technologies which have separated human reproduction from the sexual act. Such technologies have significantly altered »traditional« understandings of family relations, kinship ties, parenthood and medical treatment procedures. First, we study the creation of the concept of the national population in Europe at the beginning of 19th century. In relation to this topic, the increasing importance of scientific disciplines which are supposedly »properly equipped« to study the movement and health of national populations is emphasised. We point to the main theoretical frameworks for studying such new reproductive technologies developed in the social sciences and humanities. The focus is especially on the contributions of feminist theory and gender studies. Following this, we analyse the talk of the mass media about in vitro and artificial

insemination using the example of the printed press media. Writing about this topic is linked to the socio-political context that determined also the content of press reports. The material analysis has demonstrated that experts from medicine are most often represented in media reports about in vitro and artificial insemination. Exceptions in this regard are the events before the referendum about the Infertility treatment and procedures of biomedically-assisted procreation act, when a greater variety of experts talking about this subject could be observed in the press media reports. It was also found that talk about in vitro and artificial insemination is addressed more to women than men, as women are viewed as primarily responsible for human reproduction. The results have also shown that in the talk about the social acceptability and entitlement to procedures of in vitro and artificial insemination, ideas about the appropriate composition of the national population and ideologies about »in/appropriate« parents and family relations, determined by gender, marital status and/or sexual orientation of the individual can be observed.

KEY WORDS: reproductive technologies, artificial insemination, *in vitro* and artificial insemination, gender studies, feminist theory, mass media, Slovenia

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HETERONORMATIVNOST IN REGULACIJE RODNOSTI

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek izhaja iz Foucaultove teze o regulaciji seksualnosti kot eni ključnih strategij biopolitike. Analizira vlogo heteronormativnosti v populacijskih politikah ter v raziskovanju izvorov spolnih razlik in spolne usmerjenosti. Vir empiričnih podatkov za Slovenijo so politične razprave o rodnosti in pravni regulaciji pravic na področju družinskih in partnerskih razmerij ter pravic, povezanih z nosečnostjo, za analizo heteronormativnosti v znanstvenem raziskovanju pa odmevne raziskave na področju genetike, ki izhajajo iz predpostavke o bioloških izvorih (isto)spolne usmerjenosti. Analiza potrjuje predpostavko, da je skladnost vedenja z vladajočimi spolnimi in seksualnimi normami ter s tem povezanimi hierarhijami eden od ključnih kriterijev za regulacijo dostopa do ugodnosti in pravic, ki jih zagotavlja oziroma jamči država, vrsta raziskav na področju medicine in genetike (npr. odkritje genoma) pa opravičuje diskriminatorno regulacijo in (vsaj implicitno) tudi potencialno razraščanje evgeničnih praks..

KLJUČNE BESEDE: istospolna usmerjenost, heteronormativnost, enakost, diskriminacija, genetika, evgenika, svoboda izbire

ETERONORMATIVITÀ E REGOLAZIONE DELLA FERTILITÀ

SINTESI

Il contributo prende le mosse dalla tesi di Foucault sulla regolazione della sessualità come una delle strategie chiave della biopolitica. Esso analizza il ruolo della eteronormatività nelle politiche demografiche e nella ricerca delle origini delle differenze di genere e degli orientamenti sessuali. I dati empirici per la Slovenia sono tratti dai dibattiti politici sulla natalità e sul regolamento giuridico dei diritti nel campo dei rapporti familiari e di coppia, e in quello dei diritti legati alla gravidanza; per l'analisi dell'eteronormatività nella ricerca scientifica si fa riferimento invece alle ricerche di successo nel campo della genetica che presuppongono le origini biologiche dell'orientamento (omo) sessuale. L'analisi conferma l'ipotesi che il conformismo comportamentale è con i generi dominanti, con le norme sessuali e le gerarchie ad essi legate, uno dei criteri chiave per la regolazione dell'accesso ai vantaggi e ai diritti assicurati ovvero garantiti dallo Stato; e mostra che alcune ricerche nel settore della medicina e della genetica (ad es. la scoperta del genoma umano) giustificano la regolazione discriminatoria e (almeno implicitamente) anche la potenziale crescita delle prassi eugenetiche.

PAROLE CHIAVE: orientamento verso lo stesso sesso, eteronormatività, uguaglianza, discriminazione, genetica, eugenetica, libertà di scelta

UVOD

Prispevek izhaja iz Foucaultove teorije biopolitike, katere privilegiran objekt je seksualnost.

Seksualnost je namreč v »križišču telesa in populacije« (Foucault, 2007, 99), zato je v zahodnem svetu vse od konca 18. stoletja, ko je objekt vladanja postala populacija, tudi objekt discipliniranja in regulacije. Ker je seksualnost povezana z biološko reprodukcijo in s tem povezanimi tveganji reprodukcije bolezni, motenj ter drugih telesnih in duševnih hib, postane privilegiran objekt medicinskega nadzorovanja, preiskovanja in upravljanja, osnovna enota in cilj aparatov za korigiranje ali usposabljanje pa ostaja individuum (Foucault, 2000, 2007). V imenu skrbi za »kvaliteto« populacije se še posebno pazljivo nadzoruje in preiskuje seksualnost vseh, ki naj bi jo ogrožali. V zadnjih dveh stoletjih so vednosti o človeškem telesu in duševnosti iznašle vrsto oznak za seksualne prakse, ki naj bi ogrožale kvaliteto populacije, npr. »oznake ‚moralne norosti', ‚genitalne nevroze', ‚odklona od plodilne smeri', ‚izroditve' ali ‚psihične neuravnoteženosti'« (Foucault, 2000, 44). *Izroditev* in nevarnost *izroditve* odtlej opravičujeta različne posege v telo in dušo ter različne oblike regulacije razmnoževanja – v imenu kvalitete populacije, v imenu svobode izbire in človekovih pravic ali v imenu obojega.

Namen pričujočega prispevka je opozoriti na kompleksno povezavo med nacionalističnimi, patriarhalnimi, heteronormativnimi in biologističnimi predpostavkami populacijskih politik, ki uveljavljajo in utrjujejo spolne in seksualne norme ter hkrati služijo za podlago zakonske regulacije pravic, povezanih z biološko in kulturno reprodukcijo prebivalstva. Prispevek namenja osrednjo pozornost heteronormativnosti teh regulacij, pri tem pa izhaja iz teze, da se diskriminacijske prakse, povezane s spolno usmerjenostjo, spolom in nacionalnostjo, vsaj implicitno utemeljujejo na skupni predpostavki: na predpostavki o genskih, bioloških izvorih spolne usmerjenosti, spolnih in nacionalnih razlik. Kako razširjena in nevarna je ta predpostavka, dokazujemo z analizo najodmevnejših genskih raziskav (isto)spolne usmerjenosti; nekatere med njimi namreč nedvoumno zagovarjajo evgenične prakse, ki naj bi ščitile vladajoči red, utemeljen na spolnem binarizmu in heteroseksualnosti. V tem kontekstu obširneje analiziramo primer Slovenije: pravno regulacijo pravic, povezanih z nosečnostjo, družinskimi in partnerskimi razmerji, ter politično argumentacijo neenakosti, še posebno diskriminacije gejev in lezbijk. Pri tem se omejujemo predvsem na politične razprave ob obravnavi predloga populacijske politike l. 1989, zakona o oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo in zdravljenju neplodnosti ter predlogov za zakonsko ureditev istospolnih partnerskih in družinskih skupnosti.

SPOL, SEKSUALNOST IN NACIONALNA OGROŽENOST

Kot analizira Foucault (2000), je buržoazija v 18. stoletju seksualnost postavila v središče skrbi za lastno telo, dolgo življenje in zdravo potomstvo, s čimer naj bi si zagotovila in ohranila vrednost, prednost in premoč pred drugimi razredi. Konec 19. stoletja je nadzor razširila na nižje sloje, da bi omejila širjenje nalezljivih bolezni in zadovoljila potrebe, ki izhajajo iz ekonomskih nujnosti (potrebe po sposobni, zdravi delovni sili in regulaciji rodnosti). Tako razširitev nadzora je omogočila nova tehnologija vladanja z razvejano mrežo institucij. Vendar se je razlikovanje med razredi ohranilo – strogost in načini izvajanja prepovedi namreč niso bili za vse razrede enaki. Pri uveljavljanju kriterijev razlikovanja in praks, ki naj bi zagotovile kvalitetno reprodukcijo, pri vzdrževanju »normalnosti« in »zmernosti« ter uveljavljanju teh norm med drugimi razredi je buržoaziji pomagal nacionalizem – kot »verjetno najmočnejša in najučinkovitejša ideologija moderne dobe« (Mosse, 2005, 21). Nacionalizem, zagovornik spodobnosti, je namreč prilagodljiv in sprejemljiv za vse: »Nacionalnost in spodobnost sta vsakomur pripisali njegovo mesto v življenju, moškemu in ženski, normalnemu in nenormalnemu, domačinu in tujcu; vsakršna nejasnost med temi kategorijami je grozila, da bo povzročila kaos in izgubo nadzora.« (Prav tam, 30–31).

Kot prepričljivo analizirata Foucault in Mosse, pozneje pa tudi Yuvall-Davis (1997), se nacionalizmi tesno navezujejo na spolne in seksualne dihotomije in hierarhije. Spogledujejo se namreč s tezama o obstoju ras in biološki reprodukciji naroda ali *zgolj* opozarjajo na nepremostljive oz. nezdružljive kulturne razlike, pri čemer kulturo dejansko obravnavajo kot »raso« – kultura je zgolj drugo ime za »raso«. T. i. populacijske politike so ključni element »biopolitike človeške vrste«, kot Foucault (2007) označuje regulacijske sisteme, katerih cilj je kontrola mehanizmov, ki podpirajo biološke procese in organizacijo oblasti nad življenjem ter telo podrejajo normam, koristnim za ekonomske načine produkcije in državo. Njihov cilj je uravnavanje biološke (in vsaj prikrito tudi ideološke) reprodukcije oziroma številčnosti in *kvalitete* prebivalstva na ozemlju države ali na ozemlju, ki ga naseljuje določena etnija.

Najradikalnejši program upravljanja populacije, katerega privilegiran objekt je biološka reprodukcija, se je razvil pod nacizmom – državno vodena evgenika. Vendar vprašanje *zaslužnosti* zaposluje tudi manj radikalne programe upravljanja populacije. Gre za vprašanja, katere ženske so vredne materinstva, koliko, kdaj, pod kakšnimi pogoji in komu ali za koga naj rojevajo; kateri/kakšni otroci naj se rodijo in rojstvo katerih bi bilo ekonomično preprečiti. Država regulira populacijo z (ne) dostopnostjo kontracepcije, abortusa in medicinske pomoči pri reprodukciji; s programi prenatalnih genskih preiskav in »prostovoljne« selekcije zarodkov; z neprostovoljno sterilizacijo telesno in duševno hendikepira-

nih, deprivilegiranih etničnih skupin in brezdomnih; posredno s selektivnim sistemom otroških dodatkov in družinskih prejemkov oz. s celotnim sistemom socialnega varstva in zaposlovanja. S prikrito ali odkrito selektivnostjo nagrajuje zaželene potencialne roditelje in skrbnike, torej tiste, ki si *zaslužijo* starševsko vlogo, in diskriminira tiste, ki jih odkrito ali prikrito označi za nevredne (biološkega in socialnega) starševstva – ker naj bi bili nevarni otrokom, narodu[1] ali državi. Državljanstvo je prvi kriterij omejevanja pravic, objekt populacijskih politik in praks pa so praviloma ženske. Ne izvaja jih samo država; analize Yuval-Davis (1997) npr. opozarjajo na prakse farmacevtske industrije, ki »prostovoljke« za preizkušanje novih kontracepcijskih sredstev izbira med marginaliziranimi.

S strategijami populacijske politike država nadzoruje in disciplinira. Objekt nadzora in discipliniranja so predvsem ženske, ker je v prevladujoči delitvi dela vzgoja, ki je neločljivo povezana z vsakdanjo skrbjo za otroka, predvsem dolžnost žensk. Ženske so ključni člen v ideološki reprodukciji, torej tudi v reprodukciji ideologije, ki obstoječi red in gospostvena razmerja interpretira kot posledico naravnih razlik in zaslužnosti. Zato ne preseneča, da prav politična gibanja, ki poskušajo politično hegemonijo vzpostaviti s sklicevanjem na ogroženost skupine oz. kolektiva (»rase«, naroda/etnije, države, civilizacije, kulture, religije), praviloma opozarjajo (tudi) na nevarnosti, ki da ogrožajo »njihove« ženske in preko njih célo »skupnost«; za nevarne npr. razglašajo ideje in prakse emancipacije, liberalno zakonodajo, »tuje« moške (gl. Spike Peterson, 1999). Pri tem se sklicujejo na biološke razlike oz. značilnosti – neenakosti in diskriminacije izpeljujejo iz anatomije in jih s tem depolitizirajo. Uspeh te strategije temelji na dejstvu, da so prav spolne razlike najbolj naturalizirane razlike, zaradi česar strukturirajo vse druge hierarhije. Posledica tega je tudi samoumevna heteronormativnost: proizvaja in reproducira jo samoumevnost nenehnega opredeljevanja glede spola, samoumevna spolna obeleženost vsake identitete.

Feministične avtorice (npr. Elshtain, 1991; Kandiyoti, 1991; Pettman, 1992; Spike Peterson, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 1997) analizirajo, kako ženske, obravnavane kot prenašalke kulture, označujejo skupinsko/skupnostno identiteto. Ženska označuje meje nacionalne identitete, je nosilka odgovornosti za reprodukcijo skupine in varuhinja kulturnega partikularizma. Kot metafora za nacijo so ženske objekt pritiskov, nadzora in hkrati zlorab, nasilja, zapeljevanja »drugih« moških. Metafora ženske kot nacije (ki se je razvila iz personifikacije narave kot ženske) deluje le, če je zamišljeno telo, torej ženska, razumljeno kot (heteroseksualno) rodovitno, opozarja Spike Peterson (1999, 48). Domovina je žensko telo in tako vselej v nevarnosti zaradi možnosti tujih vdorov – tujih moških/tuje sperme. Moški, ki ne morejo ubraniti svojih žensk/naroda, izgubijo pravico do tega telesa, do tega naroda – takó posilstvo postane metafora za nacionalno ponižanje oz. ponižanje države. Posilstvo kot družbena strategija je neposredno povezano z rigidnima dihotomijama moško – žensko ter mi – drugi; dominacijo prvega nad drugim opravičuje domnevna grožnja s strani drugega. Spolne ideologije, opozarja Chatterjee (1989, v Spike Peterson, 1999, 50), pa hkrati služijo tudi kot opravičilo za »civilizacijske misije« kolonialnih sil, ki naj bi ženske rešile izpod tiranije njihovih lastnih moških; še več, položaj žensk v koloniziranih deželah kolonizatorji implicitno obravnavajo (zlorabljajo) kot znak represivnosti celotne kulturne tradicije in s tem dodatno opravičujejo kolonizacijo.

Zaradi vsega tega ne preseneča, da nacionalistične ideologije tako radikalno zavračajo emancipacijo žensk, predvsem ko se razširi na področje (biološke) reprodukcije; da vztrajajo pri taki normativni ureditvi družine, ki podpira patriarhalna razmerja; da problematizirajo državno podporo enostarševskim družinam ter ostro nasprotujejo pravnemu in simbolnemu izenačevanju istospolnih in raznospolnih partnerstev in starševstev. Heterospolna družina namreč velja za ključno mesto konstrukcije moških in ženskih identitet, družbenih procesov, ki konstruirajo spolno obeležene identitete in skoraj ne dopuščajo spolne nevtralnosti. Zato se tudi istospolna partnerstva v najboljšem primeru obravnavajo zgolj kot izjema, ki si (v najboljšem primeru) zasluži toleranten odnos. Istospolna usmerjenost torej ne velja za problematično samo zato, ker ogroža tradicionalne norme moškosti in dominacijo moškosti, ali zato, ker se ji pripisuje neproduktivna seksualnost, s čimer naj bi ogrožala biološko reprodukcijo (naroda in človeštva nasploh).[2] Za problematično velja predvsem zato, ker zanika »naravne« (biološke) temelje družbene delitve dela in ker nasprotuje nekakšnemu naravnemu načrtu in na njem utemeljeni morali.

Človeško bitje v procese reprodukcije in naturalizacije binarnih spolnih identitet ter heteronormativnega simbolnega reda praviloma vpelje družina, zato je – podobno kot šola – vselej v središču ideoloških/političnih bojev. V bojih za enakost ne glede na spolno usmerjenost so prav izobraževalni programi ter zakonsko in vrednostno izenačevanje različnih oblik partnerskih in družinskih skupnosti tarča najbolj zagrizenih nasprotovanj. V Sloveniji so bili javnega zgražanja deležni predlogi za izenačitev pravnega statusa istospolnih in raznospolnih partnerstev

1 V zvezi s tem je indikativna izjava člana skupine za davčno reformo vladnega odbora za reforme v vladi J. Janše (2004–2008), ki je javno zagovarjal obdavčitev »Neslovencev«: »… dejstvo je, da če govorimo o tem, da izumiramo, in če je eden od glavnih ciljev povečanje natalitete, potem bi morali biti po tej logiki seveda obdavčeni tudi oni, ne glede na to, ali imajo otroke ali ne. In sicer zato, da bi bil delodajalec motiviran, da zaposli Slovenca« (*Mladina*, 7. 3. 2005).

2 Bobrowa in Baileyja na primer homoseksualnost bega, ker se ne ujema z evolucijsko teorijo (2001, 1). Sprašujeta se, kako to, da je homoseksualnost tako vztrajna, če pa »drastično znižuje rodnost«. To je po njunem paradoks evolucijske teorije, ki zahteva pojasnilo.

in družin; zakonski predlog, ki bi oploditev z biomedicinsko pomočjo omogočil tudi ženskam, ki nimajo moškega partnerja; izobraževalni programi in akcije, katerih cilj je dekonstrukcija spolnih binarizmov, spolnih in seksualnih hierarhij (npr. zloženka »Spolnost in AIDS«, programi Amnesty International na šolah). Predmet najbolj radikalnih napadov ni le izenačevanje v pravicah, ampak predvsem simbolno izenačevanje, ki istospolnim parom, enostarševskim in istospolnim družinam priznava enakovrednost z raznospolnimi. Zgodovina samostojne Slovenije je eden od mnogih primerov nacionalnih držav, ki so nastajale ob tesni podpori nacionalističnih pronatalitetnih politik, ki jih ne skrbi nizka nataliteta kar tako, ampak nizka nataliteta tistih, ki veljajo za vredne (prim. Jalušič, 2002; Knežević Hočevar, 2011). Take politike se nevarno spogledujejo z rasističnimi predpostavkami o biološki reprodukciji naroda.

SLOVENIJA: PATOLOGIZACIJA ISTOSPOLNE USMERJENOSTI

V Sloveniji je mesto vladajoče ideologije že pred večstrankarskimi volitvami leta 1990 zasedla ideologija nacionalne ogroženosti, ki geje in lezbijke obravnava kot neproduktivne, nemoralne, patološke izrodke. Ti naj bi podobno kot »karieristične« ženske, (velikim) družinam nenaklonjena država, priseljenke in priseljenci ogrožali biološko in kulturno reprodukcijo Slovenk in Slovencev. Gre za ideologijo, ki se širi z odkrito sovražnim govorom v parlamentu, z na videz nevtralnim sklicevanjem na znanost, pa tudi s »toleranco«, s kakršno njeni pristaši deklarativno pristajajo na načela demokratične družbe (Združenje za demokratizacijo javnih glasil, 1993; pismo poslanske skupine SLS, 2004) in hkrati opozarjajo, da je istospolni usmerjenosti treba postaviti jasne moralne in zakonske omejitve, tako da bi tiste, ki jo prakticirajo, tiste, ki čutijo erotična nagnjenja do oseb istega spola, in tiste, ki zagovarjajo enakost (in »enakovrednost«) ne glede na spolno usmerjenost, spremljalo vsaj nelagodje.

> *[…] istospolna partnerstva nimajo posebnega družbenega pomena in jih ne kaže pospeševati. So zgolj nekaj, kar obstaja in je prav, da vsaka družba tolerira, zato jih zakon lahko le zgolj ureja ali omejuje. (*Pismo poslanske skupine SLS, 2004.*)*

Enaka obravnava gejev in lezbijk, samskih žensk in žensk v paru z moškim v postopkih oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo ter enaka obravnava istospolnih in heterospolnih partnerstev in družin v družinski zakonodaji bi slej ko prej vplivala na spreminjanje družbenih norm, na odnos do spola, spolnih delitev in spolnih razlik ter na zmanjšanje nelagodja zaradi istospolne usmerjenosti. Zagovorniki družbenega reda, utemeljenega na spolni dihotomiji in heteroseksualnosti, to razumejo kot spodbujanje širjenja homoseksualnosti; zakonsko neenakost gejev in lezbijk, istospolnih partnerstev in družin torej razumejo kot legitimno strategijo ohranjanja obstoječega družbenega reda. Sredi osemdesetih je emancipacijskemu gibanju diskriminacijo zaradi spolne usmerjenosti (ki jo je Slovenija dekriminalizirala leta 1977) uspelo vzpostaviti kot relevantno politično vprašanje, torej kot problem neenakosti in kot kršenje človekovih pravic. V zgodovini samostojne Slovenije pa politične razprave o pravicah gejev in lezbijk vselej znova patologizirajo istospolno usmerjenost in celo – bolj ali manj odkrito – obujajo fantazme iz obdobja najhujšega preganjanja (zgodovinski pregled emancipacijskih bojev in reakcij gl. Velikonja /ur./, 2004; Mencin Čeplak in Kuhar, 2010; Velikonja, 2011). Te razprave združujejo, običajno sicer nekonsistentno, ideje o biološki reprodukciji naroda in biološki reprodukciji kot moralni dolžnosti Slovenk in Slovencev, o nevarnostih degeneracije in celo ideje o propadu naroda zaradi nizke rodnosti in/ali kršenja seksualnih in spolnih norm.

Vzorčni primer izjave, ki združuje ključne obsodbe na račun gejev in lezbijk (povzema in interpretira pa jih večina analiz diskurzov o istospolni usmerjenosti v Sloveniji), je že omenjena izjava Združenja za demokratizacijo javnih glasil, ki sta jo podpisala njegov predsednik A. Dolenc (dr. medicine) in tajnik V. Vodopivec (Delo, 29. 5. 1993). V obtožbi na račun Ministrstva za šolstvo in šport, ki je podprlo zgibanko »Spolnost in AIDS«, kjer je bila objavljena fotografija skupine golih moških, so med drugim zapisali:

> *Nenaravne oblike spolnosti, kjer gre velikokrat tudi za zlorabe, pa so pretežno lastnosti spolno drugače usmerjenih ljudi, ki jih je sicer treba tolerirati in so poleg tega upravičeni do ustreznega zdravljenja. Gre za ljudi, ki so izrodek družbe, saj v nobenem primeru s svojimi oblikami spolnosti ne morejo imeti potomcev, torej so že v prvi generaciji obsojeni na izumrtje in so mrtva veja na živem drevesu življenja. V kolikor imajo potomce iz svojih normalnih spolnih odnosov in svoje otroke navajajo na spolne perverznosti, pa so krivi zlorabe svojih lastnih otrok na najobčutljivejšem področju.*

Ta izjava združuje predpostavko o naravni heteroseksualnosti, nenaravni in/ali bolezenski homoseksualnosti, predpostavko o genskih vzrokih homoseksualnosti in evolucionistično predpostavko o modrem naravnem načrtu, ki da je poskrbel, da se »njihova vrsta« ne more

3 Manj radikalna, vendar še vedno izredno (strokovno in politično) sporna je ocena vodje psihologov v republiškem štabu za teritorialno obrambo leta 1993, češ da je »tovrstna spolna usmerjenost pogosto povezana z nekimi drugimi nevrotičnimi ali emocionalnimi motnjami. Konkretno je homoseksualnost pogosto povezana z uživanjem mamil in se kaže v posebnih oblikah obnašanja. Na sestanku psihologov smo ta problem preučili in enotno mnenje je bilo, da sicer v naši vojski ne zagovarjamo homoseksualnosti, tega pa posebej tudi ne preprečujemo. Verjetno z razvitostjo pridejo tudi deviantni pojavi: mamila, homoseksualnost« (Večer, 28. 2. 1993).

nadaljevati. Hkrati vpelje obrat, ki »nenormalno«, »bolezensko« prevede v »nemoralno«[3] in »spolno drugače usmerjene ljudi« dokaj nedvoumno obtožuje moralne izprijenosti oz. nagnjenosti k zlorabam. Ali to pomeni, da so geji in lezbijke izrodek družbe v biološkem, kulturnem in moralnem pomenu? Naj bi bili geji in lezbijke k spolnim zlorabam nagnjeni »po naravi«, zaradi »bolezni«, »okvar«, torej zaradi biološke (prirojene?) značilnosti ali istega patološkega biološkega procesa kot sama istospolna usmerjenost? Ali pa naj bi bili k zlorabam nagnjeni zgolj tisti, ki prakticirajo istospolno seksualnost? Ali je zloraba že sama istospolna seksualna praksa? Tudi sicer v obtožbah na račun istospolne usmerjenosti mrgoli kontradikcij; tako kot vsi predsodki so tudi predsodki do istospolne usmerjenosti, gejev in lezbijk polni logičnih nasprotij in nesmislov, a prav zato neizčrpen vir priročnih »argumentov« proti enakosti. Zakaj naj bi bil npr. govor o istospolni usmerjenosti nevaren, če je njen izvor biološki? Ker je »bolezen«, ki jo sicer povzroča »narava«, širi pa se z govorom?

Zgornja izjava je nekakšno nadaljevanje razprav o nizki rodnosti v Sloveniji, ki so dobile zalet sredi osemdesetih ter se tik pred večstrankarskimi volitvami in takoj po njih zgostile v nasprotovanju pravici do abortusa ter obtoževanju liberalne zakonodaje, feminističnih gibanj in feministk, pripadnic in pripadnikov drugih narodov SFRJ za »izumiranje« slovenskega naroda. Z zaostrovanjem političnih (strankarskih) bojev se je konec osemdesetih krepil družbeni vpliv »nacionalne inteligence«, z njim pa nacionalizem in tradicionalizem (gl. Mastnak, 1992). Rodnost Slovenk in predlogi za omejevanje reproduktivnih pravic so postali ena osrednjih političnih tem. Uradni dokument, ki je populacijsko politiko promoviral kot polje političnih bojev, je bilo delovno gradivo *Podlage prebivalstvene politike v SR Sloveniji* (september 1989). Ohranitev »narodove identitete« in »stabilizacija našega prebivalstva« je dokument opredelil kot ključna cilja populacijske politike (Podlage prebivalstvene politike v SR Sloveniji, 1989, 9). Hkrati je pozval k oblikovanju migracijske politike, ki bi bila usklajena s prebivalstveno, da ukrepi, ki bi povečali »stopnjo reprodukcije slovenskega prebivalstva«, ne bi vodili »v intenzivne imigracije« ter v priseljevanje nekvalificiranih in neizobraženih iz drugih republik in tujine (prav tam, 24); populacijska politika naj bi torej stimulirala rodnost Slovenk in Slovencev in hkrati destimulirala priseljevanje (predvsem manj izobraženih). Dokument je bil zaradi etnocentrizma in patriarhalnosti deležen ostrih kritik predvsem v tednikih *Mladina* in *Teleks* (gl. Knežević Hočevar, 2003, 2011). Po drugi strani pa je služil kot vir argumentov za omejevanje pravice do abortusa, stimuliranje velikih družin in restriktivno politiko priseljevanja.[4]

Istospolno usmerjenost so v kontekstu biološke in družbene reprodukcije v slovenskem parlamentu prvič obravnavali deset let pozneje, leta 2001 v razpravah o noveli *Zakona o oploditvi z biomedicinsko pomočjo in zdravljenju neplodnosti* (v nadaljevanju OBMP). Novela je namreč predvidela možnost oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo tudi za samske ženske oz. ženske, ki niso v paru z moškim. Nasprotniki novele so poskrbeli za široko »javno razpravo« o pravici otroka do obeh staršev in škodi, ki da jo otrokom povzročajo čustveno oškodovane samske matere in matere lezbijke (gl. zapis 5. in 7. seje Državnega zbora, 2001; Hrženjak, 2001; Lesbo, 2002; Mencin Čeplak, 2005; Cukut Krilić, 2013). Nasprotniki novele so patologizirali samske ženske, se sklicevali na otrokovo dobro ter na idealizirano podobo družine kot skupnosti moškega in ženske in njunih bioloških otrok: otrok potrebuje mater in očeta, nihče nima pravice otroku odvzeti očeta, otrok ni pravica ženske; nevarno in družbeno ter politično neodgovorno je ženskam samim prepustiti vzgojo otrok, med drugim tudi zato, ker da producirajo nekvalitetne otroke, kot je izjavila poslanka, predsednica odbora Državnega zbora za zdravstvo, delo, družino in socialno politiko (sicer pediatrinja) (Delo, 1. 7. 2000, 7). Ker je Državni zbor kljub temu sprejel novelo, ki bi tudi samskim ženskam ne glede na njihovo spolno usmerjenost zagotovila dostop do postopkov oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo, so nasprotniki izsilili naknadni zakonodajni referendum, ki je ob 35-odstotni volilni udeležbi novelo zavrnil. Idealizirana/ideologizirana podoba srečne dvostarševske heteroseksualne družine je tako preglasila racionalne argumente, ki so se sklicevali na načelo enakosti in opozarjali, da nobena družinska struktura in noben zakon nobenemu otroku ne moreta zagotoviti sreče ter da novela zakona nobenemu otroku ne krati pravice do očeta.

V patriarhalni ideologiji so enostarševske in lezbične družine »problem« same po sebi – že s svojim obstojem rušijo družbeni red, utemeljen na binarnih spolnih delitvah, heteroseksualnosti in hierarhijah, vezanih na spol. Ni sporno to, da v prevladujoči spolni delitvi dela predvsem ženske skrbijo za otroke; problem je, če zanje skrbijo brez nadzora moških, predvsem pa to, da skrbijo tudi še za vse drugo in s tem na otroke širijo nedopustno ideologijo spolne enakosti. Ta patriarhalna retorika, pravi Enole (v Spike Peterson, 1999, 49), žensk ne obravnava kot akterk, temveč kot instrument za realizacijo programa, ki ga definirajo moški. Primer zgledne realizacije takega patriarhalnega reda so Otroške vasi SOS (SOS Kinderdorf). V teh vaseh oz. institucijah za sirote in otroke, za katere njihovi starši iz različnih razlogov ne morejo skrbeti, neposredno skrbijo izključno ženske (pari so redke izjeme, in še to le v nekaterih evropskih državah), praviloma samske, moški pa prevzemajo vloge direktorjev vasi, ekonomov, zdravnikov, svetovalcev (gl. Abebe, 2009). Delitev dela je torej nedvoumna, skladna z »naravo« moškega in ženske: neposredna skrb

4 Leta 2006 je podobne predloge za dvig rodnosti ponujala *Strategija za dvig rodnosti v RS,* ki jo je pripravilo Ministrstvo za delo, družino in socialne zadeve v vladi J. Janše.

za otroke in vzgoja sta nalogi žensk, vse drugo so moške zadeve. Natanko to je tisto, česar lezbijke (in samske ženske ne glede na spolno usmerjenost) ne morejo zagotoviti – na otroke prenašajo spolno in seksualno moralo, ki radikalno nasprotuje patriarhalni morali.

Leta 2004 je predlog za legalizacijo istospolnih partnerskih zvez v Sloveniji izzval razprave, ki so obudile Dolenčevo tezo o homoseksualnih kot mrtvi veji na narodovem telesu in svarile pred apokaliptičnimi razsežnostmi učinkov morebitnega izenačevanja statusa istospolnih in raznospolnih partnerskih zvez. Izenačevanje naj bi namreč povzročilo porast istospolnih partnerskih skupnosti in istočasno znižanje rodnosti, posledica pa naj bi bilo poslabšanje »že tako nezavidljive generacijske slike slovenskega naroda« (Poslanska skupina SLS), če ne kar propad civilizacije. Poslanska skupina SLS je na primer resornega ministra opozarjala na to nevarnost z zgodovinskim zgledom – s propadom civilizacij, ki so priznavale »trajna in stabilna razmerja vzajemne podpore med osebama istega spola« (niso pa pojasnili, ali so te civilizacije po njihovem mnenju propadle zaradi nizke natalitete ali morda zaradi moralne degeneracije).

Nad razpravami o odpravi diskriminacije zaradi spolne usmerjenosti vseskozi visi vsaj impliciten očitek o moralni sprijenosti gejev in lezbijk, pa tudi zagovornic in zagovornikov enakosti nasploh. V razpravah o Družinskem zakoniku (2009–2011), v kateri so se ponavljali očitki iz razprav o noveli zakona o OBMP in zakona o legalizaciji istospolnih partnerskih zvez, je bila ta obsodba izrečena nedvoumno in na način, ki ima vse značilnosti sovražnega govora (gl. zapis 14. seje državnega zbora, 2010).

VZTRAJNO ISKANJE BIOLOŠKIH IZVOROV ISTOSPOLNE USMERJENOSTI

Vsako namigovanje, da je istospolna usmerjenost patološka, neheteroseksualke in neheteroseksualci pa moralno sprijeni, hkrati namiguje na biološke temelje istospolne usmerjenosti. Povezovanje istospolne usmerjenosti z biološkimi posebnostmi, če ne že kar z »okvarami« ali boleznimi, se zdi samoumevno vsaj toliko (ali celo še bolj) kot povezovanje spola in biologije. Medikalizacija in patologizacija, ki geje in lezbijke obravnava kot »nedolžne žrtve« igre narave, učinkujeta kot negativna sodba. Danes jo implicitno izrekajo raziskovanja bioloških/genskih izvorov istospolne usmerjenosti in s tem sprožajo številne dileme o motivih, raziskovalnih metodah in posledicah njihovih odkritij za »upravljanje življenja«.

Seksualno vedenje, kategorizirano kot »nenormalno«, je bilo včasih objekt medicinskega, še posebno psihiatričnega nadzorovanja in raziskovanja. Danes se s tem ukvarjata vedi, ki dajeta vtis popolne vrednostne nevtralnosti, genetika in mikrobiologija, pri tem pa imata močno oporo v delu psiholoških vednosti (gl. npr. znanstvene revije Archives of Sexual Behavior, Science, New Scientists). Fausto-Sterling (1992, 2000), Lancaster (2006), Kaplan (2006) opozarjajo, kako zelo odmevno je vsako »odkritje« na področju genetike, celične biologije in delovanja možganov, ki razglaša, da je izsledilo biološke izvore tistih razlik, ki tvorijo glavne osi podrejanja in dominacije, torej tudi spolnih in seksualnih. Vulgarni materializem, ki izhaja iz teze, da vse, kar človek dela, misli, čuti … in celo družbena organizacija izvira iz telesa in ima v njem neposredne vzroke, je ključni element trdoživih mitov in vere, da odgovor na vse leži v »naravnem načrtu«.

Lancaster (2006, 2) govori o biološkem reduktivizmu, ki ga oživljajo »pripovedke o hormonih, bajke o evoluciji, fantastična genetika in ponovno rojeni znanstveni rasizem«. Po njegovem mnenju je eden od pogojev za razcvet bioreduktivizma odkritje genoma in trdovratno prepričanje (ali bolje vera), da je oz. bo mogoče vsak vidik človekovega vedenja pojasniti z določenim genom ali nizom genov, kar so kritične znanstvenice in znanstveniki sicer že zelo zgodaj ovrgli (gl. Rose, 2007; Lewontin, Rose in Kamin, 1984). Drugi pogoji so spremembe v akademski kulturi, ki je postala izrazito družbeno pasivna oz. neangažirana, kar v družboslovju na široko odpira pot sociobiologiji. Tretji pogoj sta neoliberalizem in z njim povezana negotovost, ki jo poskušamo omiliti z obujanjem tradicionalnih spolnih vlog in družinskih oblik, s stabilno seksualno željo – in z vero, da je oz. bo z odkritjem genoma končno pojasnjena neznosna kompleksnost sveta in življenja. Četrti dejavnik je po Lancasteru razcvet identitetnih politik, ki – pogosto nehote, marsikdaj pa zavestno – obujajo esencializem.

V nadaljevanju navajamo samo najodmevnejše teze, ki v široki javnosti pa tudi v znatnem delu znanstvene in strokovne javnosti vzdržujejo in reproducirajo prepričanja o bioloških (genskih, anatomskih, hormonskih) izvorih istospolne usmerjenosti, razlik med spoloma ter razlik med heteroseksualnimi in homoseksualnimi. Ena najbolj vztrajnih tez je teza o vplivu testosterona na razlike v organizaciji in delovanju moških in ženskih možganov. Te razlike naj bi bile »odgovorne« za spolno specifično vedenje in sposobnosti pa tudi za spolno usmerjenost. Razlike v anatomiji možganov, natančneje, v spolno specifični anatomiji in delovanju živčnega spleta *corpus callosum*, ki povezuje obe možganski polovici, naj bi pojasnile »resnico« stereotipa oz. predsodka o možačastih lezbijkah in poženščenih gejih. Fausto-Sterling[5] (1992, 2000) opozarja na vrsto pomanjkljivosti v študijah, ki iščejo »se-

5 Anne Fausto-Sterling je pofesorica biologije in študij spolov (ZDA), dokotorirala je iz razvojne genetike.

6 Kaplan (2006) opozarja na (konceptualne, metodološke) omejitve raziskav, ki poskušajo človeško vedenje poenostavljeno pojasniti z genetiko, na pogosto zelo nizke standarde publiciranja rezultatov in neobčutljivost za posledice objav ter na zavajajoče ali celo napačne interpretacije rezultatov.

dež« spola in seksualnosti v hormonih in možganih, pa tudi sicer so bile te teze v zgodovini večkrat zavrnjene (gl. Pfannkuche, Bouma in Groothuis, 2009).[6] Kljub temu se nanje sklicujejo številne znanstvene študije, strokovni in laični govori o izvoru (isto)spolne usmerjenosti, pa tudi medicinske obravnave gejev in lezbijk – da bi jih »spreobrnili«, gejem marsikje še vedno vbrizgavajo testosteron (Stein, 2005, 179).

S tezo, da je spolna usmerjenost povezana z delovanjem hormonov, se spogleduje vrsta raziskovalk in raziskovalcev kongenitalne adrenalne hiperplazije (KAH) (npr. Meyer-Bahlburg, 1999; Meyer-Bahlburg in dr., 2008; New, 2010). Gre za posebnost v delovanju encimov, ki kortizol sintetizirajo v skorjo nadledvične žleze (adrenalni korteks). Ta zato prekomerno izloča androgen, kar v končni fazi vpliva na bolj ali manj izražene posebnosti v razvoju zunanjih spolnih organov (pri ženskah npr. hipertrofija klitorisa, zraščenost sramnih ustnic) pa tudi na višino glasu, rast itd. Omenjeni znanstveniki pa opozarjajo tudi na vedenjske razlike med ženskami s KAH in tistimi brez ter na možnost, da KAH zaradi prekomernega izločanja androgenov vpliva na razvoj istospolne usmerjenosti pri ženskah. Eden od tretmajev, ki naj bi preprečili razvoj teh simptomov, je vbrizgavanje kortikosteroida deksametazona v zarodek, pri katerem odkrijejo KAH. Tretma je po mnenju kritikov sporen iz več razlogov (gl. Fausto-Sterling, 2000). V našem kontekstu je posebno problematično dejstvo, da ga promovirajo tudi z obljubo o stranskem učinku deksametazona: ta naj bi namreč zmanjševal možnosti za razvoj homoseksualnosti pri ženskah in vplival na razvoj skladne ženske identitete (Meyer-Bahlburg in dr., 2008; New, 2010). Sporni postopek torej oglašujejo s sklicevanjem na tradicionalne norme ženskosti, hkrati pa patologizirajo odstopanja od teh norm.

Pri zagovornicah in zagovornikih enakosti zbujajo podobno zaskrbljenost rezultati raziskav, ki oznanjajo, da so na sledi genu, posebni konfiguraciji genov ali nizu konfiguracij, ki naj bi bili »odgovorni« za seksualno orientacijo. Te raziskave hkrati napovedujejo možnost odkrivanja genskih izvorov homoseksualnosti že pri fetusu (gl. Stein, 2005). Tako Le Vay (1991) trdi, da je pri moških odkril predel hipotalamusa, katerega velikost naj bi bila povezana s spolno usmerjenostjo; Bailey in Pillard (1991) tezo o genskem izvoru homoseksualnosti utemeljujeta s statističnim podatkom, da je homoseksualnost med enojajčnimi dvojčki pogostejša kakor med dvojajčnimi oz. drugimi sorodniki; Hamer in sodelavci (1993) trdijo, da so odkrili poseben odsek kromosoma x, ki naj bi bil povezan z nekaterimi oblikami moške homoseksualnosti; leta 2005 naj bi pri pticah (!) odkrili poseben gen, imenovan »fruitless« (»fru«), in sicer v moški in ženski različici, ki naj bi določal paritveno vedenje in usmerjenost, ne pa spolne anatomije (Demir in Dickson, 2005). Vse te raziskave izhajajo iz predpostavke, da je istospolna usmerjenost medicinski in/ali družbeni problem, ki ga ni treba le raziskati, ampak tudi rešiti. »Obljube« o »rešitvah« pa se nevarno spogledujejo s predpostavkami in načeli evgenike. Obljubljajo namreč, da bodo istospolno usmerjenost v primeru, če bodo potrdili njene genske izvore, lahko identificirali že pri fetusu in jo s prenatalnimi posegi z veliko verjetnostjo tudi preprečili, če ne celo odpravili – z abortusom (kot v primeru Downovega sindroma), s selekcijo »kontaminiranih« oplojenih jajčnih celic v postopkih umetne oploditve ali z zdravljenjem zarodka. Ne gre zgolj za nevarnost: posegi, ki naj bi preprečili istospolno usmerjenost, se po tihem že izvajajo (že omenjeni primer KAH).

ISTOSPOLNA USMERJENOST IN EVGENIKA

Manipuliranje z »genskim materialom« in nove možnosti, ki jih nakazujejo raziskave v genetiki, sprožajo vrsto etičnih pomislekov in asociacij na rasistične evgenične prakse. Genetika in evgenika, o katerih Rose (2007) zaradi njune skupne zgodovine govori kot o zraščenih dvojčkih, imata skupno zgodovino, njuni »dosežki« pa so dosegli vrh v nacističnem čiščenju arijske rase. Kljub negativnemu prizvoku ima evgenika tudi med znanstveniki številne privržence, ki ji skušajo povrniti ugled z nenehnim poudarjanjem, da sodobne evgenične prakse nimajo ničesar skupnega z rasističnim nacističnim programom. Hkrati pa hvalijo njihov prispevek k izboljševanju »kvalitete potomstva« – zanje nista sporni niti predpostavka o genskem izvoru družbenih problemov niti strategija reševanja teh problemov.

Na tem mestu ne moremo predstaviti celega spektra evgeničnih praks, ki jih uvajajo populacijske politike (več o tem npr. gl. Akhter, 1992; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Rose, 2007); omejujemo se na tiste, ki jih Rose (2007, 14) imenuje *potrošniška evgenika*. Rose (2007) s pojmom potrošniška evgenika označuje postopke biotehnološko podprte prenatalne selekcije, katerih cilj je »kvalitetno« potomstvo, izvajajo pa se s privolitvijo ali celo na zahtevo bodočih staršev.[7] V tem se bistveno razlikujejo od nacističnega programa – tega so uveljavljali v imenu države, potrošniška evgenika pa naj bi bila izraz reproduktivne svobode. To svobodo skladno z novo biomedicinsko etiko podpira sistem genskih preiskav, »nepristranskega« informiranja o genskih tveganjih in o tem, kako preprečiti rojstvo otroka z genskimi »okvarami«. Tam, kjer se je vsaj deloma ohranil sistem socialne države, te postopke financirajo z javnimi sredstvi in so tako relativno dostopni. Seveda pa je porabo javnih sredstev treba upravičiti. Običajen kriterij legitimnosti porabe javnih sredstev je razmerje med stroški in koristmi. Po tem kriteriju so evgenični programi koristni, če pripomorejo k manjšemu številu otrok z diagnozami, ki

7 H. Rose v tem kontekstu navaja primer oglaševalne kampanje v ZDA, ki je na eni od ameriških fakultet (Ivy League) vabila 175 cm visoke študentke z visokimi dosežki na standardiziranih sprejemnih testih, da prodajo svoje spolne celice.

finančno obremenjujejo socialni in zdravstveni sistem. To pomeni, opozarja Rose (2007, 18–19), da je država še kako vpletena v evgenične projekte. Dodamo lahko še, da je vpletena tudi, če ne prispeva sredstev za raziskovanje, preglede, svetovanje in posege. Vpletena je s tem, ko evgenične prakse dopušča, predvsem pa jih s svojimi politikami izključevanja celo spodbuja (več o tem v nadaljevanju).

Reproduktivna svoboda ženski ponuja »izbiro«, hkrati pa ji nalaga odgovornost za druge/ga – tako kot vsaka pravica in svoboda nasploh. Ta odgovornost je še posebno velika, kadar se mora ženska odločati o postopkih selekcije ali medicinskih posegov v zarodek, kadar se torej ti postopki izvajajo na njeno zahtevo ali z njenim privoljenjem (Rožman, 2013). V našem primeru si lahko predstavljamo dilemo nosečnice, ki sicer zagovarja enakost ne glede na spolno usmerjenost, izvid genske preiskave pa ji napove, da bo njen otrok gej oz. lezbijka. Če se odloči, da bo rodila, tvega, da bo otrok trpel zaradi diskriminacije, tvega tudi obsodbo, da ji ni mar za otrokovo srečo. Po drugi strani pa se zaveda, da z odločitvijo za postopek selekcije aktivno sodeluje v procesu stigmatizacije vseh, ki prestopajo normo heteroseksualnosti. S podobno dilemo se soočajo mnogi geji in lezbijke, ki razmišljajo o starševstvu. Tudi številni med njimi so prepričani, da odločitev za starševstvo ni odgovorna, ker da nihče nima pravice otroka zavestno izpostavljati stigmi (gl. izjave gejev in lezbijk v Švab in Kuhar, 2005). Ta argument bi bilo mogoče interpretirati kot simptom samodiskriminacije, ki je posledica zakonske in družbene diskriminacije na osnovi spolne usmerjenosti.

Prepričanje, da je genski inženiring zgolj v službi reproduktivne svobode, temelji na spregledu družbene in politične ravni dilem, s kakršnimi se sooča ženska, ko izve, da je s fetusom nekaj »narobe«. Odločitve so namreč v veliki meri odvisne od njene ocene, ali bi sploh lahko preživljala otroka, ki bi potreboval posebno nego. Če država s svojim sistemom socialnega varstva ne zagotavlja ustrezne podpore, je vsak govor o svobodi odločanja samo lahkotno premeščanje odgovornosti na posameznico (prim. Zaviršek, 2000). Res ne moremo govoriti o prisilnem, državno vodenem evgeničnem programu, pravi Rose (2007), vendar pa je v neoliberalni kulturi, ekonomiji in družbi evgenični pritisk tako močan, da nenehno sproža vprašanja o tem, ali je fetus dovolj dober za nadaljevanje nosečnosti. Še izrazitejši je problem v državah, kjer državna administracija (običajno ob podpori mednarodnih finančnih skladov) izvaja politiko omejevanja rojstev. Kot opozarja Akhter (1992), tu sploh ne gre za uveljavljanje »reproduktivnih pravic«, ampak zgolj za strategijo omejevanja rojstev, katere ciljna populacija so slabo informirane ženske.

»Klinična genetika kot Janus kaže en obraz pacientki in drugega državi,« pravi Rose (2007). Na eni strani razume željo pacientke, da rodi zdravega otroka, otroka, ki bi bil opremljen s kar največ možnostmi in pogoji za dobro življenje, na drugi pa nalogo države, da hkrati varuje reproduktivno svobodo in svoj proračun. Te želje in naloge bi lahko bile skladne – če bi obstajal konsenz o vprašanju, kaj/kdo je vredno/vreden življenja. Vendar je ta konsenz bolj zamišljen kot dejanski. Mogoče bi se res večina ljudi strinjala s tem, da je kriterij, na osnovi katerega bi presojali o dopustnosti uporabe postopkov genskega inženiringa, zagotavljanje zdravja, ali kot pravi Stein (2005, 189), preprečevanje rojstva otrok z resnimi motnjami, ki »dramatično znižujejo življenjsko dobo, povzročajo trpljenje in znižujejo kvaliteto življenja«. Na osnovi tega kriterija bi kot nedopustne obravnavali tiste posege, katerih cilj je zgolj kozmetične narave ali »preprečevanje« trpljenja, ki bi ga lahko povzročil odklonilen odnos družbenega okolja. Po tem kriteriju prenatalna selekcija na osnovi spola in spolne usmerjenosti ne bi bila dopustna; če ljudje določenega spola ali spolne usmerjenosti trpijo pogosteje kot drugi, je to posledica stigme, zavračanja s strani družbenega okolja, diskriminacije, ki jo proizvaja kultura, ne pa spola ali spolne usmerjenosti same po sebi.[8]

Dileme v zvezi s selekcijo na osnovi spolne usmerjenosti so aktualne, čeprav ni niti resnih znanstvenih dokazov o biološkem oz. genskem izvoru istospolne usmerjenosti, še manj pa tehnologije za selekcijo ploda ali zarodka, ki naj bi ga »ogrožala« potencialna istospolna usmerjenost. Stein (2005), ki dvomi o znanstvenih »dokazih« o genskih izvorih homoseksualnosti, še bolj pa o uspešnem razvoju selekcijskih tehnik, pa opozarja tudi na nevarnost, da bi ljudje uporabljali postopke selekcije, četudi ne »delujejo« oz. ne bi »delovali«. Pravzaprav o učinkovitosti takih tehnik sploh ne bi mogli zanesljivo presojati, že zaradi banalnega dejstva, da ni nedvoumnih kriterijev, na osnovi katerih bi presojali človekovo spolno usmerjenost. Stein opozarja na nevarnost, da bi ljudje še pogosteje prikrivali istospolno usmerjenost, če bi vedeli, da so bili podvrženi tretmajem, ki naj bi zagotovili razvoj heteroseksualnosti. Razprave o etičnih vidikih prenatalne selekcije in preprečevanja razvoja istospolne usmerjenosti torej niso zgolj razprave o hipotetičnih vprašanjih.

Stein se v svoji razpravi kljub temu spoprijema z vrsto hipotetičnih dilem, ki bi nastopile, če bi postale tehnike selekcije splošno dostopne. Dileme, o katerih razpravlja, izhajajo iz predpostavljenih učinkov morebitne legalizacije, dostopnosti in uporabe takih tehnik. Že sama dostopnost in uporaba postopkov selekcije bi bila izraz radikalne podreditve normam heteroseksualnosti, pristajanje na skrajno ideologijo, ki istospolno usmerjenost obravna-

8 Naj na tem mestu samo opozorimo, da Steinov kriterij ne razreši dilem v zvezi s »selekcijskimi« posegi. Tudi k »trpljenju in zniževanju kvalitete življenja« zaradi t. i. resnih motenj praviloma ključno prispevata prav nerazumevanje družbenega okolja, predvsem pa družbena organizacija, ki izhaja iz načela uporabnosti človeškega bitja.

va kot problem, ta problem pa bi bilo treba v kali zatreti – z odstranitvijo ali »zdravljenjem« zarodkov, potencialnih gejev in lezbijk. Dostopnost in uporaba postopkov selekcije bi še utrdila prepričanje, da je istospolna usmerjenost motnja in zato upravičeno podvržena medicinskim postopkom, kar bi še poglabljalo stigmatizacijo, diskriminacijo, sovražnost. Ustvarili bi začaran krog, ki bi v imenu svobode znanstvenega raziskovanja, razvoja tehnologije in reproduktivne svobode istospolno usmerjenost potisnil med napake narave, ki smo jih dolžni odpravljati. Zaradi diskriminacije in predsodkov bi bili verjetno številni bodoči starši (tudi marsikateri med tistimi, ki sicer zagovarjajo enakost ne glede na spolno usmerjenost) pripravljeni pristati na evgenične postopke – v imenu blaginje otrok. Starši, ki teh postopkov ne bi izbrali, pa bi bili označeni za neodgovorne.

Prav potencialna izpostavljenost stigmi oz. sklicevanje na blaginjo otrok je v Sloveniji najučinkovitejši in zato tudi najbolj zlorabljen »argument« proti možnosti umetne oploditve samskih žensk (še posebno lezbijk) ter proti zakonskemu izenačevanju raznospolnih in istospolnih družinskih skupnosti, zlasti na področju posvojitev. Sklicevanje na blaginjo otroka je tipičen performativ, saj vnaprej stigmatizira vse, ki zagovarjajo zakonsko priznavanje pluralnosti družinskega življenja, še bolj pa tiste, ki dejansko živijo v skupnostih, odstopajočih od ozke norme, ki je utemeljena na spolni hierarhiji, zapovedani seksualnosti in poveličevanju bioloških vezi.

Stein potencialno možnost izbiranja oz. določanja spolne usmerjenosti upravičeno primerja s postopki izbire spola zarodka. Kako se izogniti temu? S prepovedjo prenatalnega ugotavljanja genskih »predispozicij« za istospolno usmerjenost, podobno zakonski prepovedi prenatalnega ugotavljanja spola v indijski državi Maharashtra leta 1980 (Stein, 2005, 186)? Ali je sploh mogoče preprečiti takšne genske preiskave in ali bi bilo mogoče preprečiti uporabo postopkov selekcije, če bi jih dejansko razvili? Stein zagovarja radikalnejšo rešitev: prepoved tistih raziskav o bioloških izvorih spolne orientacije, ki bi vodile v dostopnost selekcijskih tehnik. Zaveda se logične šibkosti svojega argumenta (prepoved zaradi potencialnega učinka), zaveda se tudi, da je lahko razvoj selekcijskih tehnik stranski rezultat drugih študij, pa tudi tega, da že same znanstvene študije o izvorih spolne usmerjenosti škodujejo družbenemu statusu vseh, ki prestopajo normo heteroseksualnosti. Prepoved etično spornih raziskav in postopkov genskega inženiringa običajno zavračajo s sklicevanjem na svobodo raziskovanja – kakor da znanstveni status kake dejavnosti zagotavlja tudi ideološko neobremenjenost raziskovalk in raziskovalcev oz. raziskovalnih vprašanj in načrtov ter interpretacij raziskovalnih rezultatov; kakor da so raziskovalna vprašanja stvar »čiste discipline«, »čistega raziskovanja«, ki nima ničesar opraviti z uporabnostjo, zdravim razumom, pragmatizmom, prihrankom, dobičkom, razmerji moči in gospostvom.

ZAKLJUČEK

Vidnost lezbijk in gejev, enostarševske in istospolne družine, dostopnost abortusa in umetne oploditve so izraz demokratičnosti in učinkovitosti emancipacijskih bojev. Hkrati pa je prakticiranje svobode na področjih, ključnih za upravljanje populacije, vedno znova tarča ideoloških protinapadov, ki vsiljujejo norme heteroseksualne spodobnosti, mite o naravni heteroseksualnosti, predstave o istospolni usmerjenosti kot socialno-medicinski motnji, o geju in lezbijki kot osebnostnem tipu. Prizanesljivost, brezbrižnost, strpnost (torej bolj ali manj velikodušno »prenašanje«) ali kar odkrita sovražnost in celo fizična agresivnost do tistih, ki »kršijo« spolne in seksualne norme, so izjave o mejah sprejemljivosti. Tudi zakonske omejitve, ki ženskam brez stalnega moškega partnerja odrekajo pravico do oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo, istospolnim parom pa ne dovoljujejo posvojitve, so izjave o nesprejemljivosti. So rezultat razmerij moči v zakonodajnem telesu, »kompromis« na škodo načela enakosti in v podporo normam, o katerih se predpostavlja, da so skupne večini volilnega telesa.

Tudi raziskovanje bioloških (hormonskih, anatomskih, genskih itd.) izvorov istospolne usmerjenosti izhaja iz (ne)izrečene predpostavke, da je istospolna usmerjenost problem, ki ga je treba rešiti – da torej niso problematične spolna hierarhija in heteronormativnost ter iz tega izvirajoča diskriminacija, temveč prestopanje spolnih in seksualnih norm. Iskanje izvorov istospolne usmerjenosti je vpisano v ideologijo binarne spolne delitve in iz nje izhajajočo heteronormativnost, ki ju navidezna znanstvena nevtralnost legitimira in utrjuje. Del gejevskega in lezbičnega gibanja sicer navdušeno podpira gensko raziskovanje v upanju, da bodo znanstvena odkritja potrdila tezo o biološkem izvoru istospolne usmerjenosti. Taka odkritja naj bi geje in lezbijke, biseksualke in biseksualce, pa tudi travestite, transseksualke in transseksualce končno razbremenila »krivde« za spolno in seksualno »odklonskost« in moralno večino prepričala, da se vzdrži obsojanja. Gre za iluzijo, ki spregleda, da bi taka odkritja prej legitimirala neenakosti in tehnologije normalizacije, kot jo definira Foucault (1984), torej prilagajanje »patoloških« zarodkov, otrok in odraslih pričakovanjem heteronormativne družbe (tj. normifikacijo v Goffmanovem pomenu), kakor pa sprožila procese osvobajanja. Spregleda, da so biološke »nepravilnosti«, »posebnosti«, »okvare« praviloma objekt stigmatizacije, da vsaka patologizacija prej odpira vprašanja, kako patologijo preprečiti, odpraviti, prikriti, kakor pa vprašanje, kako zagotoviti enake možnosti. Številne znanstvene raziskave in »odkritja«, ki iščejo izvore »patologije«, v zadnji instanci predvsem nakazujejo možnost, da se vzpostavi red, diskriminacija pa se prepreči tako, da se preprosto odpravi »napaka«, ki naj bi povzročala neprimerno seksualno vedenje, ali pa – še enostavneje in brez tveganja neuspeha – da se odpravi kar sam sumljivi zarodek.

Meje možnega v genetiki se širijo s pomočjo zasebnega in državnega kapitala, meje dovoljenega pa se nenehno prestavljajo s pristankom pristojnih oblasti. »Ko postane katerakoli oblika genskega inženiringa nekaj običajnega, se neizogibno bližamo dnevu, ko bodo starši izbirali otroke, tako kot potrošnik v trgovini izbira avto.« (Stein, 2005, 180.) »Reproduktivne pravice« in »pravica do izbire« pa se že zdaj razumejo (tudi) kot pravica do izbire genskega materiala in posegov v zarodek, ki naj bi karseda povečali možnost rojstva »popolnega« otroka.

V bojih za enakost izvori istospolne usmerjenosti niso pomembni. Kot pravi Fausto-Sterling (1992, 256), so boji za enakost politični boji, neodvisni od znanstvenih in kvaziznanstvenih hipotez in odkritij o izvorih homoseksualnosti.

HETERONORMATIVITY AND FERTILITY REGULATION

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SUMMARY

Article is based on Foucault's thesis that regulation of sexuality is one of the key strategies of biopolitics. Author analyzes the role of heteronormativity in population politics and in researching origins of gender differences and sexual orientation. Empirical analysis is based on the data collected from political discussions on birth-rate, legal regulation of pregnancy and family and partner relationship rights, and from researcehes that tend to prove biological basis of gender differences and sexual orientation. Analysis confirms the hypothesis that behavioural conformity with patriarchal gender and sexual norms is one of the key criteria of person's worth, and one of the key criteria of defining population categories entitled to benefits and rights guaranteed by the state (e.g. artificial insemination, rights and benefits concerning family and partner relationships). Author points out that some researches in the field of medicine and genetics (discovery of human genome) support discriminatory regulations – in accordance with the article topic, she mainly problematizes the thesis that the sexual orientation is biologically determined, and the patologization of supposedly biological causes of the same-sex sexual orientation. Article warns that the patologization of the same-sex sexual orientation legitimized by science and scientific discourses implicitly legitimizes eventual eugenic practices. Namely, patologization confirms wide spread conviction that same-sex sexual orientation is anomaly that should be prevented, corrected, or that its potential damage to individuals (marginalization and discrimination) and to communities (negative impact on fertility rate and subversion of social order based on gender dichotomies and heterosexuality) should be reduced in some way or another. It opens up opportunities for enhancement eugenic practices - in the name of reproductive freedom and protection of supposed children's interest.

KEY WORDS: same-sex sexual orientation, heteronormativity, equality, discrimination, genetics, eugenics, freedom of choice

DOPISI, ZAKONI IN DRUGO GRADIVO

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NEVIDNA REPRODUKTIVNA HENDIKEPIRANOST ŽENSK

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava negativne reproduktivne izide zaradi mazaškega splava, ko socialna indikacija za splav še ni bila uzakonjena in kontracepcija še ne splošno razširjena in dosegljiva. Glavnina podatkov tega prispevka je ustnih, pridobljena z intervjuji. Raziskava je pokazala, da v kontekstu temeljne reproduktivne pravice, tj. pravice do upravljanja z lastnim telesom, ženske vedno orjejo ledino na polju obstoječih spolnih in reproduktivnih norm; v tem boju pa se spopadajo in premagujejo politiko močno etabliranih institucij: verskih, zdravstvenih in pravnih.

Ključne besede: hendikep, rodnostno vedenje, reproduktivno zdravje, splav, kontracepcija, Slovenija

L' INVISIBILE HANDICAP RIPRODUTTIVO DELLE DONNE

SINTESI

Il contributo tratta gli esiti negativi della riproduzione a causa dell'aborto clandestino, quando l'indicazione sociale per l'aborto non era ancora codificata e la contraccezione non comunemente diffusa e accessibile. Gran parte dei dati contenuti in questo contributo è di natura orale, risultato di interviste. La ricerca ha dimostrato che nel contesto del fondamentale diritto riproduttivo, il cosiddetto diritto a gestire il proprio corpo, le donne stanno aprendo delle nuove prospettive nel settore delle norme esistenti in campo sessuale e riproduttivo; in questa battaglia, esse si stanno incontrando (confrontando) e superando la forte politica delle istituzioni del potere: religiosa, medica e legale.

Parole chiave: handicap, comportamenti riproduttivi, salute riproduttiva, aborto, contraccezione, Slovenia

UVOD

Na področju skrbi za hendikepirane je bilo nedvomno že veliko storjenega; skrb zanje in priznavanje njihovih pravic se je po 2. svetovni vojni začela postopoma povečevati, čeprav so se vidnejš, epistemološki premiki zgodili v zadnjih dveh desetletjih (Zaviršek, 2000). Pri opredelitvi hendikepa je treba upoštevati, da hendikepirani posamezni-ki/ce izhajajo iz različno opredeljenih družbenih skupin – različnih socialnih plasti, subkultur, etničnih (marginaliziranih) skupin, družin, sosesk itn. Njihov družbeni položaj Zaviškova imenuje civilni hendikep, ki »ni omejen na posameznikove telesne in mentalne poškodbe, temveč opisuje tudi družbeno ustvarjene ovire« (2005, 3). Dalje, ugotavlja, »da večina hendikepov ni dednih ali pridobljenih ob rojstvu, temveč ga posameznik pridobi kasneje tekom svojega življenja, pri čemer so zlasti družbene okoliščine, denimo, revščina ali pripadnost etničnim marginaliziranim skupinam, dejavniki tveganja za nastanek hendikepa« (Zaviršek, 2009, 1393).

Poleg vidnih hendikepov, to so predvsem tisti, ki jih je družba že od nekdaj prepoznavala kot hujšo telesno in mentalno poškodovanost, npr. gibalna, senzorna in intelektualna oviranost, težave z duševnim zdravjem, kot so depresija, psihoza, shizofrenija, anoreksija itn. Zaviršková, izpostavi tudi posameznike, ki trpijo zaradi t. i. nevidnih hendikepov, npr. bolnike z multiplo sklerozo v zgodnjem stadiju z rakom, ljudi z duševnimi stiskami, dislektike, hiper aktivne otroke (2000, 7). Vsekakor so skupine posameznik-ov/ic z nevidnimi hendikepi številne, zato bi lahko mednje uvrstili tudi žrtve raznoterih (negativnih) reproduktivnih izidov, ki so družbeno nezaželene.

Tako široko pojmovanje hendikepa se nedvomno prekriva s pojmom »reproduktivne motnje« (ang. »*reproductive disruptions*«), s katerim tuji antropologi označujejo posledice negativnih reprodukcijskih izidov za posamezni-ke/ce, ki presegajo meje običajnih reproduktivnih (zdravstvenih) težav; posledice mazaškega splava in mazaškega zdravljenja neplodnosti v islamskem svetu (Inhorn, 1994), pretirane medikalizacije obporodne zdravstvene skrbi (Davis-Floyd, 1992; Wagner, 1994) in druge.

Ker pojem »reproduktivna motnje« pri nas še ni uveljavljen, sem ga nadomestila s pojmom »reproduktivna hendikepiranost«, in sicer zgolj zato, da bi bil za slovenske socialne delavce in medicinske antropologe razumljivejši in nedvoumen.

Izsledki moje raziskave s področja kulture rodnosti in rojstva so razkrile marsikatere vidike negativnih izidov človeške reprodukcije - kontracepcije, splava, neplodnosti, nosečnosti, dojenja, spolnosti. Izkazalo se je, da so te posledica številnih družbenih in kulturnih institucij ter njihovih mehanizmov, ki opredeljujejo značilnosti odnosa med spoloma, lokalne moralne norme, idejne in vrednostne zaznave.

V pričujem članku bom obravnavala socialne, fizične in psihične posledice umetnega splava, ki so jih v 50. in 60. letih 20. stoletja zaradi nasilja partnerja v patriarhalnem okolju utrpele kmečke ženske.

OPREDELITEV ŽENSKEGA REPRODUKTIVNEGA ZDRAVJA

V zadnjih desetletjih se je zanimanje strokovnjakov naravoslovnih in različnih družboslovnih in humanističnih usmeritev - demografov, antropologov, zgodovinarjev, sociologov itn. - za področje reprodukcije izjemno povečalo. Delno kot posledica pandemije HIV/AIDS, ki je izbruhnila v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Ta je pokazala na izjemno ranljivost žensk, zlasti v tistih predelih sveta (npr. podsaharska Afrika), kjer sta tudi umrljivost porodnic in dojenčkov še vedno med najvišjimi. Razumljivo je, da je povečana skrb družbe za (reproduktivno) zdravje žensk – ki je slovensko etnično ozemlje zajela v sredini 18. stoletja[1] – vsekakor pohvalna in koristna. Toda opredelitev reproduktivnega zdravja žensk je bila do nedavnega domena biomedicinske znanosti v povezavi z zakoni države in religijo (Yuval-Davis, 2009), iz katere (je) izhaja-(la) ureditev ukrepov zdravstvene politike, npr. prepoved ali uzakonitev socialne indikacije za splav (Luker, Kristen, 1985; Ginsburg, 1998; Greenhalgh, 2003, 196-215), prepoved porodov na domu (Jordan, 1993; Kitzinger, 1987; Rožman, 2011; Wagner, 2007, 17-30) ali medikalizacija poroda (Davis – Floyd, Sargent, 1997; Davis – Floyd, 2001, 5-23; Davis-Floyd, 2004; Drglin, 2007, 105-156; Jordan, 1993; Rothman Katz, 1984; Rožman, 2007, 157-172; Wagner, 1994), umetne oploditve z biomedicinsko pomočjo samskih žensk. Z naraščajočo uporabo reproduktivnih tehnologij za pomoč pri spočetju se je močno spremenilo zlasti pojmovanje starševstva (Cukut Krilić, 2013, 377-390; Keržan, 2008; Krivic, 2001, 4-7;) in istospolno usmerjenih partnerjev (Čeplak Mencin, 2013, 403-414; Bonnaccorso, 2005). Družbeno stigmatizirane so tudi ženske z reproduktivnim vedenjem, ki odstopa od družbeno zaželenega in je pogosto podkrepljeno tudi z biomedicinskimi spoznanji o domnevni škodljivosti za zdravje ženske in/ali njihovih otrok, npr. mladostniška nosečnost ali splav (Rajgelj, 2005; Rožman, 2003, 193-209), odklanjanje prenatalne diagnostike (ženske se zavestno odločijo, da bodo rodile »prizadetega« otroka; Cergol, 2007, 107-115; Krošelj, 2007, 57-79; Rapp, 1999; Rožman, 2012, 303-314), odklanjanje kontracepcije, splava, umetne oploditve, transfuzije krvi iz verskih razlogov v primeru nujnih posegov med porodom, načrtovanje družine s splavi in hkrati odklanjanje drugih oblik kontracepcije, odločanje za večje število otrok itn.

1 Začetek obporodne zdravstvene skrbi na slovenskem etničnem ozemlju lahko povežemo z ustanovitvijo babiške šole 1753 v Ljubljani, kjer je pouk za babice kljub uradni nemščini potekal v slovenskem jeziku (Borisov, 1995, 23, 27-28; Rožman, 1997, 241-288).

Klasičen primer je pravica žensk do umetnega splava, ko desno usmerjen lobi tej pravici oporeka in jo argumentira s trditvijo, da se življenje začne v trenutku spočetja. Z gledišča ženskega boja za uveljavljane svoje domnevne temeljne reproduktivne pravice, tj. pravice do upravljanja z lastnim telesom, ženske orjejo ledino na polju obstoječih spolnih in reproduktivnih norm, v tem boju pa se spopadajo in premagujejo politiko močno etabliranih institucij: biomedicine, prava in religije.

DEJAVNIKI TVEGANJA ZA ŽENSKO REPRODUKTIVNO ZDRAVJE IN NJEGOVE POSLEDICE

Reproduktivno hendikepiranost je mogoče presojati tudi z gledišča tolerance do nasilja nad ženskami. V preučevanim vaškem patriarhalnem okolju se je ta gibala na osi med dopustnim in nedopustnim[2]; primer dopustnega nasilja: »*Moj mož, ne smem rečt, de me je tepu, ampak udaru, al pa bercnu me je pa tut učas. U, ene so ble pa tut hudu tepene ženske.«* (L., 1995). Koncepta ničelne tolerance do nasilja torej niso poznali. Spolno nasilje ni bilo izjema; ženske so v spolni odnos privolile, čeprav so ga intimno doživljale kot posilstvo - (prim. Filipčič, 1998, 266-269; Kanduč, 1998, 203-206; Kanduč, 2001, 110), kot je izpovedala L. A. iz vasi v novomeškem Podgorju: »*Enkrat sem se mu odrekla* (spolni odnos, op. R. I.)*, enkrat u življenju, veste, de sem se mu odrekla, pa še takrat je reku:" Če ne daš ti, grem pa drugam."«* [3] (1995). Toleranca do nasilja nad ženskami je kulturno pogojeno; z tega stališča je treba razumeti, da se v patriarhalno opredeljeni družbeni skupnosti ženska podreja volji moškega.

Nesporno je, da je reproduktivna hendikepiranost posledica različnih oblik fizičnega in spolnega nasilja, ki povzročajo ne samo nepremagljive reproduktivne težave (nezaželeno nosečnost, okužbo z virusom HIV ali drugimi spolno prenosljivimi boleznimi, umetne in spontane splave, mladostniško nosečnost, motnje v spolnem življenju [4]), temveč hude ekonomske in psihološke posledice.

ANTROPOLOŠKA IZHODIŠČA IN POGLEDI

Splav, porod, mladostniška rodnost, neplodnost, umetna oploditev, perinatalna umrljivost itn. so doslej bili obravnavani predvsem v jeziku biomedicine in zdravstvene politike. Biomedicina pri zdravstveni obravnavi žensk praviloma ne upošteva vzrokov in posledic za negativne reproduktivne izide, ki izhajajo iz njihovih nezaželenih sociokulturnih matrik - etnična pripadnost, zakonski stan, starost, veroizpoved, izobrazba, kraj bivanja, partnerski odnos, osebna stališča in vrednote. Njihovo reproduktivno hendikepiranost torej določajo različno stikajoče se osi družbeno marginaliziranih sociokulturnih matrik, ki jih opredeljuje zdravstvene in socialne politike, lokalne norme ter v okviru možnega tudi odločitve in izbire posameznikov in posameznic. Posledično je šele skozi pričevanja žensk, skozi govor »od spodaj«, torej iz izkušenj žensk, mogoče spoznati in prepoznati delovanje tistih družbenih kulturnih institucij in mehanizmov, ki določajo njihovo reproduktivno hendikepiranost. To je torej tisti »govor«, ki je srž in cilj antropološkega raziskovanja izbranega družbenega pojava ali kulturne sestavine.

Glasovi žensk – etnografije, denimo, o mrtvorojenosti (Cecil, 1996; Layne, 2003; Rožman, 2010, 47-60) se torej niso upoštevali, še več, do nedavnega so bili skoraj popolnoma prezrti. Tako imenovana ženska osrediščena perspektiva se je rodila šele z vsebinsko širitvijo polja medicinske in kulturne antropologije in z feminističnim gibanjem (Martin, 2001 [1987]). Zlasti v 70. letih 20. stoletja so se v Združenih državah Amerike začele ženske najprej boriti proti t. i. medikalizaciji obporodne zdravstvene skrbi. Kot ugotavlja antropologinja Maria C. Inhorn, je odtlej izšlo veliko znanstvenih monografij in člankov, pretežno feministično usmerjenih antropologinj, sociologinj in kulturologinj, ki so se pridružile aktivistkam proti hegemoniji ukrepov zdravstvene politike tako na globalni kot lokalni ravni. Maria C. Inhorn je leta 2006 v reviji *Medical Anthropology Quartely* 20/3:345-78 objavila znanstveni članek Defining Women's Health: A Dozen Messages from More than 150 Ethnographies, v katerem navaja pregled stopetdesetih najpomembnejših etnografij; od teh je kar dve tretjini izšlo v 21. stoletju! Kot lahko razberemo iz objavljenega seznama je medikalizirani porod eden izmed najbolje preučenih pojavov s področja ženske reprodukcije. To ne preseneča, saj so ga ženske začele preučevati najprej zaradi nepreučenosti in potem, zaradi lastnih slabih izkušenj s porodom, med njimi antropologinja Robbie Davis-Floyd, ki je bila za svojo monografijo *Birth as an American Rite of Passage* (1992) tudi nagrajena.[5]

V zadnjem desetletju pa se je preučevano polje razširilo zunaj mej, ki zadevajo vprašanja in dileme t. i. normalne reprodukcije; pod drobnogled so postavili šte-

2 Primer opisa nedopustnega nasilja: »*U, kuk sa ble ene tepene! U, Jozas Marija!* (Poudarjeno, stišano, žalostno, op. I. R.) *Tale Poreška, u soboto so jo pokopal, ajou!, Kaku je bla tista ženska tjepena!?* (Poudarjeno, op. I. R.) (…) *U, kuk je bla tjepena, se mu je reku sin zdej, ona je mela raka, je taku trpela, taku trpela zdej, de, de je kar rulila u bolnic.* (Stišano, prizadeto, op. I. R.) *Pa, de mu je reku sin:"Ate, le domisel se, kaj si z mamo use delu!" On jo je taku tepu, ja,, ku bika!* (H., 1995)"

3 Ženska je bila žrtev nasilja, dokler je trajala zakonska zveza; med generacijo žensk, ki je bila rojena takoj po 1. svetovni vojni, je bila ločitev sramota. V času moje raziskave so zavzemale stališče, da je ločitev neodgovorno, sebično dejanje zaradi katere trpijo otroci.

4 Glej internetni vir: http://www.path.org/publications/files/EOL20_1.pdf

5 Monografijo odlikuje inovativna razlaga medikalizacije poroda; odgovarja na vprašanje, zakaj je porod medikaliziran in zakaj ga ženske v Ameriki nekritično sprejemajo, čeprav si želijo roditi "naravno".

vilne nove reproduktivne težave[6]. Tako sta Rayna Rapp in Faye Ginsburg v tem kontekstu na primeru sodobne ameriške družbe obravnavali negativne učinke reproduktivnih in neonatalnih biomedicinskih tehnologij in intenzivne neonatalne nege (ang. assisted reproductive tehnologies, neonatal intensive care unitis), ki zagotavljajo preživetje življenjsko ogroženih novorojenčkov. Ti otroci se pogosto rodijo z lažjimi ali težjimi zdravstvenimi težavami oz. prizadetostmi, ki jih težje premagujejo starši iz najšibkejših socialnih plasti. Ta problem sta avtorici obravnavali v socialnem in kulturnem kontekstu; analizirali sta posebne potrebe teh otrok - ti v preteklosti ne bi preživeli in posledično vpliv le-teh na organizacijo življenja družinskih članov, ožje in širše skupnosti (lokalne, verske, šole...), ki jih je ameriška javnost zaznala šele zahvaljujoč moči medijev. (2007, 98-121)

POSLEDICE SPOLNEGA NASILJA NAD ŽENSKO: IZSLEDKI RAZISKAVE V VASEH NOVOMEŠKEGA PODGORJA

Viri podatkov

Namen mojega večletnega raziskovanja reprodukcije – kulture rojstva in rodnosti - je bil zastavljen tako, da ju razložim v kontekstu časa, družbenosti in prostora, v odvisnosti od širših družbenih in kulturnih sistemov ter njihove moči. Pri tem imajo osrednjo težo ustni podatki, ki skozi kulturo reprodukcije osvetljujejo predvsem reproduktivne težave žensk, katerih pričevanja oziroma izkušnje so hkrati univerzalna in specifična. Podatke sem v ta namen zbrala v pogovorih z ženskami, tudi babicami in ginekologi porodničarji.

Intervjuvala sem petintrideset žensk iz različnih socialnih plasti vaškega okolja, ki so rojevale v 40. 50. in 60. letih 20. stoletja. V tem prispevku sem uporabila podatke reproduktivnih zgodovin šestih žensk, po poklicu kmetice in gospodinj, ki so rojevale v 30., 40. in 50. letih 20. stoletja. Te sem izbrala zato, ker so živele z izrazito nasilnim partnerjem. Intervjuje sem v vaseh novomeškega Podgorja opravila v dveh valovih, prvič med letoma 1995 – 1998 in drugič med letoma 2007 - 2009.

Umetni splav – posledica nasilja nad žensko in metoda načrtovanja družine

Dr. Alojz Zalokar je že leta 1918 v socialnomedicinski študiji » O ljudskem zdravju« s krepkimi črkami zapisal ***tudi pri nas se že udomačuje navada,* (...) *da se z umetnimi sredstvi onemogoča koncepcija***« (37, 36, 58, 65). Po prvi svetovni vojni so torej ženske že zaznale potrebo, da bi omejile število rojenih otrok. Vendar sta bila kontracepcija in strokovno opravljeni splav dostopna le izobraženim, reproduktivno osveščenim in premožnim ženskam, saj so splav za plačilo nezakonito opravljali zdravniki. Ko so glasovi žensk bork za legalizacijo socialne indikacije za splav iz 30. let 20. stoletja dosegli kmečke ženske, so začele zavestno načrtovati rojstva, zlasti v 50. letih 20. stoletja. Še v prvi polovici 20. stoletja so pošiljali »odvečne« otroke *služit* družinam premožnejših kmetov, da bi uravnali število otrok z razpoložljivi viri za preživetje družine. Takšna strategija načrtovanja družine v novih družbenih razmerah ni bila več sprejemljiva; zamenjala jo je strategija načrtovanja rojstev (prim. Greenhalgh, 1988, 629-74). Posledično so se zaostrile zaznave nezaželenih nasledkov visoke rodnosti. Učitelji so v skladu z novimi šolskimi ukrepi od staršev zahtevali, da so otroci snažni, primerno oblečeni ter da redno obiskujejo šolo. Ker sta vzgoja in skrb za otroka v patriarhalno urejeni skupnosti sodila v gospodinjske delovne obveznosti matere, so posledično kmečke gospodinje imele z otroki vse več dela in stroškov, za kar pa *gospodinjski denar*[7] ni več zadoščal. Življenje kmečkih žensk je vsekakor bilo razpeto med zahtevami po visoki produktivnosti in visoki reprodukciji; neskladje med obema so morale uravnati same. To podkrepi tudi ravnodušnost večine mož, ki so odklanjali omejevanje rojstev z metodo prekinjenega spolnega odnosa: »*Jes sem se kar tresla, de bom spet pouna* (noseča, op. I. R.). *Kaj sem pa jest tla!? Ja, on pa n'č. Sem mu lepu rekla: ‚Dej mirki, de ne bom spet pouna!' Pa mi je odgovoru: ‚Visoka so nebesa, širok je svet, dost je še placa za kakšno barabo na tem svet!'«* (R., 2003).

Splav je bil takrat najpogostejša metoda načrtovanja rojstev in družine; ženske so ga opravile, sicer v škodo svojega psihološkega in fiziološkega zdravja, da bi ohranile občutljivo razmerje med razpoložljivimi viri za preživetje - ne zgolj ekonomskimi, ampak tudi čustvenimi, človeškimi in družbenimi in »ekonomičnim« številom otrok. To nazorno opiše L., ki je imela štiri mazaške in en zdravniško opravljeni splav: *»Takrat je blu taku hudu, ja, veste kuga je,* ***al ne b' bla jes rada****,* (naredila splav, pove poudarjeno op. I. R.), *ampak tulk atruk je blu, ne«*. (1995). Iz tega sledi, da delavske in kmečke ženske v 50. letih 20. stoletja drugih kontracepcijskih sredstev razen mazaškega splava niso imele na voljo. Ženske, ki so jim splav opravili mazači/mazačke ali pa so ga na podlagi ljudskega medicinskega znanja opravile same ali s pomočjo sosede: »*Teloh, stebelce, so vstavljale v nožnico. Pojedle kinin, lahko so ga kupile v lekarni, se potem vsedle nad posodo, v katero so zlile močan kamilični prevretek in potem predirale z gosjim perosom*« (A.., 1995), so pogosto umrle[8]: »*To so tiste pacarke delale, pol se je pa zastrupila, pa je šla. Dve sta umrle iz P.″*

6 Kot so npr. negativni reproduktivni izidi (spontani splav, mrtvorojenost, umrljivost dojenčkov (ang. »anthropology of pregnancy lost« ali »disruptive reproduction« gl. Cecil, 1996; Layne, 2003), neplodnost v neevropskih deželah, npr. Inhorn, 1994) itn. ter njihovi socialni, ekonomski, kulturni učinki in posledice v sinhroni in diahroni perspektivi.

7 To je denar, ki ga je gospodinja zaslužila s prodajo gospodinjskih viškov, npr. jajc, sadja, skute, divjih sadežev, moke, žganja idr.

8 O statiski in posledicah splavnosti na Slovenskem v obdobju, ko ta še ni bil dovoljen gl. Kranjc Simoneti, 1976.

(A., 1995) Informatorka je menila, da žene niso povedale možu, da so splavile.

Poleg umetnega splava so metodo prekinjenega odnosa poznali tudi že »na kmetih«, vendar je bila uporaba te kontracepcijske metode odvisna predvsem od znanja in volje moža, ki ni bil ravnodušen do žene, njenega zdravja, njene obremenjenosti s porodi in s skrbjo za otroke, kot je povedala N. K.: »*Naš je taku reku:" Jes ne maram, de bom jes meu kakšenga otroka pret, kuker bom z vojske peršu," je reku," de se boš ti kod matrala sama z otrokom, pa bežala kod." Nesma mel res ne otrok, je mirku, ne. Šestinštrdestga je peršu on z vojske, sedeminštrdesetga je bla že ščerka rojena*« (1996). Mnogi te metode načrtovanja rojstev niso znali ali zmogli ali hoteli uporabljati[9]; mnogi so tako dokazovali in utrjevali svojo patriarhalno moško vlogo, ki je gledano z današnje perspektive bil način spolnega nasilja (več o moški »zakonski pravici« in ženski »zakonski dolžnosti« gl. Seccombe, 1992, 66-85).

Značilnosti te reproduktivne miselnosti so bili najpogostejši dejavniki tveganja za nezaželeno nosečnost in mazaške splave, ki so ženski povzročili ali stopnjevali že obstoječe reproduktivne, fiziološke in psihološke bolezni: »*Mela sem pa tisto zlato žilo od peruga poroda, sem terpela. In kadar sem rodila, zmiri mi je reku zdravnik:" Ja, L-jeva, boste mogla jet, vi boste mogla jet na operacijo* (zlate žile, op. I. R.)." *Ka mi je tut učas ven hodilu* črevu, *ne. Pa sem potrpela, pa sem se umivala, pa sedet nisem mogla nikdar, sem zmiram samu taku na pou sedela, ka sem se bala, pa poušter sem si dala, taku de je blu kaj mehkega pod rit. In sem trpela taku. Jes sem mogla delat, ni blu cajta; sem uničena čist, se zatu pa nisem za nobeno rabo, sem, sem usa uničena. Ka miselte, de je tu dobru?! Tut od teh splavov, so rekel: ‚Splau je za devet porodov,' taku je tu hudu; pet splavov, pa osem porodov sem mela.«*[10]

Nezaželena nosečnost je bila in je še pogost dejavnik tveganja za fizično in psihično nasilje; partner ženski najprej prepove kontracepcijo, nato pa jo prisili še v splav. [11] S takšnim nasilnim vedenjem so partnerji nadzorovali spolno življenje svojih žena; v patriarhalnih razmerjih med spoloma je pravica ženske do spolne svobode pogosto nesprejemljiva. V tem kontekstu postane razumljivo, da so ženske lahko le s »*spravljanjem*« uravnavale rojstva, o čemer je upokojena terenska babica iz Ormoža izpričala: »*Kontracepcija se je pojavila tam, nekje petinšestdesetega leta; jih je blo trebalo naučiti kontracepcije, da so se zaščitile. Mislim, eni moški so bili zelo jezni na mene, ampak jaz se jim nisem dala. Zaradi tega, ker so rekli, da bodo zdaj babe te tablete jemale pa bodo vse kurbe. To je bilo, vam rečem, zelo hudo, moški so bili ljubosumni;* niso *mele tak svobodnega odločanja, jaz vem, da so tablete skrivale vse povsod, da možje niso tega vidli, potem sem mela primer, ko je reku, tega ne moreš jest, pa ji je skuru vse tablete, ne boš jedla tega, to je, jaz vem, zakaj to ješ, pa tak. Kaj!, noseče so lahka ostajale pa splav delale!«* (C., 2010).

Bolj radikalna »rešitev« načrtovanja rojstev je bil detomor, ki so ga v stiski naredile tudi poročene ženske, čeprav med detomorilkami sicer prevladujejo samske ženske. V nadaljevanju bom v ponazoritev povzela primer po časopisnem članku iz leta 1979, ki se je v Prekmurju zgodil že po uzakonitvi splava, ko je bila kontracepcija že splošno razširjena Poročena kmečka ženska, ki je bila v vasi cenjena kot dobra mati in kmečka gospodinja, je po rojstvu treh otrok, storila še tri detomore. »Ženska je še pre*cej mlada. Morda je bil to vzrok občasne ljubosumnosti njenega moža? Tako se je dogajalo, da ji je očital otroke, ob kateri je v hudi in nagli jezi celo podvomil o svojem očetovstvu. ‚Zbala sem se, ko sem opazila, da sem noseča,' je rekla ženska preiskovalcem. Tako ni niti pomislila na to, da bi doma povedala, kaj se z njo dogaja. (...) Ženska je uredila tako, da je rodila sama. (...) Na splav ni mislila. V svoji nevednosti je bila prepričana, da bi morala zaradi splava oba z možem pred komisijo, kjer bi moral tudi mož podpisati papirje, da se s splavom strinja. Njena nepoučenost o splavih je bila usodna. (...)«* (Jana, 18.04.1979, 18-19).

Skratka, če povzamem; nezaželena nosečnost postane orodje nadzora in dokazovanje moči. K temu je prispevala tudi neosveščenost žensk o metodah načrtovanja družine, njihovih pravicah, ki jim jo je po 2. svetovni vojni družba že zakonsko zagotavljala. Kljub temu je bil mazaški splav, kasneje tudi medicinsko opravljen splav, redkeje detomor, tista rešilna bilka, ki se jo je v obupu prijela ženska, da bi število otrok uravnala z razpoložljivi viri za preživetje. Pri tem moramo všteti tudi čas, ki ga je ženska potrebovala za nego otrok, da bi ti bili primerno urejeni, oskrbljeni za v šolo in razvoj, seveda v skladu z duhom časa.

Obdobje po 2. svetovni vojni do začetka 70. let 20. stoletja je bilo prehodno obdobje - njegovo analizo, ki presega cilj pričujočega članka, bi lahko poimenovali »med tradicionalnim in sodobnim«, saj je zanj značilno, da ukrepi zdravstvene politike na področju reprodukcije niso bili usklajeni z ukrepi socialne politike s področja družine. Na eni strani splav še ni bil uzakonjen,

9 "Taku je biu razumen, vam povem, taku je biu razumen in tak študiran, po useh občnih zborih je hodu in use pousod, a za tu pa nikdar (...) Jes ne vem al ni znau al ni hotu? Jes sem mu večkrat rekla, in večkrat mu je kdu drug reku, mu je brat reku, pa mu je drug nečak, smo bla enkrat, vem, u zidanici , pa mu je nečak reku:" Ja, al pejt pret dol, u Nou mesti ne u Bršlin, ka je že prekasnu." Ja, use sorte so mu taku, pa kaj jest vem, kuga je blu." (L., 1995).

10 Gospa A. L. je odlašala z operacijo zlate žile, ki jo je dobila po prvem porodu; pri triinštiridesetih letih je zbolela za črevesnim rakom, ki ji je hkrati »pozdravil« zlato žilo in z njo povezane težave, namreč črevo so odrezali in odslej je blato odvajala prek vrečke.

11 Informatorka C. V. , sedaj stara 54 let, mi je povedala, da je zaradi takšnega nasilja imela enajst umetnih splavov in to v času, ko je bila kontracepcija splošno razširjena, dostopna in že uzakonjena! V tem zakonu je rodila tri otroke, zadnjega že po ločitvi; ločila se je, ker je partner ponovno zahteval, da naredi splav.

osveščenost žensk o učinkih in obstoju kontracepcije pa je bila še na nizki ravni, na drugi strani pa ukrepi socialne politike, praviloma posredovani prek učiteljev in zdravnikov, ki so od staršev zahtevali, da so njihovi otroci bolje urejeni, oskrbljeni, negovani kot pred 2. svetovno vojno. V tem prehodnem obdobju so nedvomno to breme v večjem deležu nosile ženske.

Nujno je treba še izpostaviti dejstvo, da »žrtvovanje« lastnega telesa v prid družinski ekonomiji, zadovoljitvi zahtev nasilnega moža iz različnih razlogov (čustvenih, ekonomskih, strahu pred nasiljem), pogosto zmotno pripisujemo patriarhalnim odnosom med partnerjema bodisi v nedavni preteklosti t. i. zahodnega industrijskega sveta bodisi v t. i. sodobnem tretjem svetu. Iz tega sledi sklep, da reproduktivne hendikepiranosti žensk ne smemo presojati zgolj z vidika različice teorije modernizacije, ki ima korenine v evolucionistični teoriji sredine 19. stoletja, saj odnosov med spoloma nikakor ne moremo razložiti zgolj kot postopen, homogen, globalizacijski, nepovratni in progresiven proces .

SKLEP

Če reproduktivno zdravje žensk presojamo v zgodovinskem loku, ugotovimo, da je v patriarhalnem okolju ženska nosila breme negativnih reproduktivnih izidov in bila zanje tudi odgovorna – umetni splav, neplodnost, rojstvo bolnega, hendikepiranega, mrtvorojenega otroka. Te tradicionalne poglede in ravnanja še vedno presojamo stereotipno; pripisujemo jih surovi patriarhalni preteklosti. Vendar so se, če jih obravnavamo skozi prizmo spolnega nasilja nad ženskami, te ostaline ohranile; nesporno je, da so še vedno prisotni v vseh socialnih slojih in v različno opredeljenih družbenih skupinah. Nasilje nad ženskami, torej tudi spolno, ki vključuje tudi negativne reproduktivne izide, tj. nevidno reproduktivno hendikepiranost, je leta 1989 v Sloveniji bilo prvič opredeljeno za družbeni nedopustni pojav, ko je nanj opozorila feministična skupina »Lilit« in organizirala prvi projekt pomoči za ženske in otroke, to je Društvo SOS telefon za ženske in otroke žrtve nasilja. Izsledki raziskave Nasilje nad ženskami ali kako doseči ničelno toleranco so pokazali, da je nosečnost še vedno dejavnik tveganja za nasilje, posledica fizičnega in spolnega nasilja pa nezaželena nosečnost in splav (Hartman, 1998, 9-24, nav. po Šprah et al., 2003, 40, 112-113). Kljub tem zaskrbljujočim podatkom, ki so še vedno vzrok nevidne reproduktivne hendikepiranosti žensk, so se na drugi strani zgodili izredno pomembni premiki v odnosih med spoloma, ki se kažejo na polju reprodukcije; v zadnjih dveh desetletjih so moški postali aktivni v svoji starševski vlogi – v 90. letih 20. stoletja je prišlo v navado, da partnerji prisostvujejo pri porodu, tj. rojstvu svojega otroka, uveljavili so pravico do porodniškega in očetovskega dopusta, posledično so nedavno postali tudi subjekt antropoloških raziskav.

Čeprav so v članku orisane reproduktivne strategije in izidi bili posledica patriarhalnih odnosov med spoloma, podkrepljene z religijo, so se v sodobnosti pojavili novi problemi in težave, s katerimi se spopadajo tako ženske kot moški, ki zahtevajo drugačne pristope reševanja, preučevanja in odkrivanja njihove kompleksnosti.

V pričujočem članku sem izpostavila z reproduktivnimi strategijami povezano reproduktivno zdravje žensk, ki so rojevale v obdobju od 50. do 60. let 20. stoletja. Če sklenem: njihovo rodno vedenje je bilo opredeljeno z lokalnimi moralnimi in religioznimi normami, ki so povzročile negativne reproduktivne izide oziroma poslabšale reproduktivno zdravje žensk. Ženske so imele omejene možnosti, da bi same odločale o svoji reproduktivni strategiji, še posebej v ideološko unificiranih socialnih okoljih. Izpostavila sem primer načrtovanja družine z mazaškimi splavi, ko kontracepcija še ni bila dosegljiva in je bil strokovno opravljen splav otežen, saj v 50. in 60. letih člani komisij (zdravniki in socialni delavec) redko upoštevali socialno indikacijo za splav. V kontekstu ženskega boja za uveljavljane svoje domnevne temeljne reproduktivne pravice, tj. pravice do upravljanja z lastnim telesom, so orale in še vedno orjejo ledino na polju obstoječih spolnih in reproduktivnih norm. V tem boju pa se spopadajo in premagujejo politiko močno etabliranih institucij: religijskih, biomedicinskih in pravnim.

POVZETEK

V prispevku obravnavam negativne reproduktivne izide kmečkih žensk, ki so rojevale v obdobju od 50. do 60. let 20. stoletja. Te sem obravnavala na primeru načrtovanja družine z mazaškimi splavi, ko socialna indikacija za splav še ni bila uzakonjena in kontracepcija še ne splošno razširjena in dosegljiva. Če sklenem: kmečke ženske so imele omejene možnosti, da bi same odločale o svoji reproduktivni strategiji. Omejena je bila z izsledki biomedicinske znanosti v navezi z državnimi, socialnimi, pravnimi, zdravstvenimi in verskimi institucijami, moralnimi normami različnih družbenih skupnosti, npr. etničnih, ki so škodovale reproduktivnemu in psihičnemu zdravju.

Izsledke raziskave sem razložila v kontekstu časa, družbenosti in prostora, v odvisnosti od širših družbenih in kulturnih sistemov ter njihove moči. Izkazalo se je, da ženske, ko uveljavljajo svoje temeljne reproduktivne pravice, torej tudi strokovno opravljen umetni splav, v tem boju vedno orjejo ledino. Pri tem pa naletijo na ovire, ki jih postavljajo politike močno etabliranih institucij: verskih, zdravstvenih in državnih.

INVISIBLE WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE DISABILITY

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SUMMARY

This paper addresses the adverse reproductive outcomes of rural women who gave birth in the period from 50th to 60th 20 Century, when family planning with abortion has not yet been enacted and contraception is not yet widespread and accessible. To conclude, rural women have had limited opportunities to make their own decisions about their reproductive strategy. Reproductive strategies was limited to the results of biomedical science in conjunction with the national social, legal, medical and religious institutions, moral norms of different social communities, ethnic's minorities, that harms reproductive and mental health of women. I explained the research findings in the context of time, society and space, depending on the broader social and cultural systems and their power. It has been shown that women, when exercising their basic reproductive rights, among them professionally performed abortion, they encounter obstacles.

In this struggle they are trying to achieve new reproductive rights, and overcome obstacles posed by the established strong policy institutions: religious, medical and government.

Key words: disability, fertility behavior, reproductive health, abortion, contraception, Slovenia

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TRANSLATING EMOTIONS - THE REPRESENTATION AND PROCESSING OF EMOTION-LADEN AND EVALUATIVE WORDS IN BILINGUAL AND MONOLINGUAL INDIVIDUALS FROM SERBIA

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to analyze, compare and contrast emotion-laden and evaluative words in monolingual and bilingual individuals from Serbia. More precisely, our research goal was to prepare an interethnic comparison of affective and connotative meaning systems in Hungarian and Serbian monolingual and Hungarian-Serbian bilingual individuals.

The empirical part of the study paid special attention to emotion-laden and evaluative words at a verbal level, examining specific concepts related to emotions. Our participants were bilinguals and monolinguals from Vojvodina, Serbia. The research method used was the semantic differential technique developed by Charles Osgood, which allows the participants to express their attitudes. Here they rated positive and negative emotion, emotion-laden, emotion-evocative and evaluative concepts and neutral words.

Our results show that mainly there are no differences between the monolingual and bilingual groups, but few words exist that have a different emotional meaning and charge in Serbian and Hungarian language.

Keywords: bilingualism, emotion, semantic differential, Serbia, Serbian, Hungarian

TRADURRE LE EMOZIONI – LA RAPPRESENTAZIONE ED ELABORAZIONE DI PAROLE CARICHE DI EMOZIONI ED ESPRESSIONI VALUTATIVE IN PERSONE BILINGUI E MONOLINGUI IN SERBIA

SINTESI

Lo scopo della presente ricerca era analizzare, paragonare e porre in contrasto parole cariche di emozioni e quelle valutative in persone monolingui e bilingui di Serbia. Più precisamente, il nostro obiettivo di ricerca era di eseguire un confronto interetnico tra i sistemi di significati affettivi e connotativi in persone ungheresi e serbe monolingui e in persone bilingui ungheresi-serbe.

Nella parte empirica della ricerca abbiamo prestato particolare attenzione alle parole cariche di emozioni ed espressioni valutative a livello verbale, esaminando concetti specifici legati alle emozioni. I partecipanti alla nostra ricerca erano persone bilingui e monolingui da Vojvodina, Serbia. Il metodo di ricerca utilizzato è stata la tecnica del differenziale semantico sviluppata da Charles Osgood, che permette ai partecipanti di esprimere i loro giudizi. Qui venivano valutate emozioni positive e negative, concetti carichi di emozione, evocativi di emozioni e valutativi, nonché parole neutrali.

I risultati della nostra ricerca mostrano che principalmente non ci sono differenze tra gruppi monolingui e bilingui, esistono però alcune parole che possiedono un significato e carica emozionale diversi in serbo e in ungherese.

Parole chiave: bilinguismo, emozione, differenziale semantico, Serbia, il serbo, l'ungherese

The aim of this study is to compare the processing of emotion, emotion-laden and evaluative words of monolingual and bilingual individuals living in Serbia. We want to see if the affective and connotative meaning-systems of monolingual and bilingual participants differ across languages, find similarities and distinctions between the interpretations of verbally expressed emotion words, emotion-laden and evaluative terms. In emotion research adjectives are frequently used (Altarriba, Bauer, Benvenuto, 1999). In contrast with this, we used nouns, because the semantic differential as a method requires their usage.

The difference between emotion words and emotion-laden words is that emotion words have directly an affective meaning referring to emotional states (e.g. sad) or processes (e.g. to worry) and are related to pleasantness and arousal (Pavlenko, 2008, Altarriba, Bauer, Benvenuto, 1999). Emotion-laden words are words which do not refer directly to emotions, but they express them or elicit them from the interlocutors (e.g. cancer) (Pavlenko, 2008). The third group consists of emotion-related words, which again do not name the emotion, but tell us about behaviors related to particular emotions (e.g. to scream) (Pavlenko, 2008). Language emotionality has been studied by using six types of emotion-laden words (Pavlenko, 2008), from which we used neutral and aversive words; in the case of positive words, we used terms associated with positive values. This was done because in Pavlenko's (2008) emotion-laden word categorization at the positive end there is just one category: endearments. Our list was thus composed of emotion, emotion-laden, evaluative words and words closely associated with positive or negative values. A preliminary rating procedure of twenty-eight subjects from Serbia ensured that the list contained the most positive, negative or neutral words, which were selected from a bigger list.

To explore the emotion lexicon, by varying the valence of words, we utilized the semantic differential scale as a method in monolinguals and bilinguals in Serbian and Hungarian language. The relevancy of this study lies in the fact that the emotion lexicon has not been studied and compared so far in Hungarian and Serbian – our research is the first one exploring this field in Serbia and it provides novel information about the Hungarian and Serbian, as well as the monolingual and bilingual emotion lexicon.

In the past few years there has been a noticeable growth in interest among psychologists for the interactions between language and emotional experience. Questions often raised are connected to real or perceived personality changes in bilinguals when they switch between languages. A prevalently accepted view is that in most cases the mother tongue is the language of the heart; and that emotions can be authentically lived through in their real emotionality in this language. Many studies have examined and proved this statement, but the discussion is still open, because a smaller group of psychologists have found conflicting results.

Three areas of psychology serve as the theoretical background and partially each contributes in a different way to the questions raised in this study. The first deals with the nature of human emotions, the second with the phenomenon of bilingualism, and the third source is a specific combination of the two previously mentioned branches.

The third stream is the most important for our research; Aneta Pavlenko initiated this "new wave" in 2002 and she has been studying bilingualism and emotions ever since. The introductory questions of Pavlenko's book, *Emotions and multilingualism* define the most significant points of the research: 1. "Do bilingual individuals perceive and express emotions in the same way in both spoken languages?", 2. "Is it true that our first language stays the language of emotional expressiveness and is most intensively emotionally charged?" and 3. "What role do emotions play in acquiring a second language?".

According to Pavlenko (2005), interest for studying the connections between emotions and language has grown significantly in the past twenty-five years. A vast amount of scientific research has been done on the topic; however, the author points out to one problem: all of the research has been done from a monolingual perspective, ignoring the fact that nowadays an individual knowing only one language is more the exception than the rule. She stresses that this "monolingual bias" exists for two reasons. Firstly, bilingual and multilingual individuals are not explored because their language competencies do not offer a clear and easily-analyzed picture for researchers. Furthermore, bilingual and multilingual abilities and competencies are often considered as insignificant when dealing with the first language of bilingual and multilingual individuals.

Pavlenko (2005, 4) wanted to highlight that bilingual individuals are a useful and specific research group and accentuated the inclusion of the two- and multi-language lens into emotion research (2006a, xiii). Several fields support this, e.g. bilinguals can give us valuable information about the extent to which practice can affect genetically determined attributes (Pléh, 2007, 10).

BILINGUAL SELVES AND EMOTIONAL FUNCTIONING

Man's psychological reality can be divided into thoughts, intentions and emotions. For a long time, psychological research had overshadowed topics dealing with emotions, mostly ignoring them as an "unresearchable part of verbal behavior" and considered them a "residual category" (Besnier, 1990, 420).

In the 1970's – 1980's, however, with the appearance of the popular post-cognitive approach in psychology, scientists gradually began to explore and include emotions into the information processing models, despite the fact that the cognitive and emotional worlds

still appeared to be contrasted categories. According to Besnier (1990), cognition-emotion is a dichotomous category, which can be compared to the rational-irrational and objective-subjective oppositions.

The difficulties in studying emotions arise partly from the fact that emotions do not yet have a whole, unified and universally accepted definition. As far as the specific nature of emotions is concerned, scientists name and highlight various aspects of emotions as crucial.

Many researchers agree that the mother tongue is the language of emotions and feelings in multi- or bilingual individuals (Harris, Berko Gleason, Aycicegi, 2006, Pavlenko, 2008). They cannot offer, however, a full explanation as to why the first language most often dominates, or why exceptions to this rule exist. There are several possible reasons why bilinguals often seem more emotionally neutral and "flat" in their second language. One of them is that they do not have the level of linguistic competence in their second language necessary for finding the exact expression or they may be anxious, tense, focusing more on "correctness" in second language use. Another factor could be that they need to make a greater effort when using their second language, additionally unpleasant memories could flood individuals when the second language is activated (e.g. immigrants).

Panayioutou believes (2006, 188) that in emotion research, language inevitably embeds itself between emotions and the human being who feels them, and thus, one possible method of studying emotions is to approach them at a verbal level. According to the author, the evaluative component of emotions is largely culturally determined. She believes that there are "culturally untranslatable" (2006, 188) emotion concepts, which are not equivalent in meaning in the two languages, because their contents vary, despite the fact that their labels are the same. Panayiotou studied concepts of *guilt* and *shame* from two different linguistic and cultural backgrounds – English and Greek. As social and moral concepts they are inevitably influenced and (re)formed by cultural effects, connected to interactions between individuals. Her results showed that bilinguals have two emotional "universes" (2006, 204), two different, but connected systems that can affect each other. This can be explained by the bilingual individuals' capability to sense subtle language variations and similarities, thanks to more profound experiences with cultural differences than monolinguals.

A similar view is shared by Marian and Kaushanskaya (2004, 199) who also examined the "worlds" of bilingual individuals. Participants were asked to respond to preselected words with a story from their lives connected to the first or the second language. Their description was more emotional when the linguistic context of the events in the story matched the language used to recount the story. This finding is in accordance with a more general view of Bower and Forgas (2003, 105) that the same mood enhances recall of events in that mood – which is called the phenomenon of mood dependency. It seems that in bilinguals there is some sort of language-dependency. These two studies highlighted the importance of research on emotions at the verbal level using self-report meaures in a broader context of culture which can show fine variations in language emotionality.

Stepanova Sachs and Coley (2006) have dealt with the terms of *jealousy* and *envy* in Russian and English and have found evidence for conceptual restructuring in bilinguals (Pavlenko, 2008). Monolingual Russian participants used the concept of *jealousy* and *envy* in separate situations. In contrast, monolingual English speakers used both *jealousy* and *envy* interchangeably. In English bilinguals responded like the monolingual English group, but in Russian the distinction between *envy* and *jealousy* was blurred and they were not strictly dissimilar as we would expect based on the results of the monolingual Russian group. The concepts have become shifted in such a way that the similarities in meaning in the concepts of jealousy and envy have been highlighted. Bilinguals in using their second language (English), but also in their native language have adopted the same behavior as the monolingual English group.

In contrast with the previously described researchers, Dewaele (2008) selected a positive emotion to study: the emotional weight of the expression *I love you*. His findings can be divided into three categories: nearly half of the participants experienced the concept of *love* most profoundly in their first language, less than a third judged the weight of the concept to be similar in both the first and second (or later-learned) languages, and a quarter of the participants felt a greater emotional effect in their second language. Dewaele's results thus show that the participants' first language is not always the one most closely linked to emotions and it presumably mirrors intimate experiences with people speaking another language or second language socialization effects, which leads us to the conclusion that environmental factors are very important in this field.

Aneta Pavlenko (2006b) points out that the ease and level of comfort we feel when talking about our emotions in our mother tongue stands in sharp contrast with the feeling of artificiality bilingual individuals feel when talking about the same matter in their second language. Writers who publish their works in more than one language refer to their second language as the "step-mother tongue" (Pavlenko, 2006b, 22). Pavlenko explains the fact that we generally prefer to express our emotions in our native language by stating that "emotional linguistic conditioning" (2006b, 22) occurs in childhood. At the base of this is a classical conditioning-based learning process and it occurs due to the complete activation of the limbic system and affective memory. According to the Theory of Language Embodiment in the process of acquiring a native language there are two separate, but intertwined processes: the first is the conceptual development – when the denotative, primary and base meaning of concepts is formed (Pavlenko, 2005, 154-155).

Representations developed in this process absorb information from all sensory organs and systems (including, among others, vision, hearing and olfaction) and the meanings are further modified by the fine changes occurring during socialization. Affective language conditioning happens in parallel with this process, through which the word's emotional and connotative meaning is established from the individual's personal and emotionally-charged experiences and memories. During the course of acquiring a first language, in the development of connotative and denotative meanings, both the sensory images and the physiological changes become parts of the concepts themselves. In acquiring a second language, on the other hand, especially in a classroom setting, this does not happen, so the words of one's mother tongue are "embodied" (2005, 155) in contrast with those of a foreign or second language. Second language words are not connected at all to personal, autobiographical memories or to our affective memory system. Only in the case of second language learning in a natural environment can the emotional conditioning of varying strength occur.

Harris, Berko Gleason and Aycicegi (2006) also believe that an individual's first language is more closely tied to emotions because it is acquired when childhood attachment is shaped and in intensive emotional contexts. They think early language learning in a natural environment is one of the determining factors for the emotionality of a language. An intriguing point of their theoretical stance is the fact that the second language can be the dominant language for emotions, even if it is learned in adulthood and if it is the less-proficient language. The learning context is the crucial component – it must be considerably emotionally charged, containing interpersonal situations that resemble situations involving interactions and relationships with childhood caregivers. They do not deny or exclude the effects of maturation processes, the relevancy of the amount of time spent learning the language, or the level of competence. But emotional settings are of high importance compared to formal or classroom learning environments, because they connect emotions to language learning.

One of our aims is to see whether connotative meanings differ in Hungarian and Serbian in subjects who live in a mixed linguistic environment, balancing between Hungarian and Serbian language. We assume that this population has many opportunities to "embody" second language words and to experience them in emotional contexts at a very early age. The question about the structure of the semantic space of their two respective languages – the similarities and differences - thus seems an intriguing one to explore.

THE AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research was to make an intercultural comparison of affective meanings in mono- and bilingual individuals. Based on previous research done in foreign countries we hypothesized that certain differences exist in the connotative meanings and emotional experiences of emotionally charged concepts and evaluative words between monolingual and bilingual groups from Vojvodina, Serbia. In addition we wanted to examine which language is the emotionally dominant in our groups and how are contents with emotional valence perceived in Hungarian and Serbian.

The research was oriented towards comparing emotional reactions and interpretations connected to the Hungarian and Serbian languages in Hungarian and Serbian monolingual groups and in Hungarian-Serbian bilingual individuals. The research was based on Pavlenko's new area of research and on previous studies (Pavlenko, 2005, 153-154, Harris, Berko Gleason, Aycicegi, 2006, Dewaele, 2008), which examined the emotionality of languages by comparing mono- and bilingual groups through verbal behavior and various reactions.

So far, there is no unifying theory on the question of whether the mother tongue is always the dominant language of emotions and emotional charge, whether the emotionally dominant language could change in time and if so, under what conditions. According to Pavlenko (Pavlenko, 2005), emotion concepts have emotional weight if their words invoke sensory images and physiological reactions. The mono- and bilingual populations are subjected to significantly different effects in age of language acquisition, language use and experiences through socialization, they have varying paths of life, with different languages dominating at different times.

The main question of our research was whether the "original" (not translated) and translated equivalents of certain positive, negative or neutral, emotion-activating and emotion-laden and evaluative words differ in emotional meaning in Hungarian and Serbian languages. We wanted to take into account if the words emotional-experiential, cultural shades, perception and intensity match or differ in Hungarian and Serbian, when mono- and bilingual groups are compared. Another question we wished to answer in our research was which language is emotionally dominant in the bilingual group of participants, the native or the second language.

HYPOTHESES

Our study has relied on the following suppositions:

I. The emotional intensity and connotative meaning of emotionally charged and evaluative words in the bilingual group will be stronger in the dominant, the Hungarian language, than in the second language in accordance with the direction of the category (the positive concepts will be assigned a positive value, the negatives a more negative one).

II. There will be more differences in evaluation between the bilingual group and the Serbian group, than

between the bilingual group and the Hungarian group because the first language of the bilingual individuals is Hungarian.

SAMPLE

Eighty-seven individuals participated in the study. Three groups of participants were formed; the first group included monolingual Hungarian individuals (N=29), the second monolingual Serbian individuals (N=29) and the third bilingual Hungarian-Serbian individuals (N=29). The age of participants ranged from 15 to 21 years.

The research took place in two Serbian cities, Novi Sad and Subotica. The two cities are characterized by different language influences. There are more people whose native language is Hungarian in Subotica, but the Serbian language is also present in the environment, so people can choose on their own decision to use either language. Individuals, who know both of the languages usually choose on their own will do they wish to speak Hungarian or Serbian in their wider social environment.

The Serbian language dominates all aspects of life in Novi Sad, thus the number of areas, places where, and people with whom one could speak Hungarian decreases. These usually include the family environment, school (if the student attends a school where he/she is in a class whose language of instruction is Hungarian), or sometimes the circle of friends.

The Hungarian monolingual participants were chosen from the student body of the Teacher Training Faculty in Hungarian Language from Subotica. The Serbian monolingual group consisted of third- and fourth-grade grammar-school students from Novi Sad, while the bilingual group was composed of students from the same school and age group, whose language of instruction is Hungarian. These students were predominantly from Hungarian families, who live in Novi Sad.

We categorized the bilingual individuals according to one of Csilla Bartha's (Bartha, 1999, 40) definitions of bilingualism, using which bilingual is a person whose everyday environment demands the parallel or alternating use of both languages. The bilingual individuals' dominant characteristic is the fact that they learned Hungarian from their parents in a family setting, and they have been exposed to Serbian from an early age thanks to their wider surroundings. Outside their families, in shops and in the streets, they communicate in Serbian most of the time, on a daily basis, and they also have obligatory Serbian language classes in school from their infancy.

Testing was done in groups, in written form, and every participant was required to fill out a rating scale in one or in the case of the bilingual group, two languages. The monolingual groups were surveyed in their mother tongues. The bilingual group filled out the Hungarian scale and its Serbian counterpart.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

The testing was completed using the semantic differential scale. The semantic differential is usually used for measuring an attitude towards something, and in the context of our research it is important that this scale is also often used to reveal the emotional meaning of concepts. This method was developed by Charles Osgood (Osgood, Suci, Tannenbaum, 1957) to capture the emotional aspect of meaning. His aim was to uncover the variance in the perception of different individuals in terms of the connotations connected to certain words. Connotative meaning is defined as the word's oblique, emotional meaning, which contains personal and individual differences. For the expression of attitudes towards the concepts, bipolar adjective pairs are used. The rating is usually done on a seven-point Likert-scale. Participants have to circle an answer according to their perception of the intensity and direction of the concept, in accordance with their personal net of associations.

Osgood defines "meaning" as a mediating representational process, a complex reaction, which can be divided into finite, but unknown components (Osgood, Suci, Tannenbaum, 1957, 31). In his opinion, the semantic space is multi-dimensional; this was his starting point for many studies conducted to find out which factors appear most frequently in meaning, and to what meaning can be traced back to. Nowadays, data gathered with the semantic differential method is connected to three factors: evaluation-potency-activity. These three factors or triad are the most frequently appearing factor-group in Osgood's results, and thus he believes that they can be used to describe the semantic space most appropriately as they are recurring dimensions.

The first part of the scale we constructed contained the independent variables, covering questions concerning language use and competence.

The main part of the semantic differential was comprised of emotionally evocative and emotion-laden and evaluative words, chosen from a longer list. One group of the words was positively charged, another negatively and the third contained neutral words.

The initial list we started from has covered twenty positive, twenty negative and twenty neutral nouns from Hungarian. The words included in the list were chosen intuitively from everyday language use, assuming that they have positive, negative or neutral associations and emotional charge. The main criterion was to select pleasant and unpleasant nouns and emotionally neutral words. The emotion category at the positive end included concepts referring to virtues, characteristics of high value - which elicit respect, positive affect and admiration, whereas the negative list enumerated reprehensible or negative aspects of life and people.

For ensuring the selection of words that are the best exemplars of a category and that they have the strongest emotion-evocative power and carry the emotional

charge desired we included a step of rating the Hungarian words' positivity, negativity or neutrality asking for the opinion of twenty-eight raters (Serbian ratings on a valence dimension of 24 of them can be found in Dragan Janković's Connotative Dictionary, 2000a, 2000b). The evaluation was done on a rating scale ranging from 1 to 10. According to the results we removed 8 words from each category, so that we were left with the twelve words that had received the highest ratings per category. The positive list consisted of highly valued and preferred traits or states, emotionally charged, emotion-laden and evaluative words, whereas the negative list counted undesirable traits, states, emotion, emotion-laden and evaluative words. In putting together the neutral list the main objective was to find words which do not elicit emotions (or just do it minimally).

The new, shortened list was used for construing the semantic differential. There were twelve positive words from which one refers directly to a positive emotion: happiness – thus counts for an emotion word. The others were behaviors or states of high and positive value in everyday life: goodness, independence, self-confidence, caring, righteousness (nouns were formed from adjectives). Emotion-laden and emotionally charged words were: safety, peace, purity, success, interesting, harmony. In the negative category one word referred to a mood – bad mood, the others were aversive, negative emotion-laden and emotion-related words: devil, death, evil, stupidity, aggression, nervousness, manipulation, lie, and words referring to pejorative personality traits: unreliability, meanness, dependence. The neutral list was construed with an effort to find the most suitable words which are normally not connected to feelings (or they are at a very low intensity), thus they named concrete objects (e.g. spoon or wardrobe) and things from nature: tree, river. The list of thirty-six nouns used in the study was the following (the terms are shown here with their translated equivalents in Hungarian and Serbian): I. positive: goodness - jóság - dobrota, happiness - boldogság - sreća, independence - önállóság - samostalnost, self-confidence - magabiztosság - samopouzdanost, caring - gondoskodás – brižljivost, safety - biztonság – sigurnost, rightousness - igazságosság – pravičnost, peace - béke – mir, purity - tisztaság – čistoća, interesting - érdekesség – interesantno, harmony - harmónia – harmonija, success - eredményesség – uspešnost; II. negative: devil – ördög - đavo, death - halál - smrt, evil - gonoszság - zloba, bad mood - rosszkedv - mrzovoljnost, unreliability - megbízhatatlanság - nepouzdanost, stupidity - butaság - glupost, agression - agresszió - agresija, meanness - aljasság - podlost, nervousness - idegesség - nervoza, manipulation - manipuláció - manipulacija, lie - hazugság - laž, dependence - önállótlanság - nesamostalnost; III. neutral: spoon - kanál – kašika, glass - pohár – čaša, pencil case - tolltartó - peratonica, tree - fa – drvo, river - folyó – reka, shoelace - cipőfűző – pertla, wardrobe - szekrény – ormar, window - ablak – prozor, boot - csizma – čizma, dish - edény – posuda, postcard - képeslap – razglednica, notebook - füzet – sveska. The correctness of the list of Hungarian words was verified by a teacher of Hungarian language and literature and the correctness of the list and the translation of Serbian words by a teacher of Serbian language and literature. Participants gave their answers in the semantic differential using the 7-point Likert scale. They evaluated the words according to the following bipolar adjective pairs: good-bad, worthless-valuable, sweet-sour (they construe the dimension of evaluation), big-small, weak-strong, heavy-light (the dimension of potency), passive-active, slow-fast, cold-warm (the dimension of activity).

PROCESSING THE RESULTS

The results were processed using non-parametric statistics and Multidimensional scaling. For calculating the results, the SPSS Statistics 17.0 statistical program was used. The independent group was compared on the Mann-Whitney U test. The dependent sample consisted of the bilingual groups' first and second language answers, these results were compared using the Wilcoxon-test. The results were assessed according to the evaluation-potency-activity triad of factors. This process stems from Osgood (Osgood, Suci, Tannenbaum, 1957, 78-79, 87), who believes that the participants' responses on the polar adjective scales should be evaluated together, as this will offer more reliable and representative results than studying results from separate scales.

After this we conducted a Multidimensional Scaling procedure for the most salient group of results, to see the specific arrangement of the semantic space between concepts.

RESULTS

According to our results, statistically significant differences exist in the mono- and bilingual groups' evaluations of certain emotionally charged, emotion-laden and evaluative words. Some differences in the bilingual group were also found, when we compared the first and second language evaluations of words.

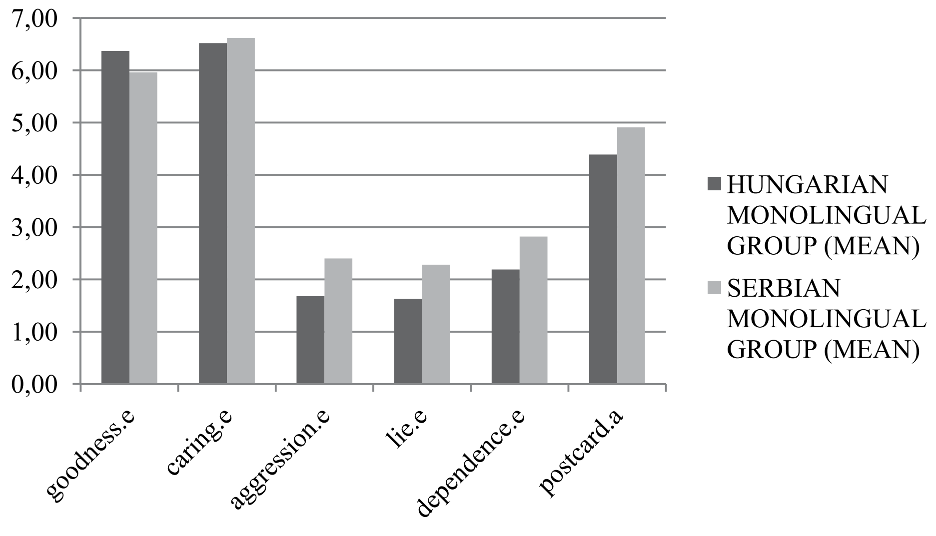
Significant results are shown in tables and graphs below.

The following abbreviations are used in the tables:
abbreviation .e – evaluation factor
abbreviation .p– potency factor
abbreviation .a – activity factor
significance – asymptotic significance; the definition of the level of significance ($p < 0.05$)

The y-axis of the graph shows the mean of each group, and the x-axis contains the list of the words. On the graphs we marked the monolingual groups with a darker shade, except in the last comparison where the darker shade stands for the bilinguals first language answers, whereas the lighter for the bilingual groups' second language ans-

1. The significant differences between the evaluations of the monolingual Hungarian and the monolingual Serbian groups

	goodness.e	caring.e	aggression.e	lie.e	dependence.e	postcard.a
Mann-Whitney U	276.00	289.00	288.50	292.50	277.50	296.50
Z	-2.29	-2.12	-2.10	-2.06	-2.24	-1.97
Significance	.02	.03	.04	.04	.03	.05
r	.30	.28	.28	.27	.29	.26



Graph 1: The differences between the monolingual Hungarian (darker shade) and the monolingual Serbian groups (lighter shade)

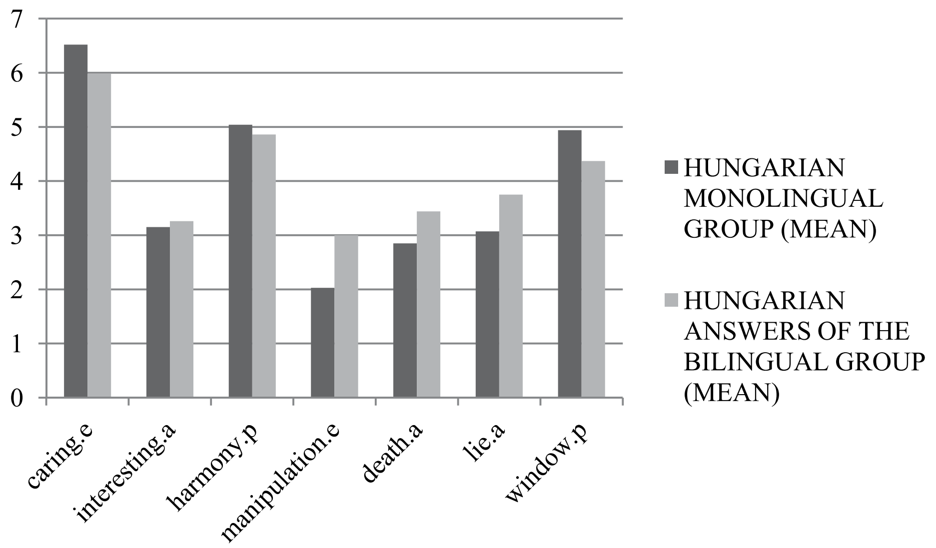
wers and in the monolingual-monolingual comparison, where the darker shade is for the monolingual Hungarian group. In the tables r shows the effect size, where 0.1 means small, 0.3 medium and 0.5 a large effect.

In Graph 1 we can see that the Hungarian participants rated *goodness* as better, more valuable and sweeter than the Serbian monolingual participants did. The second significant difference was observed with the word *caring* – the Serbian group rated this word as better, more valuable and sweeter, in comparison with the Hungarian participants' ratings. *Aggression* was rated as better, more valuable and sweeter by the Serbian monolingual group. In addition to this, *lie* and *dependence* were also rated as better, more valuable and sweeter by the Serbian monolingual group. From the neutral word group, the Serbian group judged *postcard* as more active, faster and warm than in the Hungarian group.

In Graph 2 it is shown the first significant difference observed occurred with the word *caring* which was better, more valuable and sweeter in the Hungar-

2. The significant differences between the monolingual Hungarian individuals and the bilingual groups' evaluations of Hungarian words

	caring.a	interesting.a	harmony.p	death.a	manipulation.e	lie.a	window.p
Mann-Whitney U	236.50	277.50	224.50	295.00	275.50	291.50	276.00
Z	-2.94	-2.24	-3.06	-1.99	-2.29	-2.02	-2.31
Significance	.00	.03	.00	.05	.02	.04	.02
r	.38	.29	.40	.26	.30	.27	.30



Graph 2: The differences in the responses of the Hungarian monolingual group (darker shade) and the bilingual participants' responses in Hungarian (lighter shade)

ian monolingual group. The second word was *interesting* which was evaluated by the bilingual group in Hungarian as more active, faster and warmer. *Harmony* was bigger, stronger and heavier in the monolingual group. *Death* was rated by the bilingual Hungarian group as more active, fast and hot. *Manipulation* in Hungarian by the bilingual group was judged as better, more valuable and sweeter. In the same group, *lie* was deemed to be more active, fast and hot. Furthermore, *window* was judged to be bigger, stronger, heavier by the monolingual Hungarian group.

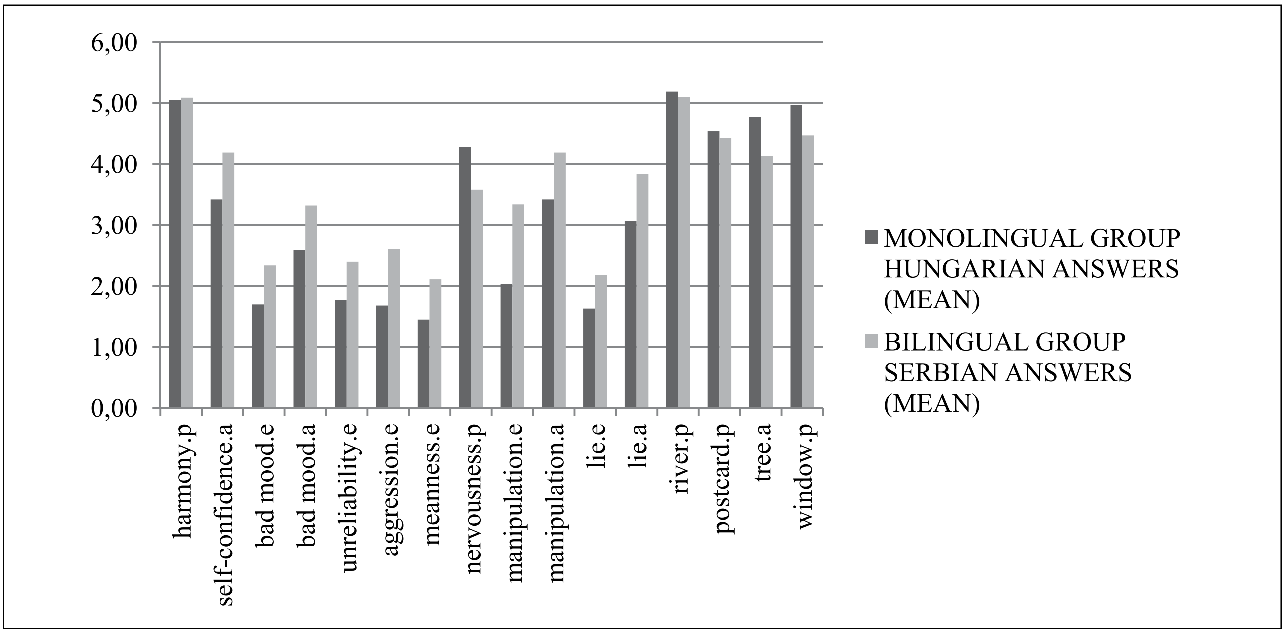
In Graph 3 we can see that the bilingual group rated the positive word *harmony* as bigger, heavier, stronger and *self-confidence* as more active, faster and warmer

3. The significant differences between the evaluations of the Serbian words in the bilingual group and the Hungarian words by the monolingual Hungarian group

	harmony.p	self-confidence.a	bad mood.e	bad mood.a	unreliability.e	aggression.e
Mann-Whitney U	235.00	290.00	279.00	295.00	276.00	256.00
Z	-2.91	-2.05	-2.25	-1.96	-2.28	-2.60
Significance	.00	.04	.02	.05	.02	.01
r	.38	.27	.30	.26	.30	.34

	meanness.e	nervousness.p	manipulation.e	manipulation.a	lie.e
Mann-Whitney U	290.00	232.50	220.00	261.00	285.50
Z	-2.11	-2.94	-3.15	-2.52	-2.15
Significance	.04	.00	.00	.01	.03
r	.28	.39	.41	.33	.28

	lie.a	river.p	postcard.p	tree.a	window.p
Mann-Whitney U	273.00	290.50	296.00	273.00	247.50
Z	-2.30	-2.05	-1.99	-2.34	-2.76
Significance	.02	.04	.05	.02	.00
r	.30	0.27	0.26	0.31	0.36



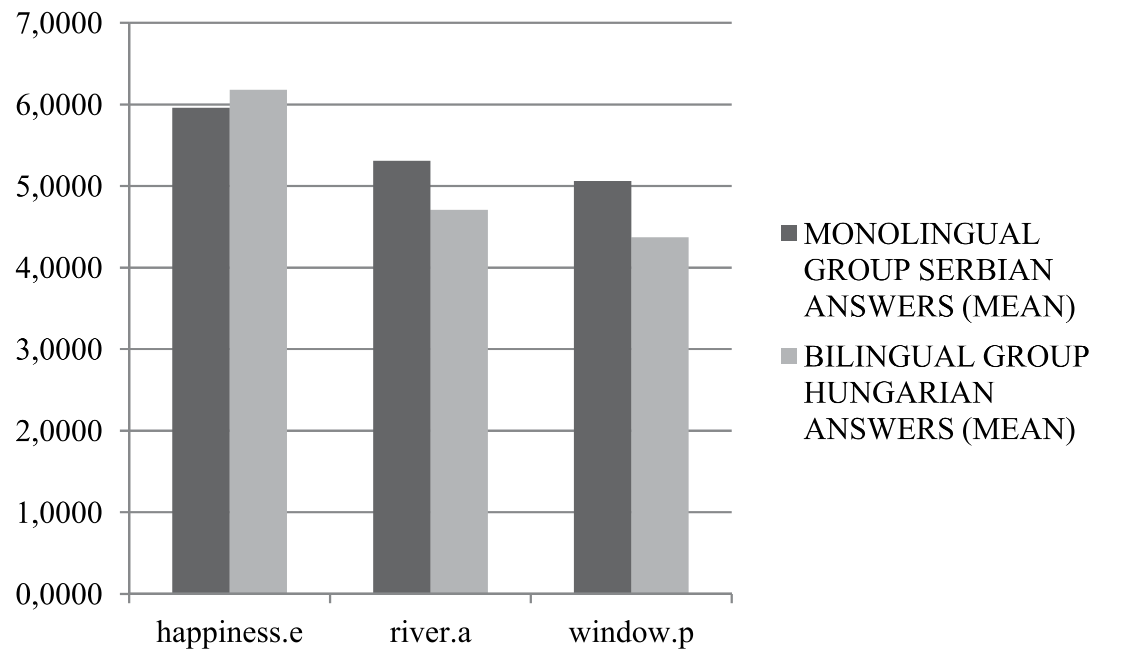
Graph 3: Differences in the responses of the monolingual Hungarian group (darker shade) and the bilingual group's Serbian word responses (lighter shade)

than the monolinguals in Hungarian. *Bad mood* was also rated as better, more valuable and sweeter, more active, faster and warmer than in Hungarian. *Unreliability, aggression* and *meanness* were more positively and intensely rated in Serbian: as better, more valuable and sweeter. *Manipulation* was better, more valuable, sweeter and more active, quicker and warmer and *lie* was judged as better, more valuable, sweeter, more active, quicker and warmer by the bilingual group, whereas *nervousness* was bigger, stronger and heavier in the Hungarian monolingual group. *River*, *postcard* and *window* were considered as bigger, stronger, heavier in the monolingual group and in addition *tree* was also more active, faster and warmer in this group.

In Graph 4 the bilingual group rated the Hungarian word *happiness* more prominently: it is seen as better,

4. The significant differences between the responses of the monolingual Serbian group and the Hungarian responses of the bilingual group

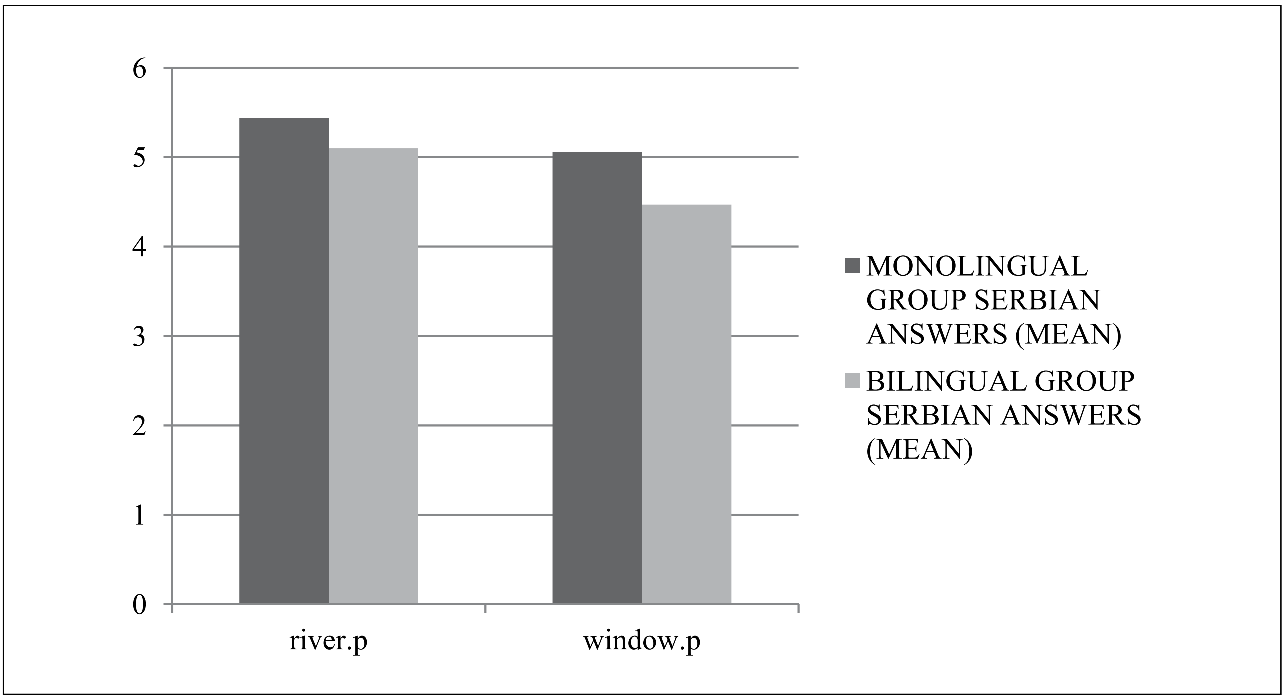
	happiness.e	river.a	window.p
Mann-Whitney U	290.00	289.00	268.50
Z	-2.28	-2.06	-2.41
Significance	.02	.04	.01
r	.30	.27	.32



Graph 4: The differences in the responses of the monolingual Serbian group (darker shade) and the Hungarian responses of the bilingual group (lighter shade)

5. The significant differences between the responses of the monolingual Serbian group and the Serbian responses of the bilingual group

	river.p	window.p
Mann-Whitney U	228.00	228.50
Z	-3.04	-3.04
Significance	.00	.00
r	.40	.40



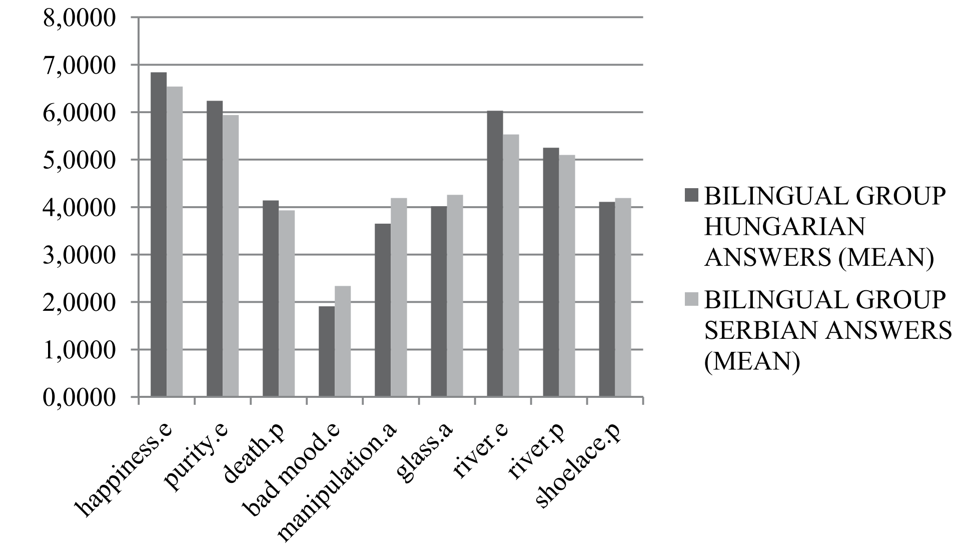
Graph 5: The differences in the responses of the monolingual Serbian group (darker shade) and the Serbian responses of the bilingual group (lighter shade)

more valuable and sweeter in this group than in the monolingual Serbian group. In the neutral word group, however, the Serbian monolingual group gave a more intensive rating to the word *river*: it is thus more active, quick and warm, further, the word *window* is bigger, stronger and heavier in Serbian.

6. The comparison of the bilingual group's evaluations of Hungarian and Serbian words using the Wilcoxon-test

	happiness.e.srb – happiness.e.hu	purity.e.srb – purity.e.hu	death.p.srb – death.p.hu	bad mood.e.srb – bad mood.e.hu	manipulation.a.srb – manipilation.a.hu	glass.a.srb – glass.a.hu	river.e.srb – river.e.hu
Z	-2.58	-2.20	-2.26	-2.84	-2.53	-1.97	-2.60
Significance	.01	.03	.02	.00	.01	.05	.01
r	0.34	0.29	0.30	0.37	0.33	0.26	0.34

	river.p.srb – river.p.hu	shoelace.p.srb – shoelace.p.hu
Z	-2.05	-2.05
Significance	.04	.04
r	0.27	0.27

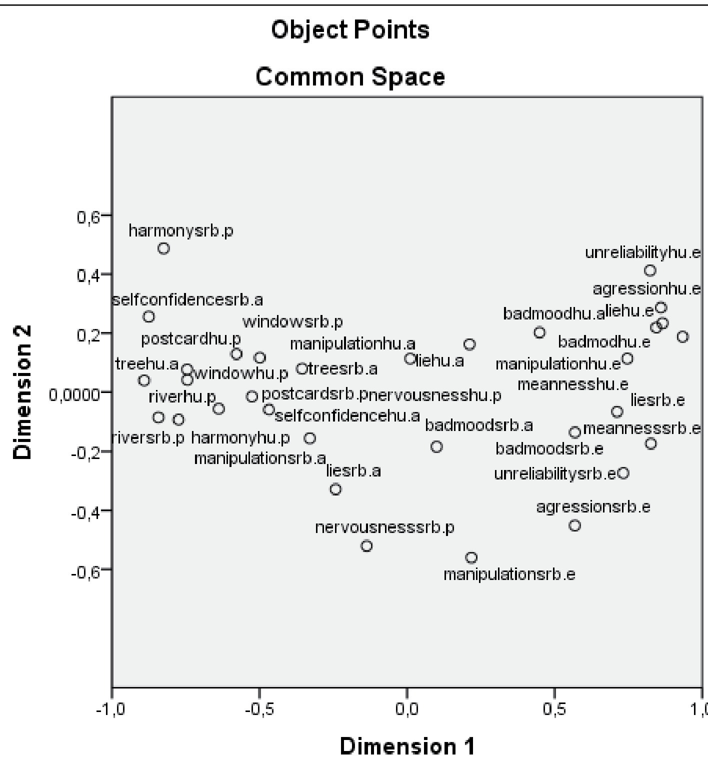


Graph 6: The bilingual group's results in their first (Hungarian) and second (Serbian) language

In Graph 5 we can see that the Serbian monolingual group rated the neutral word *river* and *window* as bigger, stronger and heavier than the bilinguals in Serbian.

In Graph 6 we can see that the the bilingual group judged the Hungarian *happiness* and *purity* as better, sweeter and more valuable than the Serbian equivalent of the word. *Death* was perceived as bigger, stronger and heavier in Hungarian. The Serbian word for *bad mood* was rated as better, more valuable and sweeter. *Manipulation* and *glass* in Serbian was judged as more active,

7. Multidimensional Scaling – bilingual groups' Serbian answers and the monolingual Hungarian group



faster, hotter than in Hungarian. *River* was rated as better, sweeter, more valuable, bigger, stronger and heavier in the Hungarian language. *Shoelace* was bigger, stronger and heavier in the second language.

We wanted to give a visual demonstration of the proximities and distances between the concepts that mostly differ in the bilingual groups' Serbian answers and the monolingual Hungarian answers. For this we used the Multidimensional Scaling as a method. From the picture above we can make a judgment about the semantic space, the composition and organization of the concepts taken into account: S-stress was 0.02 for this comparison and as we can see, the words here and their translated pairs have no overlapping meaning, although the neutral pairs are mostly nearby, whereas the negative and positive pairs are more distant. Additionally, there is a separation by valence, where the negative group is the most unequivocal whole. On the other side, as we can see language might also have some effect in grouping the words.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of our study show that there are differences between the monolingual Hungarian, the monolingual Serbian and the bilingual groups' evaluations and between the two monolingual groups, as well as within the bilingual group in ratings of emotionally charged, evaluative and emotion-laden words referring to behavior, values, states and personality traits. However, there are no significant differences between most of the words.

The question of our study was if the monolingual and bilingual participants' emotional worlds, the emotional intensity and the connotative meanings of emotion words, emotion-laden words and evaluative words were the same in their first and in their second language and in Hungarian and Serbian language. To study this, three groups of participants were compared in their evaluation of emotionally charged and evaluative words using the semantic differential scale: two monolingual groups (Hungarian and Serbian) and one bilingual (Hungarian-Serbian) group. One of our points of departure was that differences exist in the intensity of emotionally charged and evaluative concepts connected to a particular language; another point was that in bilingual individuals, the mother tongue is the dominant language for emotional functioning.

Our results regarding the differences are the following.

Generally, the most significant differences were found between the bilingual Serbian answers and the monolingual Hungarian groups' evaluations, where the number of differently perceived words was thirteen. Surprisingly, on the other side, just two differences were found between the second language answers in the bilingual group compared to the monolingual Serbian answers and three between monolingual Serbian and bilingual Hungarian answers.

The differences between the monolingual groups were: the monolingual Hungarian group rated the positive word – *goodness* and the Serbian group the positive *caring* with higher numbers. The emotionally negative words – *aggression*, *lie*, *dependence* were more positive in the Serbian group. Also the neutral *postcard* was seen as more active, faster and hotter by this group.

From these results we can conclude that in the monolingual Hungarian group there is a trend to evaluate more extremely the words towards their real emotional charge than in the Serbian group (except one positive word).

Comparing the Hungarian monolingual group with the bilingual Hungarian answers, the neutral *window* and the positive *caring* and *harmony* were more positively rated in the monolingual one. The concepts of the positive *interesting*, the negative *death*, *manipulation* and *lie* were given higher grades in the bilingual Hungarian answers. In this case these results also show that the bilingual group has not seen some negative words in their real negativity, and that they tend to think about negative words in a slightly more positive way than the monolingual group does. Additionally, one positive word was more positive in the bilingual and a neutral and two positive ones were more positive in the monolingual group.

The smallest overlap in results was found between the bilingual Serbian answers and the monolingual Hungarian answers. The bilinguals rated in Serbian the positive *self-confidence* and *harmony* more positively, and from the negative group of words *bad mood*, *unreliability*, *aggression*, *meanness, manipulation* and *lie* as more acceptable than their monolingual Hungarian counterparts. *Nervousness* was more positively rated in the monolingual Hungarian group. Four neutral words – *postcard*, *river*, *window* and *tree* were perceived as more positive in the Hungarian than in the other group. The most numerous differences were found between these groups, again with the bilingual group giving higher grades to negative and also more positive grades to positive words, while the monolinguals highlighted neutral concepts and one negative as more positive. This means that the bilinguals in their second language do not perceive the real negativity and monolinguals the neutrality of some words.

In the monolingual Serbian group and the bilinguals' Hungarian answers there was one difference in a positive concept of *happiness*, rated as more positive in the bilingual group, and two neutral words – *river* and *window* – rated more positive in the monolingual Serbian group.

In the Serbian answers regarding monolinguals and bilinguals we have found significant differences on two neutral words *river* and *window* which were more positively rated in the monolingual group. The result that there are no differences in the words with emotional valence could be interpreted as the sign of some accul-

turation effect and shift. Maybe it is due to the impact of socialization in a multilingual context. The bilinguals' second language, Serbian may function similarly to the monolingual Serbian group's language. Serbian is in this case the language of the environment – used and spoken in the city of Novi Sad. It probably has its main impact on socio-cultural grounds. The Hungarian monolingual group is from a different city, with different cultural- and value systems which might affect the answers.

If we add up the results so far we can see that there is a specific orientation in the monolingual group to rate more positively some neutral words.

Our last comparison took into account the bilingual answers – both in Hungarian and Serbian as their first- and their second language. We found significant differences in eight words. We will list the results from the angle of the second, presumably less dominant language: in two positive words – *happiness* and *purity* we found that the Serbian answers were more negative than their Hungarian pairs. The negative *death* was more negative in Serbian, whereas *bad mood* and *manipulation* were seen as more positive in Serbian language. Regarding the neutral words, two words – *glass* and *shoelace* - were more positive in Serbian, while *river* was more negatively seen in Serbian, than in Hungarian.

Within this group, the neutral, positive and negative words were sometimes rated as more positive or negative interchangeably in the first or second language, pointing towards a conclusion that there is a mixed dominance in emotionality in the case of bilinguals. We emphasize that we must take these results with reserve, because the emotionality of the majority of words did not show significant differences, meaning that in most of the analyzed groups of concepts there are no differences in the emotional expression and experience in the first and the second language in the bilingual group. This can be due to affective conditioning and socialization effects which happened early on in life, in naturalistic contexts in the bilingual group examined.

MAIN CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Our first hypothesis, that the bilingual group will give more extreme and more intense emotional ratings to emotion, emotion-laden and evaluative terms in the native language is partially supported by our results. Most of the differences in the bilingual group showed mixed language emotionality, but just in the case of eight words, whereas in the case of the remaining twenty-eight words there were no differences, which means that both languages might function at the same level of emotional force.

As far as our second hypothesis is concerned, the most significant differences are observed between the responses of the bilingual groups' Serbian answers and the monolingual Hungarian responses and there are just slight differences between the monolingual Serbian and bilingual Serbian answers, as well as between the monolingual Hungarian and the bilingual Serbian. There are additional differences when we look to the monolingual Serbian – monolingual Hungarian and the monolingual Hungarian – bilingual Hungarian comparisons. Thus, the first language does not have a deeper impact on connotative meaning and word rating similarities, so this hypothesis is not supported.

The presence of the differences found between monolingual-monolingual, monolingual-bilingual comparisons could be in part explained as a consequence of environmental influences, socialization, various socio-economic and cultural effects. Since the monolingual Hungarian group attends university in Subotica, participants from this group may have assimilated more into their Hungarian setting, in contrast with the bilingual group's participants, who study in Novi Sad, where the cultural values of the majority group are ever-present. The bilingual group might have assimilated into or adjusted to the dominant – Serbian – culture more intensively.

Regarding the positive, negative and neutral categories of words, we have found an interesting result: the monolingual groups have several times chosen neutral words as more positive and in the bilingual group negative words were frequently seen as more positive. This difference implicates that there might be an additional dissociation in the perception of different emotional categories.

One possible explanation for these shifts of positive, neutral and negative words towards the negative or positive poles of the scale could be that there is a course of shaping completely personal connotations or individual interpretations for these words.

All of our results taken into account indicate that a certain shift towards Serbian culture can be perceived, but it is questionable to what extent is this connected to the phenomenon of Cultural Frame Switching (Ramirez-Esparza et al., 2006), which refers to a shift in the individuals' set of values, ideology and to the adjustment to the governing principles of the currently activated culture.

Another explanation lies in the Theory of Language Embodiment and the processes of early affective linguistic conditioning. Our bilingual participants are in a multilingual context since early childhood, so they might have acquired affective connotations through the association with emotionally charged memories and experiences in both languages.

A different view emphasizes the importance of childhood attachment in forming the emotional force of words. It might be that in bilinguals from Serbia operates a combined variant of these four explanations, all of them contributing in a specific way and in a specific time.

Further research could analyze more deeply the social influences, environmental and cultural variables which can mediate the connection between language and emotionality, as well as if there is a kind of category effect in the process of evaluating words with different emotional valence.

PREVAJANJE ČUSTEV – PREDSTAVLJANJE IN PREDELOVANJE S ČUSTVI NABITIH IN VREDNOTENJSKIH BESED PRI DVOJEZIČNIH IN ENOJEZIČNIH POSAMEZNIKIH IZ SRBIJE

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POVZETEK

Številne psihološke študije in izkušnje so pokazale, da morajo dvojezične osebe v svojem življenju pogosto loviti ravnotežje med dvema kulturama in različnima jezikoma. Neredko trčijo ob neskladja med družbenimi vlogami, ki izvirajo iz različnih kulturnih vrednot in predstavljajo resničen izziv: izražati in doživljati čustva v dveh jezikih. Slednja tema je bila v psihološkem znanstvenem raziskovanju dolgo zapostavljena, dokler se v njem pred kratkim ni pojavilo novo področje raziskovanja.

Odprla ga je Aneta Pavlenko, obravnava pa vprašanja, ki se tičejo delovanja in zgradbe čustvenih svetov v dvo- in večjezičnih kontekstih. Cilj novega raziskovalnega področja je opredeliti repertoar čustev pri dvo- in večjezičnih posameznikih – kako si predstavljajo, predelujejo, izražajo in doživljajo čustva v svojem prvem in drugem jeziku.

Namen naše raziskave je bil ugotoviti, kako madžarsko-srbski dvojezični govorci iz Vojvodine v Srbiji čustveno delujejo v svojih dveh jezikih, ter odkriti, kakšne so podobnosti in razlike, če take govorce primerjamo z enojezičnimi madžarskimi in srbskimi skupinami iz iste države.

Uporabili smo metodo Osgoodovega semantičnega diferenciala. Sodelujoči v naši raziskavi so morali oceniti različne čustvene, s čustvi nabite, vrednotenjske in čustva vzbujajoče besede na sedemstopenjski Likertovi lestvici. Ponujene so jim bile tri kategorije samostalnikov: pozitivne, negativne in nevtralne besede. Dvojezični posamezniki so ocenjevali besede v madžarskem in srbskem jeziku.

Rezultati naše raziskave so pokazali, da obstaja nekaj bistvenih razlik med ocenami madžarskih in srbskih besed. Pri primerjavi odzivov in ocen enojezičnih skupin v obeh jezikih smo zabeležili različne ocene, kot tudi pri primerjavi odgovorov enojezičnih in dvojezičnih govorcev. Poleg tega smo znotraj dvojezične skupine odkrili nekaj razlik pri ocenah madžarskih in srbskih besed, kar kaže na razlike v čustvenosti posameznikovega prvega in drugega jezika. Obstaja veliko besed, pri katerih nismo našli nobenih razlik, zato lahko na podlagi naše raziskave sklepamo, da med čustvenostjo madžarskega in srbskega jezika ni pomembnih razlik, čeprav obstaja nekaj jezikovno specifičnih interpretacij čustev.

Ključne besede: dvojezičnost, čustvo, semantični diferencial, Srbija, srbščina, madžarščina

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JEZIKOVNA (NE)PRAVILNOST ZAPISOV ZEMLJEPISNIH LASTNIH IMEN NA CESTNIH KRAJEVNIH TABLAH V REPUBLIKI SLOVENIJI S POUDARKOM NA SLOVENSKI ISTRI

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IZVLEČEK

Ugotavljamo, da je na cestnih krajevnih tablah, ki so javnega značaja, veliko jezikovnih (pravopisnih) napak pri zapisu zemljepisnih lastnih imen, hkrati pa tudi, da so državljani Republike Slovenije nanje zelo pozorni. V prispevku najprej opredeljujemo zakonski okvir za postavljanje prometnih znakov z zemljepisnimi imeni na javnih cestah in razpravljamo o jezikovnem okviru, ki bi moral v postopku izdelave teh tabel predstavljati osnovo. Pregledali smo 7.595 cestnih krajevnih tabel s poudarkom na slovenski Istri in opredelili 12 pravopisnih kategorij, znotraj katerih smo predstavili dejanske jezikovne (pravopisne) napake, ki so prisotne na cestnih krajevnih tablah.

Ključne besede: cestne krajevne table, zemljepisna lastna imena, jezikovne (pravopisne) napake, slovenska Istra, jezikoslovec

SBAGLI LINGUISTICI NEI NOMI PROPRI GEOGRAFICI SCRITTI SU CARTELLI STRADALI NELLA REPUBBLICA DI SLOVENIA, IN PARTICOLARE NELL'ISTRIA SLOVENA

SINTESI

Abbiamo costatato che i cartelli stradali di carattere pubblico indicando nomi propri geografici contengono numerosi errori linguistici (ortografici), e che molti cittadini della Repubblica di Slovenia se ne accorgono subito. L'articolo in primo luogo definisce il quadro legislativo per la collocazione della segnaletica indicante nomi geografici su strade pubbliche, discutendo poi della cornice linguistica che dovrebbe essere la base nel processo della produzione di cartelli stradali. Abbiamo esaminato 7.595 cartelli con nomi di località, incentrandoci sull'Istria slovena, definendo 12 categorie ortografiche, all'interno delle quali abbiamo presentato gli errori linguistici (ortografici) effettivi, trovati sui cartelli stradali sotto esame.

Parole chiave: cartelli stradali di località, nomi propri geografici, errori linguistici (d'ortografia), Istria slovena, linguista

UVOD

V prispevku razpravljamo o jezikovnih (pravopisnih) napakah na cestnih krajevnih tablah v Republiki Sloveniji (RS) s poudarkom na slovenski Istri. Ugotavljamo, da je tovrstnih napak na omenjenih tablah, ki so postavljene na t. i. javnih mestih, veliko. Ta problematika je izražena tudi v slovenski Istri[1], zato želimo mdr. ugotoviti, ali se stanje v tem delu Slovenije v čem razlikuje od stanja v preostali Sloveniji; zaradi delne dvojezičnosti ima namreč to območje posebno mesto v slovenskem prostoru, saj morajo biti napisi na cestnih krajevnih tablah po *Pravilniku o prometni signalizaciji in prometni opremi* na javnih cestah dvojezični[2]. Prispevek se z metodološkega vidika deli v dva dela. V prvem je zasnovan kot teoretična razprava, v kateri sta uporabljeni analitično-deskriptivna in analitično-interpretativna metoda raziskovanja (Mužić, 1994a, 1994b; Sagadin, 1993). Predstavljena je analiza procesa oblikovanja zapisov zemljepisnih lastnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah v RS, ki je po našem mnenju vzrok za nezadovoljivo stanje. Omenjen je tudi zakonski okvir, ki v RS predstavlja osnovo za postavljanje tovrstnih prometnih znakov, opredeljeno je dvojezično okolje v slovenski Istri, navedena pa so tudi pravopisna pravila[3], ki bi se morala upoštevati pri pisanju zemljepisnih imen, vključno z ločili, ki se pojavljajo na cestnih krajevnih tablah. V drugem, empiričnem delu prispevka je predstavljen nabor jezikovnih (pravopisnih) napak pri dejanskih zapisih, prisotnih na cestnih krajevnih tablah na območju RS, s poudarkom na slovenski Istri; opravljena je pravopisna analiza, katere namen je konkretne primere glede na različne tipe pravopisnih napak razvrstiti v dvanajst kategorij. Pri tem smo sledili kvalitativni raziskovalni paradigmi in tako opravili vsebinsko kvalitativno analizo. V sklepnem delu prispevka predlagamo, da bi morali v postopku za vzpostavitev uradnega sistema pisanja zemljepisnih imen na cestne krajevne table sodelovati tudi jezikoslovci.

ZAKONSKI OKVIR ZA POSTAVLJANJE CESTNIH KRAJEVNIH TABEL Z ZEMLJEPISNIMI IMENI

Za prometno signalizacijo na cestah, med katero spadajo tudi cestne krajevne table z zemljepisnimi lastnimi imeni, je v RS zadolžen upravljavec cest. Avtoceste in hitre ceste so v upravljanju Družbe za avtoceste v RS (Darsa), glavne in regionalne ceste so v upravljanju Direkcije RS za ceste, občinske ceste pa so v upravljanju pristojnih občin (*Zakon o cestah*).

Osnova za postavljanje prometnih znakov z zemljepisnimi imeni je na območju RS *Pravilnik o prometni signalizaciji in prometni opremi na javnih cestah*. Ta predpisuje: vrsto, pomen, obliko, barvo, velikost in postavljanje prometne signalizacije ter prometne opreme na javnih cestah.

Gre predvsem za naslednje prometne znake: 1) znak »ime naselja« (III-14), ki označuje ime naselja, v katero pelje cesta, ter mejo, pri kateri se začne naselje in od katere morajo vozniki ravnati skladno s pravili vožnje v naselju; 2) znak »ime naselja« (III-14.1), ki označuje ime naselja, po obrobju katerega pelje cesta; na delu ceste, označenem s tem znakom, se ne uporabljajo pravila vožnje v naselju; 3) znak »konec naselja« (III-15), ki označuje mesto na cesti, na katerem se konča naselje, ki je bilo označeno z znakom III-14 (ime naselja); 4) znak »ime predora« (III-65) in znak »ime viadukta« (III-66), ki označujeta ime in dolžino pomembnega predora oziroma viadukta; 5) znak »gorski prelaz« (III-67), ki označuje gorski prelaz in njegovo nadmorsko višino; 6) znak »ime vodotoka« (III-68), ki označuje ime vodotoka, čez katerega pelje cesta; 7) znak »predkrižiščna tabla« (III-84), ki označuje medsebojni položaj in smeri cest, ki se križajo, in imena krajev, do katerih peljejo; 8) znak »razvrščanje vozil« (III-85) in znak »razvrščanje vozil z imeni krajev« (III-85.1), ki označujeta vnaprejšnje obvestilo vozniku za razvrščanje na križišču na cestah z več prometnimi pasovi; na znaku »razvrščanje vozil z imeni krajev« (III-85.1) so napisana imena krajev, v katere peljejo posamezni prometni pasovi; namesto imena kraja je lahko narisan simbol ali vstavljen prometni znak (npr. znak avtocesta, simbol avtokampa itn.); 9) znak »kažipot« (III-86), ki označuje kraj ali značilen objekt, v katerega pelje cesta v smeri kažipota; kraj ali značilen objekt, v katerega pelje cesta, na kateri je kažipot, mora biti označen z imenom kraja oziroma objekta, ki so mu lahko dodani številka ceste, oddaljenost v kilometrih ali kakšen drug simbol (npr. simbol avtoceste, letala, planinskega doma, smučišča, toplic itn.); 10) znak »kažipotna tabla« (III-87), ki označuje smeri cest v kraje, napisane na znaku; 11) znak »predkrižiščna tabla za izvoz« (III-88), ki označuje ime izvoza ali razcepa na avtocestah in cestah s križanji v različnih ravninah; 12) znak »predkažipot« (III-89), ki označuje na avtocesti in cestah s križanji v različnih ravninah smer vožnje do krajev, napisanih na znaku; 13) znaka »kažipot nad voziščem na portalu« (III-90 in III-90.1), ki označujeta na avtocesti in cestah s križanji v različnih ravninah smer vožnje do krajev, napisanih na znaku; 14) znak »kažipot za

1 V različnih priročnikih, tudi v leksikonih in enciklopedijah, je omenjeno zemljepisno lastno ime Istra; pridevnik slovenski po našem mnenju ni del lastnega imena, ampak določa samo zemljepisni položaj/lego, zato v prispevku v tem primeru omenjeni pridevnik zapisujemo z malo začetnico.

2 Na območju RS je dvojezičnost določena tudi v delu Prekmurja. V 11. členu *Ustave RS* je zapisano, da je na območjih, na katerih živi italijanska ali madžarska narodna skupnost, poleg slovenščine uradni jezik tudi italijanščina ali madžarščina. V 3. členu *Pravilnika o prometni signalizaciji in prometni opremi na javnih cestah* pa je zapisano, da morajo biti zapisi na prometni signalizaciji na teh območjih najprej zapisani v slovenščini, nato pa s poševnico ločeno še v italijanščini ali madžarščini.

3 Ob pravilih za lastna zemljepisna imena smo sami poiskali konkretne primere, ki neposredno izhajajo iz slovenske Istre.

razvrščanje nad prometnimi pasovi – na portalu« (III-91), ki obvešča voznika o prometnem pasu za vožnjo do kraja, napisanega na znaku; 15) znak »potrditev smeri« (III-93), ki označuje potrditev smeri za križiščem. Na znaku so številka ceste, ime in v kilometrih izražena oddaljenost do kraja, naravne, kulturne ali zgodovinske znamenitosti ali spomenika, do katerih pelje cesta, na kateri je znak; 16) znak »predkažipot za počivališče« (III-95), ki označuje smer vožnje in oddaljenost do začetka mesta izvoza na počivališče; 17) znak »predznak za cestnino« (III-98), ki označuje na cesti, za katere uporabo se plačuje cestnina, oddaljenost do mesta, na katerem je cestninska postaja (*Pravilnik o prometni signalizaciji in prometni opremi na javnih cestah*, člen 22).

Proces oblikovanja zapisov lastnih zemljepisnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah v Republiki Sloveniji

Skladno s 76. členom *Zakona o cestah* upravljavec določene ceste za postavitev posamezne cestne krajevne table z zemljepisnimi imeni izda delovni nalog izvajalcu rednega vzdrževanja ceste, nato pa pri izbranem dobavitelju tablo naroči. Postavi jo izvajalec rednega vzdrževanja ceste. V nadaljevanju razprave pa podrobneje predstavljamo proces oblikovanja zapisov lastnih zemljepisnih imen na omenjenih tablah. Postopek je večplasten. Tehnična osnova zapisov je opredeljena v *Pravilniku o prometni signalizaciji in prometni opremi na javnih cestah*. V členu 3 piše, da se »napisi na prometni signalizaciji navadno napišejo z malo pisavo in da mora biti ime posameznega prometnega cilja napisano v eni vrsti. Kadar je ime prometnega cilja izjemno dolgo, sme biti napisano tudi v dveh vrstah, in sicer tako, da je v drugi vrsti z manjšo pisavo napisan le podrejeni del prometnega cilja.« Na Direkciji RS za ceste, ki upravlja glavne in regionalne ceste, so nam povedali, da ob naročilu table in posledično napisa na njej strokovni delavec pristojnega sektorja obravnava zapis in pravilnost posameznega lastnega zemljepisnega imena preveri v Atlasu Slovenije ali Letopisu Statističnega urada RS[4]. Ko nadrejeni opravljeno delo potrdi, gre napis v postopek izdelave table. Na podlagi predstavljenega procesa oblikovanja teh zapisov sklepamo, da so omenjene table na celotnem slovenskem ozemlju, ki so vse postavljene na javnih mestih, oblikovane brez jezikovnega posvetovanja ali verodostojne preveritve[5] v katerem izmed jezikovnih priročnikov. To pomeni, da to velja tudi za slovensko Istro, tam mora biti poleg slovenskega poimenovanja na krajevnih tablah še poimenovanje v tujem jeziku. Zdajšnji oz. trenutno veljavni sistem/proces oblikovanja zapisov lastnih zemljepisnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah, ki so javnega značaja, se zdi z vidika jezikoslovja in tudi širše pomanjkljiv[6]. V tem je po našem mnenju tudi vzrok za nezadovoljivo stanje, zato predlagamo, da se v ta proces vključi še jezikoslovec in da se da oblikovanju teh zapisov večji poudarek, predvsem na strokovni ravni.

Dvojezično okolje v slovenski Istri

Problematiko glede pravilnosti/nepravilnosti teh zapisov vidimo tudi v slovenski Istri; tam morajo biti na dvojezičnem območju na cestnih krajevnih tablah poleg slovenskega poimenovanja zemljepisnega imena tudi poimenovanja v tujem jeziku.

Meje dvojezičnega območja so v slovenski Istri postavljene po številu italijanskega prebivalstva na posameznih območjih po popisu prebivalstva iz leta 1910[7]. Izolska občina je glede razmejitve najspornejša[8]. Dvojezično območje v občini Koper obsega naslednje kraje in krajevne skupnosti: 1) celotno območje mesta Koper; 2) celotno območje krajevne skupnosti Hrvatini, krajevne skupnosti Ankaran in krajevne skupnosti Bertoki; 3) območje naselij Škocjan, Bošamarin, Kampel (v krajevni skupnosti Škocjan); 4) Šalaro (v krajevni skupnosti Olmo - Prisoje) ter zaselek Valmarin ali Spodnje Škofije (v krajevni skupnosti Škofije). Dvojezično območje v občini Izola obsega naslednje kraje in krajevne skupnosti: 1) celotno območje starega mestnega jedra; 2) krajevno skupnost I (Ulica oktobrske revolucije); 3) krajevno sku-

4 V Republiki Sloveniji poleg omenjenih priročnikov obstajata še *Register zemljepisnih imen*, ki vsebuje podatke o imenih objektov, ki so stalna in imajo časovno, zgodovinsko, etnološko ali družbeno uveljavljeno identiteto, in *Register prostorskih enot*, ki je uradni register za področje prostorskih členitev. Oba registra vodi in upravlja Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije. M. Furlan, A. Gložančev in A. Šivic - Dular (2000, 75) navajajo, da se v teh elaboratih smiselno izhaja iz pravil, ki jih določa *Slovenski pravopis*; pravila so podana sistematično in pregledno, tako da je razvidna teoretična podlaga za zapisovanje, ki omogoča ne samo razumevanje pravil zapisovanja tu zajetih lastnih imen, ampak tudi njihovo aplikacijo na lastnoimenskem gradivu, ki v elaboratih ni zajeto. S pravopisnega vidika prihajajo pri zapisovanju lastnih imen v obeh omenjenih dokumentih v poštev raba velike začetnice, raba ločil (pike, vezaja, pomišljaja, vejice, poševnice) in pisanje sestavin skupaj ali narazen, vendar pa se to vprašanje v elaboratu ne obravnava. Čeprav imamo ta »priročnika«, v postopku nastajanja cestnih krajevnih tabel nista bila nikoli omenjena.

5 Strokovni delavec, ki to delo opravlja oz. »navadno« preverja ustreznost zapisov na cestnih krajevnih tablah, nima izobrazbe s področja jezikoslovja niti se ne posvetuje z jezikoslovcem, za napise v slovenski Istri pa mora preverjati tudi tujejezična zemljepisna imena, pri čemer se nam ponovno zastavlja vprašanje strokovne usposobljenosti in primernosti tega postopka.

6 Direkcija RS za ceste sicer dopušča možnost, da se zapis lastnih zemljepisnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah popravi. Pripombo lahko poda kdor koli po elektronski ali navadni pošti.

7 Izpostavljeni so predvsem obmorski kraji, v katerih je bilo prebivalstvo skozi zgodovino večinoma italijansko. Z urbanizacijo obalnih mest se je pojavil problem razmejitve dvojezičnega območja, kajti novejši predeli mesta (primer predvsem izolske občine) ostajajo zunaj meja dvojezičnega območja (Baloh, 1995).

8 Hitra urbanizacija je mesto razširila še na druge krajevne skupnosti (Polje, Jagodje, Dobrava), ki pa niso dvojezične. V zadnjem času se pojavlja težnja po razširitvi dvojezičnega območja tudi na ta območja (prav tam).

pnost II (Livade) do mostu na Rikorvu. Piranska občina pa je dvojezično najmočnejša, saj dvojezično območje v tej občini obsega največjo površino: 1) krajevno skupnost Piran; 2) krajevno skupnost Portorož; 3) krajevno skupnost Lucija; 4) krajevno skupnost Seča; 5) krajevno skupnost Parecag; 6) krajevno skupnost Sečovlje in zaselek Sv. Onofrij (Baloh, 1995).

JEZIKOVNI OKVIR ZA POSTAVLJANJE CESTNIH KRAJEVNIH TABEL Z ZEMLJEPISNIMI IMENI

Zemljepisna imena uvrščamo k lastnim imenom, med katera spadajo tudi imena bitij in stvarna imena.

V Sloveniji je približno 6.000 samostojnih naselij, ki so poimenovana s 3.360 leksikalno različnimi krajevnimi imeni. Ta številčna razlika je posledica dejstva, da je z nekaterimi krajevnimi imeni, predvsem občnoimenskega izvora, poimenovanih večje število naselij (Majdič, 2004, 308).

Ob pregledu poglavja o zemljepisnih lastnih imenih v *Slovenskem pravopisu* (2001/2003) in zbranega gradiva je mogoče opaziti, da se je v zadnjem času pojavilo veliko novih zemljepisnih imen, ki označujejo prostorske enote ali natančno definirane točke na zemeljskem površju, a še niso vključena v uradne registre zemljepisnih imen (prir. po Dobrovoljc in Jakop, 2011, 71). Tudi obstoječa in že zapisana pravila so v nekaterih delih precej kompleksna, tako da je težko razumeti, da v postopku nastajanja cestnih krajevnih tabel z zemljepisnimi imeni, ki so javnega značaja, ni sodelovanja oz. posvetovanja z jezikoslovcem.

Preden se v razpravi lotimo predstavljanja tistih pravopisnih pravil in okoliščin, ki bi jih bilo treba v omenjenem postopku »izdelave« cestnih krajevnih tabel upoštevati in se po njih ravnati, vključno z rabo ločil, se nam zdi smiselno omeniti tudi različne vidike/okoliščine nastajanja krajevnih imen s poudarkom na slovenski Istri. Vsi zapisi na cestnih krajevnih tablah imajo tudi neko zgodovinsko ozadje nastanka samega imena. Majdič (2004, 262) navaja, da je pri nastajanju krajevnih imen pogosto delovala jezikovna oz. besedotvorna analogija, tj. podobnost. Tako se na več območjih v Sloveniji pojavlja večje ali manjše število na enak način tvorjenih ali na istih pomenskih izhodiščih oblikovanih krajevnih imen. V preteklosti je bilo na nekaterih območjih takih posplošenih načinov poimenovanj naselbin in drugih zemljepisnih danosti več, na drugih bistveno manj. Omenjeni avtor navaja, da je za slovensko Istro značilno, da je teh veliko[9].

Veliko skupino slovenskih krajevnih imen predstavljajo množinska imena moškega spola, večinoma občnoimenskega izvora. Najdemo jih predvsem na treh območjih[10] v Sloveniji, mdr. tudi na širšem območju slovenske Istre. Zelo pogosta so naselbinska imena na -ci oz. -ovci, -inci. V večini primerov so tudi slovnična posebnost z ničtokončniškim rodilnikom. Več tovrstnih naselbinskih imen v zahodnem delu Slovenije je vezanih na zaselke; takih zaselkov je v občinah Ajdovščina, Sežana, Koper, Izola, Piran, Nova Gorica, Ilirska Bistrica, Tolmin in Logatec kar 49. Zanimiva posebnost so množinska imena Sirči, Sokoliči in Srgaši v koprski ter Šibelji v sežanski občini, ki se pregibajo tudi z ničtokončniškim rodilnikom. Zanimivo se zdi tudi, da se na Primorskem imena omenjenega tipa prekrivajo z imeni nekdanjih prebivalcev vasi (Majdič, 2004, 262–263). Pogled v najnovejši na spletu dostopen telefonski imenik[11] nam npr. pove, da so v Kraju Bočaji med enajstimi telefonskimi naročniki trije Bočaji, v kraju Cepki je med 25 naročniki pet Cepkov, v kraju Koromači - Boškini je med 11 naročniki kar osem Boškinov, v Tuljakih so med šestimi naročniki trije Tuljaki.

Naselbinska in nenaselbinska zemljepisna imena[12]

Zemljepisna imena delimo na naselbinska in nenaselbinska; naselbinska so imena mest, vasi, trgov in zaselkov (*Koper, Nova vas nad Dragonjo, Tartinijev trg, Sveti Onofrij*), nenaselbinska pa vsa druga (*Jadransko morje, Piranski zaliv*). Lahko so eno- in večbesedna (*Izola, Piran, Portorož, Seča; Črni Kal, Spodnje Škofije*). Večinoma so enodelna (*Dekani, Hrastovlje, Korte, Šared*), nekatera pa so tudi dvodelna (*Koper Semedela*), poznamo pa še dvojna zemljepisna imena, ki so redka (*Hrpelje - Kozina, Koromači - Boškini, Šempeter - Vrtojba*). Med prvo in drugo sestavino mora biti pri dvojnem zemljepisnem imenu zapisan nestični vezaj.

V naselbinskih imenih pišemo vse sestavine z veliko začetnico, izjeme so le neprvi predlogi in samostalniki mesto, trg, vas, selo, naselje (če ne stojijo na začetku imena (*Nova Gorica, Sveti Anton, Sveti Peter, Vipavski Križ, Zgornje Škofije; Dane pri Divači, Gabrovica pri Črnem Kalu, Šempeter pri Gorici; Titov trg, Nova vas nad Dragonjo, Krajna vas* (Sežana)). Razločevalni dodatki (npr. glede na nebesno stran) k naselbinskim imenom

9 Poleg slovenske Istre, ki je posebej omenjena, je teh poimenovanj veliko še v Prekmurju, predvsem na Goričkem, deloma v Slovenskih goricah in Beli krajini, v Posavju in na osrednjem Dolenjskem (prir. po Majdič, 2004, 262).

10 Poleg širšega območja slovenske Istre še v panonskem delu Slovenije, na območju Blok, Ribniške doline in Kočevskega.

11 Spletna stran: http://itis.si (4. 12. 2012).

12 Uradna jezikovna pravila povzemamo in interpretiramo po *Slovenskem pravopisu* (2001, 13–14, 44–45, 47–48, 201), opremljena pa so s konkretnimi primeri »s terena«, ki se pojavljajo izključno na območju slovenske Istre. Dodatno pojasnilo: če so npr. druga za drugo predstavljene štiri različne pravopisne kategorije, si na enak način sledijo tudi konkretni primeri, tj. najprej konkreten primer prve kategorije, nato druge itn. V okviru zemljepisnih imen bi bilo smiselno razpravljati tudi o pisanju prevzetih besed in besednih zvez, a bi se s tem preveč odmaknili od našega bistva, proučevanja zapisov zemljepisnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah v slovenski Istri.

se pišejo z malo začetnico in s presledkom med eno in drugo sestavino (*Koper vzhod*).

V nenaselbinskih imenih pa prvo sestavino vedno pišemo z veliko začetnico, neprve sestavine pa z malo, če že same niso lastno ime (*Cankarjevo nabrežje* (Piran), *Tržaški zaliv, Škocjanske jame; Cesta na Markovec*).

Raba vezaja in pomišljaja ter poševnice

Vsa tri omenjena ločila se uporabljajo v zelo različnih okoliščinah/primerih; mi se bomo pri vseh treh ločilih osredinili na tiste položaje/zapise, ki so prisotni na cestnih krajevnih tablah in ki se po večini uporabljajo nepravilno.

Vezaj (-) je kratka črtica in se uporablja v stični in nestični obliki. Celostno gledano, se v stični obliki uporablja v devetih različnih situacijah[13]; na cestnih krajevnih tablah pa bi moral biti prisoten 1) med deli zložene besede, ki bi bili v prosti zvezi povezani z vezniško besedo (*Adamič-Lundrovo nabrežje*[14]); 2) med sestavinami zloženk, nastalih iz podredne zveze, če je prvi del števka ali črka (tudi v slovenski Istri so krajevne table, na katerih piše *AC ring* (pravopisno pravilno bi bilo *AC-ring*), ki voznika seznanjajo s podatkom, kje se lahko vključi na avtocesto. V nestični obliki pa se, celostno gledano, vezaj pojavlja v dveh različnih situacijah[15]. Na cestnih krajevnih tablah bi moral biti prisoten med deloma dvojnega zemljepisnega imena, ko se obe imeni pregibljeta (Šmarje - Sap). Vezaj je sicer na cestnih krajevnih tablah z zemljepisnimi imeni velikokrat zapisan, vendar glede na okoliščine največkrat nepravilno.[16]

Pomišljaj (–) je daljša črtica kot vezaj, je večinoma eno-, lahko pa tudi dvodelno ločilo. V nestični obliki se pomišljaj, gledano celostno, uporablja v šestih različnih situacijah[17]; na cestnih krajevnih tablah takih okoliščin zapisa ni, je pa prisotna t. i. neskladenjska raba pomišljaja. Ta se na splošno uporablja v petih različnih situacijah[18]. Na cestnih krajevnih tablah pa bi moral biti prisoten 1) nestično namesto odstavčne številke ali črke, tj. t. i. odstavčni ali alinejni pomišljaj (naštevanje več krajev po t. i. alinejah). Namesto teh pomišljajev je na tablah v omenjenih okoliščinah zapisan nestični vezaj, kar je pravopisno nepravilno.

Poševnica pa je ravna in od spodaj v desno nagnjena črta od osnovnice do višine visoke oz. velike črke. Načelno je to stično ločilo in se na splošno pojavlja v šestih različnih situacijah[19]. Na cestnih krajevnih tablah se poševnica uporablja takrat, kadar je poleg lastnega zemljepisnega imena prisotno še lastno zemljepisno ime v tujem jeziku (*Trst/Trieste*), vendar je opazna nepravilna raba – namesto stičnega zapisa poševnice se uporablja nestični zapis, kar je jezikovno neustrezno.

Raba okrajšav

Na cestnih krajevnih tablah se velikokrat namesto v celoti zapisane besede, tj. zemljepisnega lastnega imena, pojavi njena okrajšava. Sklepamo, da je to zato, ker za celoten zapis v določenih primerih na tablah ni prostora in ker v *Pravilniku o prometni signalizaciji in prometni opremi na javnih cestah* piše, da mora biti ime posameznega prometnega cilja zapisano v eni vrsti. Možnost okrajšave zemljepisnega lastnega imena sicer v tem pravilniku ni omenjena.

Okrajšave so – splošno gledano – okrajšano zapisane besede ali besedne zveze; znamenje okrajšanosti je pika. *Slovenski pravopis* (2001, 66) določa, da 1) okrajšave besednih zvez pišemo s presledkom za vsako okrajšano besedo; zloženke okrajšamo tako, da okrajšane dele pišemo brez odmika, vendar tudi z vezajem, če je tako pisana neokrajšana beseda.

13 Te situacije so naslednje: 1) med deli zložene besede, ki bi bili v prosti zvezi povezani z vezniško besedo in; 2) med sestavinami zloženk, nastalih iz podredne zveze, če je prvi del števka ali črka; 3) med sestavinami nekaterih zloženk z imenovalniško prvo sestavino; 4) predvsem v strokovnem pisanju ob koncu pisno osamosvojenega dela zloženke ali sestavljenke v primerih kot dvo- in večzložne besede; 5) med črkovno ali številčno podstavo ali osnovo in njunim končajem; 6) med kratičnim imenom, pisanim z velikimi črkami, in končnico, pisano z malimi; 7) za naveznim členkom le- pred kazalnim pridevniškim, posamostaljenim ali prislovnim zaimkom; 8) v nekaterih tujih imenih; 9) zlasti v filozofskem jeziku lahko povezuje več samostojnih besed v besedni sklop (SP, 2001, 47–48).

14 Tri občine v slovenski Istri smo prosili za izpis ulic iz registra. Ob pregledu vseh uradno registriranih ulic nismo našli zapisa, ki bi predstavljal t. i. priredno zloženko s stičnim vezajem, zato navajamo primer iz Ljubljane.

15 Ti situaciji sta naslednji: 1) med deloma dvojnega imena, ko se obe imeni pregibljeta; 2) med osebnim imenom in vzdevkom (SP, 2001, 48).

16 Velikokrat je zapisan kot: 1) alineja; 2) pri dvodelnih zemljepisnih imenih; 3) pri razločevalnem dodatku k naselbinskim imenom. V prvem primeru bi moral biti namesto nestičnega vezaja zapisan nestični pomišljaj, v drugem bi moral biti med obema deloma samo presledek, v tretjem primeru pa prav tako samo presledek.

17 Te situacije so naslednje: 1) namesto vejice poudarjeno ločuje kakšno besedo ali misel stavka ali pa kaže na nasprotje posameznih delov iste povedi; 2) vpeljuje poudarjeno pristavčno pojasnilo že zapisane besede ali besedne zveze; 3) zaznamuje nedorečeno misel, npr. t. i. zamolk; 4) zaznamuje zvezo osebka in povedka ob izpuščeni glagolski obliki; 5) zaznamuje spremembo skladenjskega naklona v isti povedi; 6) namesto narekovajev uvaja dobesedni navedek premega govora, tj. t. i. narekovajni pomišljaj, vendar samo na začetku odstavka. Poznamo še dvodelni pomišljaj, ki loči vrinjeni stavek od drugega dela povedi (SP, 2001, 44–45).

18 Te situacije so naslednje: 1) namesto predlogov od ... do; 2) nestično namesto odstavčne številke ali črke, tj. t. i. odstavčni ali alinejni pomišljaj; 3) nestično med enotami besedila, ki so v kakšnem razmerju, posebno v nasprotnem; 4) nestično v matematiki za pomen minus oz. manj; pri navajanju relativnih števil, npr. temperature, pa stično; 5) dolgi nestični pomišljaj med povedmi iz raznih besedil ali iz raznih delov istega besedila, naštetimi v istem odstavku, oz. navadni med deli iste povedi, ki so kakor koli raznorodni (SP, 2001, 45).

19 Te situacije so naslednje: 1) za pomena ‚ali' in ‚oziroma' 2) za pomen ‚del enega in drugega'; 3) za pomene ‚ulomljeno', ‚skozi', ‚na'; 4) v jezikoslovju kot znamenje za mejo med deli besede (brez presledka), povedi ali slovarskega sestavka (s presledki); 5) s presledkom na obeh straneh za zaznamovanje verzov, kadar jih pri prepisovanju ne pišemo vsakega v svojo vrstico (SP, 2001, 50).

Preglednica 1: Zemljepisna naselbinska imena
Preglednica 1: Geographic urban names

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Babno polje	Babno Polje
Dečno Selo	Dečno selo
Ivanji grad	Ivanji Grad
Jurovski dol	Jurovski Dol
Krvavi potok	Krvavi Potok
Oblakov vrh	Oblakov Vrh
Stari log	Stari Log
Stari Trg	Stari trg
Sveta Ana v Slovenskih Goricah	Sveta Ana v Slovenskih goricah
Uršna Sela	Uršna sela
Zidani most	Zidani Most

Informacijski sistem WEPS

Direkcija RS za ceste je zaradi učinkovitejšega upravljanja s prometno signalizacijo vzpostavila nov prostorski informacijski sistem za vodenje evidence o prometni signalizaciji, imenovan WEPS. Ta zagotavlja evidentiranje vseh dogodkov, ki se odvijajo v okviru življenjskega cikla signalizacije: načrtovanje, postavitev, sprememba vsebine, zamenjava in odstranitev. Z njim so se povečali kakovost, preglednost in uporabnost podatkov. Ta sistem zagotavlja ustrezno delo pri vzdrževanju katastra prometne signalizacije in lažje odločanje glede izvajanja prometne ureditve. Sočasno lahko informacijski sistem uporabljajo različne skupine uporabnikov, ki imajo različne vloge in pristojnosti: naročnik, vzdrževalci, nadzorniki in podporne službe. Sistem je zasnovan kot spletna GIS-aplikacija z nadzorovanim dostopom do centralizirane podatkovne baze. Omogoča takojšnji shematski izris znakov in talnih označb na zemljevidu, pregled atributnih podatkov katastra, slik prometnih znakov, videoposnetkov cest, oblikovanje poročil in avtomatizirano izdajo različnih nalogov (o postavitvi, odstranitvi signalizacije itn.). Ta prostorski informacijski sistem omogoča tudi učinkovito in sprotno vnašanje sprememb in s tem vzdrževanje ažurnosti katastra prometne signalizacije (*Švigelj*, 2010).

Na Direkcijo RS za ceste smo naslovili pisno prošnjo za vpogled v ta informacijski sistem, da bi pridobili čim več primerov lastnih zemljepisnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah s poudarkom na slovenski Istri. Poslali so nam računalniški izpis vseh krajevnih tabel z zemljepisnimi imeni na območju RS.

EMPIRIČNI DEL

V empiričnem delu prispevka predstavljamo izsledke analize primerov lastnih zemljepisnih imen, zapisanih na cestnih krajevnih tablah. Na Direkciji RS za ceste smo pridobili izpis zemljepisnih imen, ki so zapisana na cestnih krajevnih tablah (N = 7.595 tabel[20]), in sicer iz prostorskega informacijskega sistema za vodenje evidence o prometni signalizaciji, imenovanega WEPS[21]. Opravili smo pravopisno analizo, v kateri smo konkretne primere/zapise razvrstili glede na različne tipe pravopisnih napak[22]. Skupine, v katere smo razvrstili primere glede na jezikovne (pravopisne) napake[23], so naslednje: 1) zemljepisna naselbinska imena; 2) zemljepisna nenaselbinska imena; 3) dvodelna zemljepisna imena; 4) dvojna zemljepisna imena; 5) okrajšana zemljepisna imena; 6) desna poševnica pri zapisu zemljepisnih imen; 7) vezaj/pomišljaj pri zapisu zemljepisnih imen; 8) razločevalni dodatki k naselbinskim imenom; 9) podredne zloženke; 10) občnoimenska besedna zveza in lastno ime; 11) predlog ‚via'; 12) nadomestne besede pri zemljepisnih imenih.

Sledili smo kvalitativni raziskovalni paradigmi in opravili vsebinsko kvalitativno analizo. Izsledke predstavljamo v nadaljevanju, in sicer v obliki preglednic in interpretacij ugotovitev.

Pri zemljepisnih naselbinskih imenih pišemo vse sestavine razen neprvih predlogov z veliko začetnico, med izjeme pa štejemo osem samostalnikov – trg, mesto, vas, selo, sela, selca, vesca in naselje – in jih pišemo z malo začetnico. To pravilo je v večini primerov na cestnih krajevnih tablah upoštevano, kljub vsemu pa smo še ve-

20 Na eni tabli je ponekod več zemljepisnih lastnih imen, kar pomeni, da je vseh zemljepisnih imen, ki smo jih analizirali z jezikovnega (s pravopisnega) vidika, več kot 7.595.

21 Obstaja možnost, da so se prepisovalci, ki so zapise zemljepisnih imen s cestnih krajevnih tabel vnašali v sistem WEPS, kdaj tudi zmotili/zatipkali in nehote naredili napako. Mi smo na terenu, predvsem v slovenski Istri, preverili nekaj naključno izbranih primerov napak in potrjujemo, da so bili vsi ti primeri natančni in točno v taki obliki, kot so zapisani v WEPSU.

22 Primeri v vseh preglednicah so zapisani po abecednem vrstnem redu.

23 Pravilnost teh zapisov smo ugotavljali s pomočjo *Slovenskega pravopisa* (SP, 2001) in jezikovnih pravil, objavljenih v tem priročniku.

Preglednica 2: Zemljepisna nenaselbinska imena
Preglednica 2: Geographic non-urban names

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Oljčna Pot	Oljčna pot
Robanov Kot	Robanov kot

Preglednica 3: Dvodelna zemljepisna imena
***Preglednica 3:* Geographic names consisting of two parts**

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Koper-center	Koper center[24]
Lj. - Nove Jarše	Lj. Nove Jarše
Lj.- Tomačevo	Lj. Tomačevo
Lj.-Bežigrad	Lj. Bežigrad
Ljubljana - Stegne	Ljubljana Stegne

Preglednica 4: Dvojna zemljepisna imena
Preglednica 4: Double geographic names

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Gozd Martuljek	Gozd - Martuljek
Hrib Loški Potok	Hrib - Loški Potok
Kalce Naklo	Kalce - Naklo
Kamnik-Duplica	Kamnik - Duplica
Šmarje Sap	Šmarje - Sap
Šmarje-Sap	Šmarje - Sap
Žiri-Cerkno	Žiri - Cerkno

dno našli kar nekaj nepravilnih zapisov, predstavljenih v preglednici 1. Za te primere bo treba na Direkcijo RS za ceste podati pisni predlog za popravke »na terenu«. Na direkciji najprej cestno krajevno tablo z »domnevno« napako poiščejo v sistemu WEPS in ugotovijo, ali je »na terenu« res napaka. Nato se po postopku, opisanem v tej razpravi, naroči nova cestna krajevna tabla.

Napake se pojavijo tudi pri nenaselbinskih imenih, pri katerih mora biti prva sestavina zapisana z veliko začetnico, druga pa z malo (če že sama po sebi ni lastno ime). Če je zapis vzet »iz konteksta«, včasih ni jasno, ali gre za naselbinsko ali nenaselbinsko zemljepisno lastno ime, zato je v teh primerih zapis treba še posebej natančno preveriti.

Precej problematično je stanje zapisov dvodelnih zemljepisnih imen, pri katerih obe sestavini pišemo z veliko začetnico in ju ločimo samo s presledkom. Na cestnih krajevnih tablah se v teh primerih po večini uporablja stični ali nestični vezaj, kar pa ni skladno s slovensko jezikovno normo. Pri zgornjih primerih lahko ugotovimo tudi poljubno oblikovano okrajšavo lastnega zemljepisnega imena Ljubljana (Lj.).

Še večji jezikovni primanjkljaj pa se kaže pri zapisih dvojnih zemljepisnih imen, pri katerih mora biti med eno in drugo sestavino zapisan nestični vezaj. Gledano celostno, pri nobenem zapisu dvojnega zemljepisnega imena na cestnih krajevnih tablah to pravilo ni upoštevano. Vezaj je velikokrat zapisan pri dvodelnih zemljepisnih imenih, kar je jezikovno neustrezno.

Zelo veliko zemljepisnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah je tudi okrajšanih, a iz predstavljenih primerov ne moremo določiti enotne metode, po kateri so okrajšave narejene, saj se že znotraj istega (dela) lastnega zemljepisnega imena pojavijo razlike na različnih tablah (*Dolenjske Topl., Šmarješke Top.*; *G. Radgona, Gor. Radgona*; celo *Slov. Bistrica* (tudi *Sl. Bistrica*) in *Slov. Gradec* za različni besedi, tj. *Slovenska* in *Slovenj*). Iz zapisanih primerov lahko sklepamo, da so imena okrajšana poljubno, in sicer glede na prostor, ki je na tabli, kar pa ni ustrezno. Predlagamo, da se vsaj pri istem poimenovanju lastnega zemljepisnega imena uporablja na enak način oblikovana okrajšava. Treba pa je poudariti, da sta v večini primerov pri okrajšavah postavljena pika, ki zaznamuje okrajšavo, in presledek, s katerim prikažemo npr. dvodelnost poimenovanja, kar narekuje tudi *Slovenski pravopis*. Predlagamo še, da bi se okrajšavam zaradi večje jasnosti na cestnih krajevnih tablah izogibali.

24 Čeprav je zveza besed Koper center dvodelno zemljepisno ime, besedo center v tem primeru pišemo z malo začetnico, ker gre za razločevalni dodatek glede na nebesno stran.

Preglednica 5: Okrajšana zemljepisna imena
Preglednica 5: Shortened geographic names

OKRAJŠAN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	RAZVEZAN ZAPIS
Dol. Trebuša	Dolenja Trebuša
Dolenjske Topl.	Dolenjske Toplice
G. Radgona	Gornja Radgona
Gor. Radgona	Gornja Radgona
Ind. cona Rudnik	Industrijska cona Rudnik
Kamn. Bistrica	Kamniška Bistrica
Logarska d.	Logarska dolina
N. Gorica	Nova Gorica
Posl. cona	Poslovna cona
Ribnica na Poh.	Ribnica na Pohorju
Rog. Slatina	Rogaška Slatina
Sl. Bistrica	Slovenska Bistrica
Sl. Konjice	Slovenske Konjice
Slov. Bistrica	Slovenska Bistrica
Slov. Gradec	Slovenj Gradec
Sp. Brnik	Spodnji Brnik
Sp. Duplek	Spodnji Duplek
Sp. Kanomlja	Spodnja Kanomlja
Sr. Bistrica	Srednja Bistrica
Središče ob D.	Središče ob Dravi
Sv. Anton	Sveti Anton
Sv. Duh	Sveti Duh
Šk. Loka	Škofja Loka
Šmarješke Top.	Šmarješke Toplice
Vel. Lašče	Velike Lašče
Zg. Brnik	Zgornji Brnik
Zg. Vižinga	Zgornja Vižinga
Žel. postaja	Železniška postaja

Preglednica 6: Desna poševnica pri zapisu zemljepisnih imen
Preglednica 6: Slash in geographic names records

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Ankaran / Ancarano	Ankaran/Ancarano
Bertoki / Bertocchi	Bertoki/Bertocchi
Bolnišnica / Ospedale	Bolnišnica/Ospedale
Center / Centro	Center/Centro
Dragonja / Dragogna	Dragonja/Dragogna
Hrvatini / Crevatini	Hrvatini/Crevatini
Izola / Isola	Izola/Isola
Koper / Capodistria	Koper/Capodistria
Lucia / Lucia	Lucia/Lucia
Luka / Porto / Port	Luka/Porto/Port
Piran / Pirano	Piran/Pirano
Portorož / Portorose	Portorož/Portorose
Pulj / Pula / Pola	Pulj/Pula/Pola
Reka / Rijeka	Reka/Rijeka
Seča / Sezza	Seča/Sezza
Sečovlje / Sicciole	Sečovlje/Sicciole
Semedela / Semedella	Semedela/Semedella

Preglednica 7: Vezaj/pomišljaj pri zapisu zemljepisnih imen
Preglednica 7: Dash or hyphen in geographic names records

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Pohorje - snežni stadion	Pohorje – snežni stadion
Poslovno trgovski center (Supernova Koper)	Poslovno-trgovski center
Postojna, jama - grotte - cave	Postojna, jama – grotte – cave
Postojna, jama-grotte-cave	Postojna, jama – grotte – cave

Preglednica 8: Razločevalni dodatki (npr. glede na nebesno stran) k naselbinskim imenom
Preglednica 8: Distinctive additions to urban names

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Kamnik-center	Kamnik center
Koper-jug	Koper jug
Koper - center	Koper center
Lj.-center	Lj. center
Ljubljana - vzhod	Ljubljana vzhod
Ljubljana - zahod	Ljubljana zahod
Ljubljana-center	Ljubljana center
Ljubljana - zahod	Ljubljana zahod
Ljubljana-zahod	Ljubljana zahod
Maribor - center	Maribor center
Portorož - center	Portorož center
Portorož-center	Portorož center

Preglednica 9: Podredne zloženke
Preglednica 9: Subordinate compounds

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
AC obroč/ring (Koper)	AC-obroč/ring
BTC javna skladišča industrijske cone	BTC-javna skladišča industrijske cone
BUS postaja	BUS-postaja

Desna poševnica je stično ločilo in v večini primerov zaznamuje besedi ‚ali' in ‚oziroma'. To ločilo je še posebej pogosto prisotno na cestnih krajevnih tablah v slovenski Istri, saj je del dvojezičen in morata biti po zakonu na cestnih krajevnih tablah zapisa v slovenskem jeziku in jeziku manjšine. To pomeni, da je večinoma med slovenskim in tujim zapisom poševnica, pregled »na terenu« pa kaže, da se v večini primerov uporablja v nestični obliki, kar je jezikovno nepravilno, čeprav bi mogoče nepoznavalci pravopisnih pravil dejali, da nestična poševnica na tabli predstavlja večjo preglednost.

Vezaj in pomišljaj sta ločili, ki ju tvorci zapisanih besedil pogosto uporabljajo nepravilno, kar se kaže tudi na cestnih krajevnih tablah. V zgornjih primerih (preglednica 7) gre najprej za neko pojasnilo; pri tem moramo uporabiti nestični pomišljaj (Pohorje – snežni stadion). V drugem primeru gre za priredno zloženko, ki mora biti zapisana s stičnim vezajem (Poslovno-trgovski center), v tretjem in četrtem primeru pa gre spet za neko pojasnilo/ločnico pri zapisu besede v več jezikih; pri tem lahko poleg desne poševnice uporabimo tudi nestični pomišljaj. Na nekaterih cestnih krajevnih tablah so kraji zapisani po alinejah in za to so uporabljeni nestični vezaji, morali pa bi biti zapisani nestični pomišljaji, ki zaznamujejo t. i. navajanje po alinejah[25].

Na cestnih krajevnih tablah se velikokrat uporabljajo tudi t. i. razločevalni dodatki k naselbinskim imenom, a so v večini primerov v neskladju s *Slovenskim pravopisom* (2001), ki to obliko zapisa navaja samo s presledkom med krajem in njegovim razločevalnim dodatkom, ki se piše z malo začetnico, če ni lastno ime. V praksi je namesto presledka največkrat uporabljen stični in nestični vezaj.

25 Na ljubljanski severni obvoznici je cestna krajevna tabla, na kateri so po alinejah zapisani naslednji kraji po naslednjem zgledu: - Tomačevo / - Črnuče / - Stožice / - Žale. (Nestične poševnice smo uporabili zato, ker smo napise, ki so na cestni krajevni tabli zapisani po alinejah drug pod drugim, zapisali v eno vrsto.) Namesto nestičnih vezajev bi morali biti za t. i. alinejno obliko uporabljeni nestični pomišljaji (gl. teoretični del razprave).

Preglednica 10: Občnoimenska besedna zveza in lastno ime
Preglednica 10: Common noun compound and proper name

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Ind. cona - Moste	Ind. cona Moste
Ind. cona-Moste	Ind. cona Moste
Nakupovalno središče - Rudnik	Nakupovalno središče Rudnik
Obrtna cona - Lucija	Obrtna cona Lucija

Preglednica 11: Predlog ‚via‘
Preglednica 11: Preposition "via"

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
via Buzet	skozi Buzet (gl. SP 2001)
via Koper	skozi Koper (gl. SP 2001)
via Kranj	skozi Kranj (gl. SP 2001)
via Maribor	skozi Maribor (gl. SP 2001)

Preglednica 12: Nadomestne besede pri zemljepisnih imenih
Preglednica 12: Substitution words in geographic names

NEPRAVILEN ZAPIS NA CESTNI TABLI	JEZIKOVNO PRAVILEN ZAPIS
Aerodrom	Letališče
Arboretum	–

Pri podrednih zloženkah, pri katerih je prva sestavina števka ali kratica, obe sestavini med seboj povežemo s stičnim vezajem. Primerov, pri katerih gre za podredne zloženke, je na cestnih krajevnih tablah, tudi v slovenski Istri, precej, a so vedno zapisane jezikovno nepravilno, največkrat kar brez vezaja.

Nenavadno se zdi, da je na cestnih krajevnih tablah pri zapisu pridevnika, samostalnika in zemljepisnega imena uporabljen stični/nestični vezaj, kar je neskladno s *Slovenskim pravopisom* (2001). Pravilno bi omenjene tri sestavine zapisali tako, da bi jih ločili s presledkoma.

Zelo pogosto in hkrati tudi nerazumljivo je, da je na cestnih krajevnih tablah uporabljena beseda ‚via‘, ki pomeni ‚skozi‘. *Slovenski pravopis* (2001) navaja, da gre za predlog s tožilnikom in da je ta oblika neobčevalna. Ker imamo v slovenščini besedo ‚skozi‘, je odločitev za tak zapis na cestnih krajevnih tablah neutemeljena.

Na cestnih krajevnih tablah se v bližini letališč pojavi zapis aerodrom, ki ga sicer razumejo tudi tujci, a ker je slovenščina v RS uradni jezik[26], bi bilo smiselno, da bi se ta oblika nadomestila z obliko letališče. Podobno je z besedo arboretum.

Na osnovi predstavljenih izsledkov ugotavljamo, da je na cestnih krajevnih tablah, ki so postavljene na javnih krajih, veliko jezikovnih (pravopisnih) napak. Namen pravopisne analize je bil konkretne primere zapisov zemljepisnih lastnih imen razvrstiti glede na različne tipe jezikovnih (pravopisnih) napak, zato težko sodimo o tem, ali se v slovenski Istri številčno pojavlja več napak kot drugje po Sloveniji (iskali smo različne vrste napak, ne števila istovrstnih). Iz izsledkov analize pa je jasno razvidno, da se v slovenski Istri pojavljajo vse v tem prispevku opredeljene vrste napak, in smo jih lahko uvrstili v vseh dvanajst oblikovanih kategorij. Ker je v 3. členu *Pravilnika o prometni signalizaciji in prometni opremi na javnih cestah* zapisano, da morajo biti zapisi na prometni signalizaciji na dvojezičnih območjih najprej zapisani v slovenščini, nato pa s poševnico ločeno še v italijanščini ali madžarščini, je na tem območju absolutno več pojavitev primera napake iz kategorije 6 – *Desna poševnica pri zapisu zemljepisnih imen*, v kateri je desna poševnica nestična, po *Slovenskem pravopisu* pa bi morala biti stična.

Situacija je po našem mnenju takšna zato, ker v procesu oblikovanja zapisov zemljepisnih lastnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah ne sodeluje jezikoslovec in ker s temi zapisi »upravljajo« strokovni delavci, ki nimajo ustreznega znanja in ne uporabljajo ustreznih jezikovnih priročnikov[27], s katerimi bi lahko zagotovili jezikovno pravilnost zapisov na cestnih krajevnih tablah. Na obeh dvojezičnih območjih v RS, tudi v slovenski Istri, je situacija še kompleksnejša, ker je treba poskrbeti še za jezikovno pravilno obliko lastnega zemljepisnega imena v tujem jeziku. Na osnovi ugotovljenega

26 Več o uradnem jeziku v Petek, T. (2013), Vloga in položaj slovenščine v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu, *Pedagoška obzorja,* 28 (1), 32–44.
27 O uporabi ustreznih jezikovnih priročnikov gl. podčrtno opombo 4.

upravljavcem cest predlagamo, da v proces nastajanja teh zapisov/tabel nujno vključijo jezikoslovce, ki bodo v procesu priprave napisov zagotavljali jezikovno pravilnost teh zapisov, vključno z ločili. To se nam zdi še posebej pomembno tudi zato, ker so državljani RS na tovrstne napake pozorni[28].

SKLEPNI DEL

V prispevku smo razpravljali o jezikovnih (pravopisnih) napakah na cestnih krajevnih tablah v Republiki Sloveniji s poudarkom na slovenski Istri. Najprej je opredeljen zakonski okvir, ki je v RS osnova za postavljanje prometnih znakov z zemljepisnimi imeni na javnih cestah. Predstavljena je analiza procesa oblikovanja zapisov lastnih zemljepisnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah v RS, omenjeno je dvojezično okolje v slovenski Istri, navedena pa so tudi pravopisna pravila, ki bi morala biti upoštevana pri pisanju zemljepisnih imen, vključno z ločili. Opravili smo pravopisno analizo, v kateri smo konkretne primere razvrstili glede na različne tipe pravopisnih napak v dvanajst kategorij. Ugotovili smo, da je tovrstnih napak na omenjenih tablah, ki so postavljene na t. i. javnih mestih, veliko, kar je z vidika jezikoslovja nedopustno. Ta problematika je izražena tudi v slovenski Istri; zaradi delne dvojezičnosti ima to območje namreč posebno mesto v slovenskem prostoru, saj morajo biti napisi na cestnih krajevnih tablah po *Pravilniku o prometni signalizaciji in prometni opremi na javnih cestah* dvojezični. Iz izsledkov analize je jasno razvidno, da so napake zapisov, najdene v slovenski Istri, uvrščene v vseh dvanajstih opredeljenih kategorijah napak. Predlagamo, da se v postopek za pisanje zemljepisnih imen na cestne krajevne table nujno vključi jezikoslovce. Zelo pomemben se nam zdi tudi izsledek internetne ankete, ki pravi, da je več kot 83 % anketiranih ljudi pozornih na pravopisne napake, ki se pojavljajo na cestnih krajevnih tablah. To je še en argument o tem, zakaj je treba na vseh javnih tablah zagotoviti jezikovno pravilne zapise.

LINGUISTIC (IN)CORRECTNESS OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES ON LOCATION SIGNS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA WITH EMPHASIS ON SLOVENIAN ISTRIA

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SUMMARY

The article contains a discussion on linguistic (orthographic) mistakes on traffic signs in the Republic of Slovenia (RS) with an emphasis on Slovenian Istria. There are many such mistakes on the above mentioned signs, set in so-called public places. This problem is also expressed in Slovenian Istria – due to partial bilingualism this part has a special place in Slovenia because all the traffic signs must be in accordance with the Rules of Traffic Signs and Road Furniture and therefore bilingual. The purpose of this article is to present these mistakes and find why they occur and suggest a procedure of setting road signs in which a linguist would collaborate. In the first part of the discussion, analytically-descriptive and analytically-interpretative methods of research are used. An analysis of the process of writing of geographic proper names on road signs in the RS, which in our opinion is the cause of the unsatisfactory state, is presented. The legal framework, which presents the basis for setting of road signs with geographic names on public roads in RS, is also mentioned, the bilingual area in Slovenian Istria is defined and the grammatical rules, which should be taken into consideration when writing geographical names, including punctuation, are listed. In the second, empirical part of the article we presented a list of grammatical mistakes in actual records, present on the road signs in the RS, especially in Slovenian Istria. An orthography analysis follows with specific examples (we examined 7,595 road signs with emphasis on Slovenian Istria), sorted according to the type of grammatical mistake into 12 categories: 1. Geographic urban names; 2. Geographic non-urban names; 3. Geographic names consisting of two parts; 4. Double geographic names; 5. Shortened geographic names; 6. Slash in geographic names records; 7. Dash or hyphen in geographic names records; 8. Distinctive additions to urban names; 9. Subordinate compounds;

28 Opravili smo namreč tudi internetno anketo (N = 146) prebivalcev v slovenski Istri. Vprašali smo jih, ali so kdaj pozorni na pravopisne napake, ki se pojavljajo na cestnih krajevnih tablah. Izsledki se nam zdijo presenetljivi, saj je z ‚da' odgovorilo kar 122 vprašanih, kar je več kot 83 % vseh, ki so rešili anketo. Pri tem se nam sicer zastavlja vprašanje o t. i. pravopisnem znanju anketiranih, a že pozornost glede jezikovne pravilnosti zemljepisnih imen na cestnih krajevnih tablah, ki so jo navedli anketirani, dviguje raven ozaveščenosti ljudi glede jezika.

10. Common noun compound and proper name; 11. Preposition "via"; 12. Substitution words in geographic names. We followed the qualitative research paradigm and in such way carried out a qualitative content analysis. The results of the analysis clearly show that the mistakes found in Slovenian Istria can be found in all twelve categories. We also carried out an internet survey (N = 146) of random inhabitants of Slovenian Istria. They were asked whether they are aware of the grammatical mistakes that occur on the road signs. We found the results surprising since 122 participants (which represents more than 83 %) answered "yes". This raises a question of the so-called grammatical knowledge of the participants, but the noticing of linguistic correctness itself shows a higher level of language awareness.

Key words: Location name road signs, geographic proper names, linguistic (orthographic) mistakes, Slovenian Istria, linguist

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TRAGOVIMA PULSKE GLAZBENE SAMOSVOJNOSTI – STVARATELJI GLAZBENOG IDENTITETA GRADA U PRVOJ POLOVINI 20. STOLJEĆA: ANTONIO ILLERSBERG I MARIO CARLIN

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IZVLEČEK

Razen nekaterih renomiranih oseb kot sta Franz Lehar in Antonio Smareglia, so v največjem mestu istrskega polotoka v prejšnjem stoletju delovali tudi številni drugi pomembni glasbeniki, katerih imena so danes že popolnoma neznana. Nekateri med njimi so bili rojeni v Pulju, nekateri pa so zaradi različnih razlogov tam bivali. Med njimi sta bila spoštovani tržaški skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Antonio Illersberg ter tenor pevec Mario Carlin. Illersberg je v Puli bival v začetku 20. stoletja (med leti 1904 in 1917) in je delal pri Mornariškem orkestru Avstro-Ogrske vojske, v času 1. svetovne vojne pa je dirigiral ob izvedbah opernih predstav. Tenor Mario Carlin, ki je po rodu iz Fažane, je svojo pevsko kariero začel v času 2. svetovne vojne v Pulju, nastopal pa je na koncertih dopolavorističnih krožkov, v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so ga gostili največji svetovno znani operni odri. S pomočjo člankov iz puljskih in tržaških časopisov ter drugih dostopnih virov to delo predstavlja rekonstrukcijo puljskih umetniških angažmajev dveh uglednih glasbenikov.

Ključne besede: glasba, opera, koncert, izvajalec, dirigent

SULLE TRACCE DELL' INDIVIDUALITÀ MUSICALE POLESE - I CREATORI DELL'IDENTITÀ MUSICALE DELLA CITTÀ NELLA PRIMA METÀ DEL XX SECOLO

SINTESI

Nel principale centro urbano della penisola istriana, durante il secolo scorso, oltre ai personaggi illustri quali erano Franz Lehar e Antonio Smareglia, hanno operato anche numerosi musicisti di un certo rilievo i cui nomi sono oggi pressochè sconosciuti. Alcuni di loro sono nati a Pola, altri, per una serie di circostanze, vi hanno trascorso un periodo della loro vita. Fra tutti l'illustre compositore e pedagogo musicale triestino Antonio Illersberg, ed il tenore Mario Carlin. Illersberg è stato a Pola all'inizio del 20 secolo (tra il 1904 - 1917) ingaggiato nell'Orchestra della Marina militare austro ungarica, e durante la prima guerra mondiale ha diretto varie rappresentazioni d' opera. Il tenore Mario Carlin, nativo di Fasana, ha iniziato la sua carriera canora durante la seconda guerra mondiale a Pola, esibendosi ai concerti dopolavoristici, e negli anni 50' e 60' del secolo scorso è stato ospite di tutti i palcoscenici principali d'Europa. Questo saggio basato sugli articoli giornalistici dei quotidiani di Pola e di Trieste e su altri fonti disponibili, presenta la ricostruzione degli ingaggi artistici polesi dei due sommi artisti.

Parole chiave: musica, opera, concerto, esecutore, direttore



Mario Carlin kao protagonist u operama „I Pagliacci" (R. Leoncavallo) i „Aida" (G. Verdi), fotografija omota ploče iz 1954. god. Izvor: www.amazon.com
Mario Carlin as protagonist in the operas „I Pagliacci" (R. Leoncavallo) and „Aida" (G. Verdi), photography of the album cover from 1954 Source: www.amazon.com

Do konačnog pripojenja Hrvatskoj, odnosno Jugoslaviji, u povijesni su hodogram Pule u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća tragove ostavili brojni vladari i vlasti – Austro-Ugarska Monarhija, fašistička Italija, njemačka okupacija i anglo-američka vojna uprava. Mijene državnih sustava urodile su i izgradnjom pluralnog kulturnog prostora u kojem je glazba, kao jedan od temelja artikulacije urbanog identiteta grada, imala veliku ulogu.

No unatoč tomu, o osobnostima koje su svojim znanjem, poduzetnošću i glazbenom nadarenošću taj identitet gradili znamo jako malo. Sustavnijih i sveobuhvatnijih muzikoloških studija novije i suvremene povijesti nema mnogo i uglavnom su usredotočene na razmatranja pojedinih segmenata glazbenog života, poput reprodukcije, školstva i publicistike. Nedostatak tekstova i publikacija koje bi sadržavale podatke iz životopisa pjevača, dirigenata, skladatelja i glazbenih pedagoga koji su u Puli rođeni ili u njoj neko vrijeme djelovali, rezultat je ne samo nedovoljnog interesa istraživača već i nedostupnosti i disperziranosti mnogih izvora koji bi omogućili detaljnije upoznavanje njihova života i rada u našoj sredini. U najvećem su gradu istarskog poluotoka među ostalima, tijekom prve polovine 20. stoljeća uz neka renomirana imena poput Franza Lehara i Antonia Smareglije, osjetan trag ostavili i brojni drugi ugledni glazbenici čija su imena javnosti danas gotovo u potpunosti nepoznata.[1] Uvid u njihov rad i angažman u mnogočemu bi olakšao razumijevanje današnjeg glazbenog realiteta regije, omogućio nova čitanja tradicije i usustavljenje saznanja o glazbenom životu prošlosti. Prilog tomu jest ovaj pokušaj rekonstrukcije dijela životopisa dvojice istaknutih glazbenika s ovih prostora: tršćanskog skladatelja Antonia Illersberga i pulskog, odnosno fažanskog tenora Maria Carlina.

PULSKA EPIZODA IZ ŽIVOTOPISA ANTONIA ILLERSBERGA

Skladatelj, dirigent, zborovođa i glazbeni pedagog Antonio Illersberg rođen je u Trstu 1882. god. Ostavši siroče u ranoj mladosti, povjeren je na skrb ustanovi „Istituto per i Poveri", gdje je trebao izučiti postolarski zanat. Umjesto toga, mladić se posvetio učenju sviranja svih glazbala koje je ustanova posjedovala, skladao je koračnice i plesne skladbe i podučavao kolege zborskom pjevanju. Omogućeno mu je stoga pohađanje profesionalnih poduka kod voditelja Tršćanske gradske kapele Giuseppea Rote, a zatim je dobio stipendiju za studij na Glazbenom liceju u Bologni (Liceo Musicale di Bologna) (Radole, 1998). Diplomirao je najboljim ocjenama 1902. god. kada je izvedena njegova skladba *Preludio e capriccio e la Ballata* za orkestar. Djelo je dobio izvrsne kritike, u kojima se predviđala briljantna budućnost mladoga skladatelja, „...nove zvijezde na glazbenom horizontu Italije."[2]

Nakon diplome Illersberg se vratio u Trst, a 1904. god. regrutiran je u vojnu službu u Pulu gdje se priključio radu Mornaričkog orkestra te svirao violu u gudačkom kvartetu istog korpusa. Nakon završetka 1. svjetskog rata, vratio se u rodni grad gdje je vodio katedru harmonije i kompozicije na Konzervatoriju „Giuseppe Verdi" (danas Conservatorio „Giuseppe Tartini"). Tijekom dugogodišnjeg pedagoškog rada bio je mentor mnogim iznimnim glazbenicima poput Luigia Dallapiccole, Giulia Viozzija, Eugenia Visnoviza, Maria Bugamellija, Giuseppea Radole itd.[3] (Radole, 1998). Uz poučavanje i aktivan skladateljski rad, Illersberg je vodio brojne zborove, među kojima zbor „Dopolavora Acegat" (Scuola Corale del Dopolavoro Acegat), korpusa s kojim je u tridesetim godinama prošloga stoljeća višekratno gostovao na Venecijanskom biennaleu.

U talijansku su glazbenu povijest upisani njegovi pionirski izvedbeni zahvati, vezani uz pregnuća oko izvedbi djela talijanskih skladatelja Adriana Banchierija,

1 Ovaj rad svojevrsni je nastavak autoričinog istraživanja životopisa, skladateljskih opusa, izvođačkih i glazbeno-pedagoških angažmana manje poznatih osoba koje su obilježile glazbeni život Pule i Istre, poput Marie Polle Puecher, Rudolfa Župana, Romea Endriga, Giulia Smareglije, Antonia Martinza itd.

2 U izvorniku: "…un nuovo astro sull'orizzonte musicale d'Italia". Voce del Popolo, 29. 12. 2007: Vidali Fabio, E la musica rapi' Illersberg dal deschetto del ciabattino, 5.

3 Ibid; Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti, *Unione Tipografico Editrice Torinese* UTET, 1986, 3, 676.

Claudia Monteverdija, Giovannija Giacoma Gastoldija, Orazia Vecchija, Antonia Lottija te posebice suvremenih autora poput Luigija Dallapiccole i Gian Francesca Malipiera, što je umnogome pridonijelo njihovoj afirmaciji i osuvremenjivanju talijanske izvedbene zborske prakse.

Illersberg međutim nije imao smisla za samopromidžbu, pa su brojne njegove skladbe mahom ostale nepoznate širem auditoriju. Zahvaljujući tršćanskom pjesniku Morellu Torrespiniju i intendantu tršćanskog Teatra „Giuseppe Verdi" Cesareu Barisonu, Illersbergov skladateljski vrhunac, opera u tri čina prema Torrespinijevom predlošku napisanom na tršćanskom dijalektu pod nazivom *Triptih* (*Trittico*) praizveden je 1949. god. u Teatru „Giuseppe Verdi" (Martinolli D'Arcy, 2007). Nedugo nakon sjajnog uspjeha te opere, kada su izvedbe njegovih djela počele bivati sve češće, 1953. god. skladatelj je preminuo (Radole, 1998; Levi, 1968).

Danas njegovo ime nosi jedna tršćanska ulica, a tršćanski zbor nazvan njegovim imenom, 2012. god. proslavio je 50-tu obljetnicu iznimno upješnog djelovanja, tijekom kojeg je održao više od 600 koncerata diljem svijeta[4]. Istraživanje Illersbegova opusa zasad je rezultiralo objavom dva sveska njegovih zborskih skladbi (2003. god.) te detaljnim popisom njegovih dosad pronađenih simfonijskih i zborskih djela (Martinolli D'Arcy, 2007).

Unatoč tomu što je bio umješan i kreativan autor, Illersberg je svoj skladateljski rad smatrao intimnim činom. Često je svoja djela potpisivao pseudonimima ili ih je pak ostavljao nepotpisanim. Brojne su stranice partitura nakon njegove smrti zagubljene i disperzirane što je dodatno otežalo njihovo detektiranje i katalogizaciju.

Illersbergova je samozatajnost, možemo pretpostaviti, jedan od razloga što se i o njegovom boravku u Puli zna vrlo malo. Objavljeno je nekoliko studija o njegovom životu i radu u rodnom Trstu. Brojni uspješni glazbenički angažmani tijekom boravka u Puli međutim, u potpunosti su nepoznati javnosti.

Kulturni život u najvećem istarskom gradu u vrijeme Illersbergova boravka u njemu, bio je bogat i raznolik. Za Austro-Ugarske vladavine, posebice u posljednjim desetljećima 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća Pula je oživjela u ekonomskom, političkom i kulturnom smislu. Otkako je sredinom 19. st. postala glavna luka austrougarske ratne mornarice, broj stanovnika naglo je porastao.[5] Kao urbana cjelina nalazila se pod utjecajem njemačke i talijanske kulture, te hrvatskih i slovenskih preporodnih težnji. Ta se trojakost ogledala i u glazbenom životu: u gradu je djelovalo nekoliko kulturnih središta u kojima su se priređivala glazbena događanja, među kojima su



Antonio Illersberg s obitelji, fotografija
Izvor: obiteljski arhiv
Antonio Illersberg with family, photo
Source: family archive

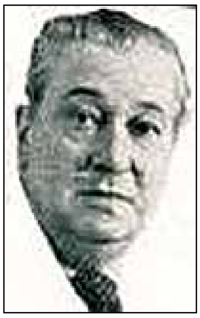
najvažnija bila Kazalište „Ciscutti"[6] , „Marine Casino"[7] i „Narodni dom" .

U „Marine Casinu", otvorenom 1872. god. djelovao je jedini stalni profesionalni orkestar kojeg je Pula u svojoj povijesti imala, orkestar Kraljevske i Carske mornarice (dalje: Mornarički orkestar). Kazalište „Ciscutti" nije imalo stalnog ansambla no u njemu su se, među ostalim, održavale brojne operne i operetne predstave koje su priređivale mahom i talijanske i njemačke skupine, a nastupali su i umjetnici iz hrvatskih gradova. Hrvati i Slovenci svoj su nacionalni identitet njegovali i čuvali među ostalim i sustavnim radom na osnivanju kulturnih društava, među kojima je bilo i Hrvatsko pjevačko i glazbeno društvo. Djelovalo je pod okriljem „Narodnog doma", žarišta narodnog preporoda istarskoga slavenskog stanovništva (Duraković, 2012a).

U takvo dinamično okruženje Illersbergu se nije bilo teško uklopiti. Giuseppe Radole spominje u svojoj knjizi „Ricerche sulla vita musicale a Trieste" da se Illersberg po dolasku u Pulu 1904. god. pridružio radu Gradske glazbe („Banda musicale"). Taj je podatak teško provjeriti, s obzirom da se imena svirača u ansamblima takve vrste u dnevnom tisku nisu ponaosob navodila. U pulskim dnevnim listovima tog vremena, njemačkom „Polaer Tagblattu", talijanskom „Il Gazzettino di Pola" te „Hrvatskom listu" nailazimo na njegovo ime u ulozi zborovođe i dirigenta te glasovirskog pratitelja raznih glazbenih događanja tijekom 1905. te između 1915. i 1917. god.

U tom je razdoblju Illersberg sasvim sigurno dijelom boravio u Puli a dijelom u Trstu[8]. Datacije njegovih skladbi upućuju na to da je u Puli aktivno skladao, no

4 Više o zboru „Antonio Illersberg": http://www.coroillersberg.it/Cartella%20salvataggio/index.htm (2. 03. 2012.)
5 Najvećim su dijelom žitelji grada bili Talijani i Hrvati, no kao radnici i vojnici u Pulu su dolazili i Slovenci, Česi, Slovaci, Poljaci, Ukrajinci, Rumunji, Mađari te austrijski Nijemci. Potonji su ipak pristizali uglavnom kao časnici, zbog vojne službe i rada u arsenalu.
6 Politeama „Ciscutti" danas je Istarsko narodno kazalište.
7 „Marine Casino" danas je Dom hrvatskih branitelja.
8 U svojoj knjizi Ricerche sulla vita musicale a Trieste: (1750 - 1950) Radole spominje kako je Illersberg već 1907. god. počeo predavati na tršćanskom Konzervatoriju i kako se 1910. god. u Trstu oženio, te 1915. god. dobio sina Tristana, te kako je ovo njegovo životno razdoblje najmanje istraženo te prepuno nesigurnih datacija skladbi i drugih podataka.



Antonio Illersberg, fotografija
Izvor: http://www.webalice.it/claudiomacchi/aamv/aamusiche.html
Antonio Illersberg, photography
Source: http://www.webalice.it/claudiomacchi/aamv/aamusiche.html

informacija o tome da su njegove skladbe u Puli i izvođene ne postoje (Radole, 1998).

U novinskim člancima iz predratnih godina gotovo da nema traga njegovim nastupima. Jedan od rijetkih tekstova u kojima se spominje njegovo ime objavljen je u studenom 1905. god. kada je nastupio kao glasovirski pratitelj u „Marine Casinu",[9] na koncertu Mornaričkog orkestra, na kojem su izvođena djela Franza Schuberta, Maxa Brucha, Richarda Wagnera i Aleksandera Zarzyckog. Kao gošća koncerta, predstavila se mlada austrijska violinistica Stefi Fisher, izvedbom je ravnao Franz Jaksch[10]. Glazbena kritika koncert je popratila hvalospjevima, a posebno je istaknuta decentna, istančana glasovirska pratnja Antonia Illersberga.[11]

Iako je teško dokumentirati njegovu aktivnost, neposredno po uvojačenju, s obzirom na angažman u jedinom stalnom profesionalnom orkestru kojeg je Pula u svojoj prošlosti imala, Mornaričkom orkestru, nastupao je prilično često. Orkestar je bio nositelj koncertnih i glazbenih djelatnosti grada, s raznolikim obimom zadaća, od održavanja koncerata zabavnog karaktera, koncerata ozbiljne glazbe, do protokolarnih nastupa poput porinuća ratnih brodova i sl (Duraković, 2012b).

Illersbergova uloga u glazbenom životu Pule tijekom 1. svjetskog rata u potpunosti se mijenja. Od anonimnog glazbenika u mornaričkim korpusima, orkestru i komornim sastavima, postaje jedan od glavnih protagonista glazbenih događanja. Unatoč ratnim okolnostima, kulturno-umjetnički život Pule tijekom rata ne jenjava. Velika vojna operativna baza s mnogobrojnim ljudstvom, mora osigurati kontinuitet kulturnih zbivanja. Ona uglavnom bivaju organizirana u ratne, humanitarne svrhe, a kazališne, dramske te posebice operetne i operne predstave izvode se gotovo isključivo u kazalištu „Ciscutti".[12]

Illersberg tada postaje dirigent zbora „Ciscutti"[13]. „Hrvatski list" u prosincu 1915. god. u toj ga ulozi spominje u osvrtu na simfonijski koncert organiziran u korist prognanika, na kojem uz navedeni zbor sudjeluje i 90 glazbenika Mornaričkog orkestra pod vodstvom Josepha Voske te pjevač Willy Gerstorfer.[14]

Ubrzo zatim, preuzima i značajnu ulogu u najvažnijim kulturnim događanjima organiziranim u ratno vrijeme, u opernim predstavama koje su Puljani uspijevali prirediti vlastitim izvedbenim snagama (Duraković, 2012b).

Prvi ciklus opernih izvedbi koje je, uz pomoć nekolicine gostujućih solista iz Graza i Beča, realiziralo domicilno stanovništvo održan je 1916. god. a izvođena je Donizettijeva opera *Don Pasquale*. U solističkim su se ulogama, uz nekoliko gostujućih solista iz većih glazbenih centara okušali mahom amateri, ljubitelji glazbe koji su stjecajem okolnosti, dulje ili kraće vrijeme, početkom 20. stoljeća boravili u Puli. Prihod od prodanih ulaznica bio je namijenjen Crvenom križu, ratnoj siročadi, udovicama poginulih na bojišnici. U operi je sudjelovao Mornarički orkestar pod dirigentskim vodstvom svog kapelnika Josepha Voske. Soliste i zbor, kojeg su većinom činili radnici iz arsenala uvježbao je Antonio Illersberg, „…umjetnik visokog umjetničkog razumijevanja i rijetke glazbeno-pedagoške nadarenosti".[15]

U drugom ciklusu opernih predstava prva je na rasporedu bila opera *Faust* Charlesa Gounoda. Izvođačku su postavu iznova u najvećoj mjeri činili domicilni solisti, zbor te Mornarički orkestar kojeg je ovom prigodom pripremio i uvježbao Antonio Illersberg. Njegovom je iskusnom i promišljenom vodstvu pripisana zasluga za uspjeh izvedbe: „Pula ima prvorazrednog dirigenta, profesora Illersberga koji je ne samo prirodnom izvanrednom glazbenom nadarenošću već i opsežnim i temeljitim poznavanjem glazbene literature kao nitko drugi osposobljen za opernog dirigenta. Odatle se između

9 Polaer Tagblatt, 24. 11. 1905: Symphoniekoncert in Marinecasino, 1.

10 Dirigent Franz Jaksch, rodom iz Nova Bistrice u Češkoj nalazio se na popisu kapelnika austrougarske monarhije kao violinist, kapelnik, zborovođa i orguljaš u Bregenzu, Pećuhu, Pragu i Beču, a u Pulu je na mjesto dirigenta mornaričkog orkestra došao nakon Leharovog odlaska, 1896. god. Usp: Damanski Joseph, Die Militar-Kapellmeister Osterreich – Ungarns Illustriertes biographiches Lexicon. http://www.musicsack.com/PersonFMT_ItemPK.cfm?ItemPK=1129, (31. 01. 2011.);Bayerisches Musiker-Lexikon Online (BMLO).

11 Polaer Tagblatt, 25. 11. 1905: Das gestrige symphoniekoncert in Marinecasino, 1.

12 Ibid.

13 HR-DAPA- 55, XXI-2/1, kut. 53, 1926, Podaci o zboru „Ciscutti"; Da je Illersberg i tijekom ratnih godina bio unovačen svjedoči i Vito Levi u svojoj knjizi „La vita musicale a Trieste, cronache di un cinquantennio". Levi piše kako je tijekom ratne 1917. god. u tršćanskoj Politeami Rossetti nastupao Mornarički orkestar iz Pule te da su tršćanske novine s ponosom isticale da je u izvedbi sudjelovao Antonio Illersberg koji je glazbenike pratio na glasoviru odjeven u mornaričku uniformu.

14 Hrvatski list, 19. 12. 1915: Veliki sinfonični koncert u prilog naših bjegunaca, 2.

15 U izvorniku: „…hohes künstlerisches Verständnis und seine seltene musikpädagogische Begabung."; Polaer Tagblatt, 16. 03. 1916: Vom Tage, Don Pasquale, 3.

dirigenta i orkestra razvio idealan uzajamno skladan i harmoničan odnos. Svaki sudionik našeg izvrsnog Mornaričkog orkestra ima puno povjerenje u svog dirigenta te dragovoljno i s radošću prihvaća njegove intencije. Stoga mirne savjesti možemo ustvrditi da smo vrlo rijetko kad doživjeli tako dobru zajedničku svirku našeg orkestra kao posljednje večeri koja je proizašla upravo iz ove neophodne djelotvorne suradnje dirigenta i Mornaričkog orkestra."[16] Nakon *Fausta* reprizirana je Donizettijeva opera *Don Pasquale*, također pod Illersbergovim vodstvom.[17]

Zborom sastavljenim od pulskih pjevača i Mornaričkim orkestrom ravnao je Illersberg ponovno tijekom ratne 1917. god. tijekom sezone u kojoj su na rasporedu bile Verdijeve opere *Rigoletto* i *Traviata* te Puccinijeva *Madame Butterfly*.

Ulaznice za premijeru Verdijeva *Rigoletta*, ovjenčanu hvalospjevima glazbenih kritičara, bile su rasprodane[18], a jednako je velik interes vladao i za reprizne predstave. Najveća je zasluga za uspješnu izvedbu pripisana ponovno neumornom Illersbergu koji je „..s puta uklonio teškoće. Suprotstavio im je ljubav i znanje pravog glazbenika …."[19]. I izvedbe drugih dvaju opera *Traviate* i *Madame Butterfly* ocijenjene su besprijekornim, upravo zahvaljujući dirigentu Illersbergu koji je snažnom i čvrstom rukom vodio oba korpusa, pokazavši da je potpuno dorastao zahtjevnoj zadaći.[20]

Ustrajnost da se predstave koje su u velikoj mjeri realizirali glazbenici amateri, uprizore uz minimalna financijska sredstva te da se njima osigura prihod namijenjen humanitarnoj pomoći bila je sama po sebi hvalevrijedna. Tako su i onodobni kroničari glazbenog života (uglavnom nepotpisani, ili potpisani tek inicijalima) dobrohotno pristupali prosudbi kvalitete izvedbe pa njihove, gotovo u cijelosti pozitivne ocjene izvedbi valja uzimati sa zadrškom. No unatoč upitnoj razini interpretacije, njihova realizacija - koju u velikoj mjeri možemo pripisati Antoniu Illersbergu, ostala je jedinstvena epizoda u pulskoj glazbenoj povijesti. Nikada prije ni nakon ovih ratnih opernih sezona Pula nije uspjela realizirati operne izvedbe vlastitim izvedbenim snagama (Duraković, 2012b).

Illersberg je 1917. god. sudjelovao u još dvama iznimnim glazbenim događanjima. Te je godine u Puli dvaput, u lipnju i listopadu nastupio slavni zagrebački violinist Zlatko Baloković, a maestro ga je pratio za glasovirom. U lipnju su na programu bila djela Maxa Brucha, Giuseppea Tartinija, Nicoloa Paganinija, Pabla Sarasatea, Eduarda Elgara, Antonia Bazzinija i Camilla Saint-Saënsa.[21] Na koncertu u prosincu Baloković je pak izvodio djela Camilla Saint-Saënsa, Johanna Sebastiana Bacha, Henryka Wieniawskog, Antonina Dvorâka i Pabla Sarasatea. U osvrtima na te koncerte umjetnika koji je „začudio smjelim žarom vratolomne tehnike i neizrecivom dražesti zvukova, koje je proizvodila njegova umjetnička ruka i mlada, bujna jugoslovenska narav",[22] tek se uzgred spominje diskretna i pouzdana Illersbergova glasovirska pratnja.[23]

Pula međutim vjerojatno nije predstavljala sredinu koja bi u većoj mjeri poticala razvoj glazbene individualnosti marljivog i svestranog glazbenika. Nakon završetka 1. svjetskog rata Illersberg se vratio u Trst, no najvećemu je istarskome gradu i dalje ostao privržen, o čemu svjedoče i njegovi nastupi u Puli tijekom talijanske vladavine.[24]

„Njegovo je znanje o glazbi bilo neizmjerno (...) njegova retorika oduševljavala je i ostavljala zaprepaštenim, zapanjenim i zadivljenim sve one koji su imali sreću slušati ga.", tim je riječima Illersberga opisivao njegov učenik, ugledni tršćanski violinist Cesare Barison (Martinolli D'Arcy, 2007). Nažalost zasad nema tragova koji govore o tome je li se za boravka u Puli Illersberg bavio davanjem poduka ili se na bilo koji drugi način posvećivao pedagoškom radu. Nepoznanice ostaju i izvedbe njegovih instrumentalnih skladbi koje je napisao u Puli, nedostaju detalji koji bi sliku o tom dijelu njegova stvaralaštva upotpunili. Ako je doista svirao violu u gudačkom kvartetu Mornaričkog orkestra, te je koncerte teško datirati i komornu djelatnost poduprijeti dokazima, s obzirom na praksu nenavođenja članova komornih sastava poimenice.

16 U izvorniku: Wir besitzen in Pola an Prof. Illersberg einen erstklassigen Dirigenten, den nicht nur die Natur durch außerordentliche musikalische Begabung, sondern auch eine umfassende und gründliche Kenntnis der Musikliteratur wie keinen zweiten zum Operndirigenten befähigt hat. Daraus hat sich zwischen Dirigenten und Orchester ein ideales Verhältnis von Harmonie und wechselseitigem Verständnis entwickelt. Jedes Mitglied unseres so trefflichen Marineorchesters besitzt das volle Vertrauen in seinen Dirigenten und geht willig und mit Freude in seine Intentionen ein. Wir können deshalb mit ruhigem Gewissen feststellen, daß wir sehr selten ein so vollkommenes Zusammenspiel unseres Orchesters erlebt haben, wie in den letzten Opernabend, wie es sich eben mit Notwendigkeit aus diesem wirkungsfreudigen Zusammenarbeiten von Dirigenten und Marineorchester ergibt." Polaer Tagblatt, 9. 10. 1916: Vom Tage, 2.

17 Hrvatski list, 25. 10. 1916: Don Pasquale u gradskom kazalištu, 2.

18 Polaer Tagblatt, 13. 01. 1917: Vom Tage, Die Rigoletto *Aufführung*, 3.

19 Ibidem. U izvorniku: "…ist den Schwierigkeiten nicht aus dem Wege gegangen. Er hat ihnen die Liebe und die Gewissenhaftigkeit eines wahren Musikers entgegengesetzt…" .

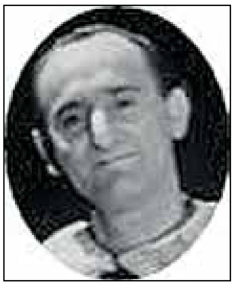
20 Polaer Tagblatt, 26. 05.1917: Oper, 3.

21 Polaer Tagblatt, 27. 06. 1917: Zlatko Baloković. Programm, 4.

22 Hrvatski list, 6. 12. 1917: Balokovićev koncert, 3.

23 Polaer Tagblatt, 6. 12. 1917: Vom Tage. Konzert Balokovic, 3.

24 Novine primjerice bilježe kako je god. 1934. Illersberg bio predsjednik prosudbenog povjerenstva na natjecanju zborova i orkestara „Dopolavora" na trgu Portarata, te da je 1933. god. ravnao neimenovanim tršćanskim orkestrom i zborom na pulskom Forumu. Corriere Istriano, 21. 08. 1934, 3; L'Azione, 1. 04. 1928: Musica e dopolavoro, 3.



Mario Carlin, fotografija
Izvor: http://homepage2.nifty.com/uym/opera/artist2.html
Mario Carlin, photography
Source: http://homepage2.nifty.com/uym/opera/artist2.html

Oni podaci koje međutim posjedujemo, nedvojbeno nas navode na zaključak da djelovanje poduzetnog, obrazovanog, darovitog Antonia Illersberga, tvori iznimnu epizodu pulske glazbene prošlosti. U ratnim vremenima uspio je u onome što nije nikome prije ni nakon njega – okupiti sve gradske glazbene snage i upriličiti izvedbe nekih od najpoznatijih djela opernoga repertoara.

MARIO CARLIN - „EL NOSTRO GARDELIN"

O ranoj mladosti i odrastanju Fažanca Maria Carlina (Carlinija), tenora čije snimke čuvaju brojni svjetski fonotečni arhivi i čije je pjevačko umijeće, zahvaljujući internetskoj mreži dostupno svakom ljubitelju glazbe, ne zna se mnogo. Rođen je 1915. god. u izbjeglištvu u mađarskom gradu Bata. Nakon završetka 1. svjetskog rata njegova se brojna obitelj vraća u Fažanu kraj Pule. Carlinovi roditelji nisu dobrostojeći, pa mladić počinje zarana sam zarađivati za život, radeći danju kao ribar, noću kao pekar, a njegovi mu sumještani zbog lijepog glasa daju nadimak „naš grdelin" („el nostro gardelin")[25].

Carlinovu prisutnost u glazbenom životu Pule dnevni tisak bilježi 1940. god. kada dvadesetpetogodišnji mladić aktivno sudjeluje u radu brojnih dopolavorističkih gradskih organizacija.

U Puli, kao i u drugim talijanskom provincijama, u međuratnom su razdoblju iznimno aktivna fašistička kulturna društva, klubovi i udruženja, koja sustavu omogućavaju svekoliku kontrolu slobodnog života građana, odnosno njihovu fašizaciju. Jedna od najvažnijih organizacija putem kojih se osigurava prisutnost fašističkih kulturnih vrijednosti među građanstvom je „Dopolavoro", u kojem glazbene aktivnosti zauzimaju istaknuto mjesto. „Dopolavoro" priređuje glazbene manifestacije, regionalna natjecanja za gradske glazbe, gudačke orkestre i zborska društva, brine o selekcioniranju mladih koji se odlikuju glazbeničkim darom, o njihovu radu i napretku i organizira glazbeno - edukativne priredbe na kojima se izvodi, afirmira i slavi talijanska umjetnost[26] (Bon Gherardi, 1985). U tridesetim godinama prošlog stoljeća u djelatnosti „Dopolavora" u Puli bilježi se porast podružnica, odnosno kružoka u različitim gradskim zonama, u sklopu kojih djeluju skromni ansambli i pjevači koji izvode dijelove iz opernog i operetnog repertoara te popularne, zabavne melodije. Nakon ulaska Italije u rat, glavni cilj dopolavorističkih udruženja postaje organiziranje koncerata i drugih aktivnosti namijenjenih zabavi oružanih snaga (Duraković, 2003).

Na Carlinovo ime na programima dopolavorističkih kružoka nailazimo u srpnju 1940. god. kada nastupa u „Dopolavoro Interaziendale" uz orkestar i zbor kojim ravna maestro Giuseppe Zlobez[27]. Najave za taj koncert Carlina opisuju kao pjevača koji „…snažnom timbru glasa pridružuje izuzetnu profinjenost interpretacije".[28] U osvrtu s koncerta, kojemu uz brojnu publiku prisustvuju Prefekt, predsjednik provincijskog „Dopolavora", predsjednik Fašističkog instituta za kulturu i drugi uglednici,[29] Carlina novinari opisuju kao pravo otkriće, umjetnika koji pjeva s puno osjećaja, primjetljivim rasponom glasa, sigurnim i u visokim lagama.[30] Iste godine u srpnju i kolovozu Carlin nastupa i na koncertima namijenjenim pripadnicima vojnih postrojbi, u organizaciji „Dopolavora Lazzari"[31] te „Dopolavora Interaziendale".[32] Uskoro nakon toga predstavlja se na simfonijskom koncertu posvećenom pripadnicima oružanih snaga u pulskoj Areni, uz tršćansku sopranisticu Rinu Pellegrini, tenora Rodolfa Morara te orkestar, sastavljen od 45 pulskih glazbenika kojim ravna Pietro De Castro.[33] Na rasporedu su djela Domenica Cimarose, Giuseppea Verdija, Ariga Boita, Edvarda Griega, Pietra Mascagnija i Franza von Suppea.[34] Velebnom koncertu prisustvuje 5000 ljudi, među kojima brojni politički uglednici,

25 Podaci dobiveni od sina pokojnog tenora, Maria Carlina ml.
26 HR-DAPA-55, 1923-1945, IX-X/2. kut. 67, Podaci o radu „Dopolavora" u Istri.
27 Corriere Istriano, 5. 07. 1940, OND Concerto vocale istrumentale, 2.
28 U izvorniku: „… ad un forte timbro di voce accoppia una squisita finezza d'interpretazione". Corriere Istriano, 6. 07. 1940: Il concerto del Dopolavoro dell'Industria, 2.
29 U tridesetim godinama prošloga stoljeća, u vrijeme tzv. „masovnog pristanka" uz fašizam („consenso di masse") trećinu tekstova koji govore o glazbenim događanjima čine protokolarna nabrajanja imena gradskih čelnika, ravnatelja raznih političkih institucija, škola te predstavnika vojske i policije i njihovih supruga na pojedinim koncertima.
30 Corriere Istriano, 9. 07. 1940: Ottimo esito del concerto organizzato dal Dopolavoro Interaziendale, 3.
31 Corriere Istriano, 23. 07. 1940: Il pomeriggio musicale al Dopolavoro „Lazzari", 3.
32 Corriere Istriano, 3. 08. 1940: Brillante successo della manifestazione artistica dell Dopolavoro Interaziendale, 3.
33 Corriere Istriano, 8. 08. 1940: Un concerto all' Arena di Pola, 2.
34 Corriere Istriano, 9. 08. 1940; Il grande concerto simfonico all'Arena romana, 3.

a mladi tenor, prema pisanju novinara, tom prigodom još jednom dokazuje svoj talent i perspektivnost.[35] Na koncertu kojeg organizira „Dopolavoro Orchestrale Primavera" nastupa zatim uz nekolicinu kolega pjevača, praćen orkestrom pod vodstvom Giuseppea Zlobeza, te pokazuje zamjetljiv izvođački napredak: „Topli i strastveni ton njegova glasa u izvedbi različitih pjesama a posebice u Puccinijevoj romansi „Donna non vidi mai" iz opere *Lamento di Federico*, te u odlomcima iz *Istarske svadbe* oduševio je slušatelje koji nisu štedjeli pljesak, posvetivši mu tople izraze odobravanja!"[36]

U 1941. god. Carlin u Puli nastupa nekoliko puta, u organizaciji dopolavorističkih kružoka („Dopolavoro Interaziendale"[37], „Dopolavoro Artigiano"[38]), a njegovi koncerti bivaju uvijek popraćeni pozitivnim novinskim kritikama.

Sličnu aktivnost nastavlja i iduće, 1942. god. nastupima na simfonijskom koncertu u kazalištu „Ciscutti" uz zbor i orkestar pod Zlobezovim ravnanjem u organizaciji „Dopolavora Artigiano"[39] te na koncertu kojeg organizira „Gruppo Rionale Fascista A. Sassek."[40] Te se godine upriličuje i jedno glazbeno događanje koje će imati važno mjesto u razvoju karijere mladoga Maria Carlina – natjecanje umjetnika amatera u kazalištu „Monopoli", koje je ujedno i audicija za emisiju „Trideset minuta u svijetu" (Trenta minuta del mondo) Radio Trsta, odnosno Radia Litorale Adriatico, (RLA) tršćanske radijske postaje koja će odigrati veliku ulogu u Carlinovoj daljnjoj afirmaciji.[41] Naime, RLA, radijska postaja sljednica Radio Trsta za vrijeme njemačke okupacije Istre (1943. - 1945.) veliku pažnju posvećuje glazbenom programu, a s ciljem obogaćivanja produkcije u svom okrilju osniva i prilično reprezentativan simfonijski i operni ansambl te nekoliko manjih sastava (Candussi, 2003).

God. 1943. Carlin počinje nastupati u radijskim emisijama, pa tako njegovo ime primjerice nalazimo u programu radio koncerta održanog u povodu proslave 1. svibnja, uz brojne druge soliste pjevače te orkestar kojim ravna maestro Giacomo Cipci[42] (Candussi, 2003). Te godine u siječnju mladi tenor debitira u Alessandriji, u Verdijevoj operi *Rigoletto*, pod ravnateljskom palicom maestra Alda Zeettija. Uoči premijere pulski dnevni list „Corriere Istriano" prenosi dijelove članka iz jednog alessandrijskog dnevnog lista u kojem se navodi da je posebno zanimanje publike usmjereno upravo na Puljanina Maria Carlina koji je nedavno pobijedio na natjecanju opernih pjevača.[43] Prije debija, Carlin polazi desetodnevnu obuku na „Firentinskoj školi opernog pjevanja" („Scuola fiorentina di avviamento lirico") a nakon izvedbi pulskom novinaru Armandu Missadinu daje intervju u kojem između ostalog kaže kako su mu u realizaciji izvedbe puno pomogle i probe uz dirigenta Zeettija te savjeti baritona Afra Polija koji je igrao rolu Rigoletta: „…prva teška prepreka bila je prevaziđena nakon generalne probe. Razumjet ćeš, prvi put sam bio prisiljen pjevati operu u cijelosti i to me zabrinjavalo. Hoću ih izdržati taj konstantan napor? Na kraju probe sam se uvjerio da sam uspješno prevazišao sve prepreke. Maestro Zeetti je bio jako zadovoljan mojim glasom i predvidio mi laskav uspjeh."[44] Te 1943. god. Carlin nastupa i u vodnjanskom gradskom kazalištu na koncertu kojeg organizira potporno društvo „Gruppi universitari fascisti" (GUF) uz pijanista Dina Muggiu i violinista Maria Cattonara[45] te na koncertu pulskom u Domu oružanih snaga, pod pokroviteljstvom „Dopolavora" uz sopranisticu Zaire Ferro Milone i pijanista Ade Giusti i Dina Muggie te orkestar „Dopolavora" pod ravnanjem Giuseppea Zlobeza. U osvrtu na koncerte, među ostalim ga se naziva miljenikom pulske publike, umjetnikom u punom smislu te riječi, kojeg publika prati i obožava.[46] Koncem iste godine nastupa i na koncertu učenika profesorice pjevanja Anite Sisse u „Domu oružanih snaga". [47]

U 1944. god. Carlin je i dalje aktivan u djelatnosti „Dopolavora" koji te godine po drugi put organizira

35 Corriere Istriano, 13. 08. 1940: Iniziativa del Dopolavoro. Il caloroso successo del concerto per le Forze armate all Arena, 3.

36 U izvorniku: „Il tono caldo ed appassionato della sua voce nell'essecuzione dei vari brani, e specialmente nell'esecuzione della romaza pucciniana „Donna non vidi mai" del Lamento di Federico e dal brano delle Nozze Istriane ha entusiasmato gli spettatori che non hanno lesinato gli applausi, tributandogli una calorosa manifestazione di consensi!" Corriere Istriano, 29. 12. 1940: Il concerto del Dopolavoro Primavera pro befana del Soldato, 3.

37 Corriere Istriano, 8. 07. 1941: Il Prefetto e il Federale alla serata artistica del Gruppo Ferrara, 2; Corriere Istriano, 9. 07. 1941: Iniziative del Dopolavoro La serata d' arte dell Interaziendale, 3; Corriere Istriano, 25. 07. 1941: Concerto vocale istrumentale del Dopolavoro Artigiano, 3; Corriere Istriano, 13. 09. 1941: Il concerto dell' Dopolavoro Interaziendale, 3.

38 Corriere Istriano, 26. 07. 1941: Concerto vocale istrumentale del Dopolavoro Artigiano, 3; Corriere Istriano, 27. 07. 1941: Concerto vocale istrumentale del Dopolavoro Artigiano si ripetera stasera, 3.

39 Corriere Istriano, 28. 02. 1942: L' audizione dei concerti a „30 minuti del mondo", 2.

40 Corriere Istriano, 25. 08. 1942:L' ottimo esito dello spettacolo di arte varia alla sede del Gruppo „Sasek", 2.

41 Corriere Istriano, 28. 02 1942:L' audizione dei concerti a „30 minuti del mondo", 2.

42 Riječ je o slovenskom dirigentu Jakovu Cipciju.

43 Ne navodi se na kojem je natjecanju pobijedio.

44 U izvorniku: "Il primo duro ostacolo fu superato dalla prova generale. Capirai, per la prima volta ero costretto a cantare un'opera interrottamente, e ciò mi dava un non lieve pensiero. Avrei resistito a quello sforzo continuo? A fine prova mi assicurai di aver codotto a buon punto ogni difficoltà. Il maestro Zeetti fu molto contento dalla mia voce e mi assicurò un lusinghiero sucesso." Corriere Istriano, 5. 01. 1943: Il debutto alessandrino di Mario Carlini, 3.

45 Corriere Istriano, 2. 02. 1943: Il concerto di GUF a Dignano, 3.

46 Corriere Istriano, 13. 04. 1943:Il grande sucesso del soprano Ferro Milone Cazzola e del tenor Carlin, 3.

47 Corriere Istriano, 9. 12. 1943: Il conccerto vocale di domenica prossima, 2.

natjecanje mladih umjetnika amatera u kazalištu „Ciscutti". Ustanova za radijske audicije (Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche, EIAR, preteča RAI-a) prenosi manifestaciju putem radijskog programa, a neke natjecatelje, među kojima i Carlina, ponovno odabire za nastupe u radijskim emisijama na postaji RLA.[48] U svibnju 1944. god. Carlin tako nastupa, uz druge soliste u tršćanskom kazalištu „Giuseppe Verdi" na koncertu kojeg prenosi RLA, uz orkestrar kojim ravnaju Giacomo Cipci i Max Schonherr[49] (Candussi 2003). Nakon toga, uz sopranisticu Margheritu Voltoninu, Turiddua Bertottija, Silvia Maionicu, Vittoria Bevilaquu i Niviu Ukmar Predonzani u više navrata od kolovoza do listopada nastupa u radio izvedbi Smareglijine opere *Nozze Istriane* te u Leharovoj *Zemlji smješka,* a pulski list „Corriere Istriano" sa zanimanjem prati uspjehe svojega slavnoga sugrađana: „Obdaren izvrsnim pjevačkim darom i dubokim umjetničkim osjećajem, toplim i osjećajnim glasom Mario Carlin utjelovio je svoj lik besprijekornom interpretacijom, što je rezultiralo živim i laskavim uspjehom."[50]

Iduće, 1945. god. tršćanski RLA ponovno ga angažira u siječnju u opereti *Noć u Veneziji* Johanna Straussa pod ravnanjem Rudolfa Moralta, u ožujku i travnju u Smareglijinim *Flamanskim slikarima* pod ravnanjem Pina Trosta te u ožujku na koncertu pod nazivom „Due ore armoniose per tutti" koji se prenosi iz kazališta „Politeama Rosetti" pod ravnanjem Giacoma Cipcija (Candussi, 2003).

Nakon dvogodišnje okupacije Pule od strane nacističke Njemačke, u lipnju 1945. god. grad potpada pod anglo-američku vojnu upravu, tijekom koje se u gradu nastavlja koncertna aktivnost. Rasporedi glazbenih događanja su uglavnom koncipirani prema izvedbenim mogućnostima glazbenika, u sam sadržaj glazbenih događanja politika nema značajniji upliv. U tom se razdoblju i u glazbenom životu jasno očituje podvojenost koja tada vladala u političkoj sferi između dviju sukobljenih idejno-nacionalnih opcija: komunističko-hrvatsko-jugoslavenske i građansko-talijanske (Dukovski, 2010). Natjecateljsko ponašanje može se pratiti iščitavanjem novinskih članaka iz toga doba. Kada protalijanska stranka organizira koncerte i zabave, protalijanske ih novine („L'Arena di Pola") promoviraju i o njima pišu vrlo afirmativno, dok im prohrvatske („Il Nostro Giornale") posvećuju minimalnu pažnju ili ih pak prešućuju i obrnuto (Duraković, 2011).

Mario Carlin za vrijeme anglo-američke vojne uprave bio je čest i gost pulskih koncertnih pozornica. Nakon uspjeha postignutih u Trstu u prvoj polovini godine, u srpnju 1945. god. nastupio je u Areni uz svoje kolege, sopranisticu Silvu Paliaga i basa Silvu Maionicu uz glasovirsku pratnju maestra Mira Lozzija[51] te uz soliste i zbor „Ciscutti" pod ravnanjem Giovannia Magnarina[52]. U osvrtu na koncert, objavljenom u listu „Il Nostro Giornale"; hvalilo se umijeće Maria Carlina koji je, prema riječima kritičara, puno napredovao od svog zadnjeg nastupa u Puli: „Jasna emisija glasa, ozbiljno i intonirano držanje, impostacija sigurna u srednjem i višem registru dok međutim u visokom odaje manje napore: to je ukratko Mario Carlin, izvsni pjevač kontrolirane, možda u nekim točkama pretjerano dramatizirane interpretacije".[53] Nakon turneje u Comu i nastupa u Bustu Arsiziu u blizini Milana gdje je nastupio u Vedijevom *Rigolettu* [54] priredio je dva velika koncerta u Puli, u kolovozu u Areni [55] te u kazalištu „Ciscutti", uz Tilly Gasperini i basa Maria Tomasinija i orkestar kojim je ravnao Giuseppe Zlobez.[56] Kritičar lista „Il Nostro Giornale" nakon koncerta u kazalištu zapisao je kako je „… pjevač provjerenih (vokalnih) mogućnosti (povremeno ipak nizak u najvišem registru) i u solo točkama i u duetima s basom i sopranom, zadivio publiku prekrasnim glasom."[57]

God. 1946. pulske su novine rado i često pisale o „svom slavnom sinu" Mariju Carlinu koji je u to vrijeme s velikim uspjehom nastupao po Italiji. Prenijeli su tako u travnju i dio iz jedne kritike objavljene u rimskom dnevniku „Il Giornale del Mattino" nakon Carlinovog nastupa u Macerati: „... sinoć je Puccinijeva opera *Tosca* bila rasprodana...tenor Mario Carlin primio je prvi aplauz u prvom činu, u prekrasnoj Puccinijevoj stranici sazdanoj od strasti i pjeva, „Recondite armonie". Publi-

48 Corriere Istriano, 14. 03. 1944: Attivita del nostro Dopolavoro. L' Arte varia, 2.

49 Na tom koncertu nastupa i zbor Dopolavora ACEGAT kojim ravna Antonio Illersberg, što svjedoči o tome da su se Illersberg i Carlin poznavali i surađivali.

50 U izvorniku: "Dotato di eccellenti doti canore e di profondo senso artistico, con voce calda e sensibile Mario Carlin ha dato vita al suo pessonaggio in un interpretazione impeccabile, ottenendo un vivo e lusinghiero sucesso." Corriere Istriano, 15. 10. 1944, 2; Corriere Istriano, 25. 10. 1944: Le Nozze col tenore Mario Carlin alla Radio Litoriale Adriatico, 2; Corriere Istriano, 4. 11. 1944: Nozze Istriane con Mario Carlin alla Radio Litoriale Adriatico, 2.

51 Il Nostro Giornale, 14. 07. 1945: Il ritorno a Pola di Mario Carlin, 2.

52 Il Nostro Giornale, 17. 07. 1945: Il grande concerto di questa sera con il tenore concittadino Mario Carlin, 2; Il Nostro Giornale, 18. 07. 1945: Lusinghiero sucesso del concerto di ierisera alla Arena, 2; Il Nostro Giornale, 20. 07. 1945: Il Concerto Carli organizzato dell Unione Operaia, 2.

53 U izvorniku: "Chiara emmisione di voce, portamenti sobri ed intonati, impostazione ferma nel registro centrale e subacuto che palesa pero nell'acuto un lieve sforzo: questo in sintesi Mario Carlin, cantate ottimo, dall'interpretazione dosata, forse in certi pezzi eccesivamente drammatizzante." Il Nostro Giornale 4. 08. 1945: Echi del concerto vocale all' Arena, 2.

54 L'Arena di Pola, 30. 11. 1945: Mario Carlin ritorna a Pola, 2.

55 Il Nostro Giornale, 18. 08. 1945; Il concerto vocale al Ferragosto al Arena, 2.

56 Il Nostro Giornale, 2. 12. 1945: Grande concerto al Ciscutti, 2.

57 U izvorniku: "… cantante di provati mezzi (qualche acuto calante pero si sente ancora) che sia nei soli che nei duetti con il basso e con il soprano si e fatto ammirare per la sua bella voce." Il Nostro Giornale", 4. 12. 1945: Il concerto vocale strumentale al Ciscutti, 4.

ka je gotovo sramežljivo tražila bis, uzgred rečeno neodobreni. Tenor ne posjeduje glas velike snage ali je vrlo prijatan. Carlin proizvodi i najdublje tonove bez većeg napora: on zna iz svojega grla proizvesti najnježnije sfumature".[58]

Te je godine tenor gostovao i u Puli, pjevajući na mnogim koncertima koje je organizirala protalijanska stranka „Lega Nazionale". Stoga je list „Il Nostro Giornale" gotovo u potpunosti ignorirao njegove pulske nastupe. Protalijanski dnevnik „L' Arena di Pola" pak, prigodom njegovog gostovanja u Puli u listopadu 1946. god. donosi podatke o njegovim uspjesima, pobjedi na pjevačkom natjecanju u kazalištu „La Scala" u Milanu među više od 200 natjecatelja te nastupima u najpoznatijim talijanskim kazalištima, u Comu, Vareseu, Bergamu i Milanu uz bok mnogim renomiranim talijanskim pjevačima.[59] U Puli nastupa u kazalištu „Ciscutti" uz baritona Rodolfa Zuppana, sopranisticu Carlu Seani, basa Maria Tommasinija i mezosopranisticu Daliu Coceani Stellari te uz pratnju violinista Alfonsa Musestija i pijanista Nina Verchija:[60] „Mario Carlin ponovno se predstavio svojim sugrađanima s primjetnim kovčegom iskustva i kao izvrstan tenor, pjevao je odabrane komade svojstvenom neusiljenošću i bravuroznošću, donoseći laskavi uspjeh u Rodolfovoj romansi."[61]

Na odlasku iz Pule, netom prije velikog egzodusa, prema pisanju lista „L Arena di Pola", Mario Carlin i njegovi kolege priredili su neočekivan i zanimljiv koncert na brodu koji je plovio od Pule prema Trstu, na kojem se skupljao i novac u prilog stranci „Lega Nazionale".[62] Nakon tog događaja, na njegovo ime u pulskom dnevnom tisku više nailazimo.

Godinu kasnije Carlin u radni životopis bilježi prijelomni angažman. Prijavljuje se na audiciju za opernu sezonu 1947/1948. u milansku „La Scalu" i biva angažiran u Verdijevom *Otellu* kojim ravna Victor De Sabata. Carlin interpretira lik Cassia uz renomirane operne zvijezde Renatu Tebaldi, Ramóna Vinaya i Gina Bechija. Slijedi višegodišnji angažman u „La Scali" te brojne turneje i nastupi u Parizu, Beču, Berlinu, Amsterdamu, Londonu, New Yorku, Meksiku, San Paolu, Tokiju, Melbournu, Tel Avivu. U pedesetim i šezdesetim godinama prošloga stoljeća Carlin pjeva na najvećim svjetskim opernim pozornicama, utjelovljujući razne tenorske role, uz najvažnije interprete svog vremena poput Maria del Monaca, Giuseppea Di Stefana, Tita Gobbija, Nicolaia Geddu, Franca Corellija, Mariu Callas, Renatu Tebaldi, Annu Moffo, Leontyne Price, Beverly Sills i druge. Izvedbama u kojima sudjeluje ravnaju dirigentske veličine poput Tullia Serafina, Carla Marie Giulinija, Herberta von Karajana, surađuje s redateljima i scenografima poput Luchina Viscontija, Franca Zeffirellija itd.[63] Jedan je od prvih pjevača kojhi su nastupali u televizijskim prijenosima opera koje je nakon 2. svjetskog rata realizirala RAI (Radiotelevisione Italiana).[64] Koncem sedamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća, povlači se sa scene i do smrti, 1984. god. posvećuje se davanju poduka iz pjevanja.

O njegovoj sjajnoj karijeri međutim, u rodnom se gradu nakon dolaska Komunističke partije na vlast više nikada nije govorilo. Sve spone s umjetnicima koji su u gradu dotad djelovali u potpunosti su prekinute. Mediji nisu pratili rad istaknutih glazbenika koji su u Puli rođeni ili su u njoj proveli dio života, a koji su uspješne karijere zatim gradili u većim glazbenim centrima. Na njih se više nije računalo, saznanja o njima nisu se prenosila novim generacijama i s vremenom su zaboravljeni.

* * *

Pula je grad koji svoj urbani identitet duguje, među ostalim i bogatoj glazbenoj tradiciji, u velikoj mjeri onome njezinome dijelu koji se strpljivo gradio u prvoj polovini prošloga stoljeća. Ta je činjenica međutim tek skromno dokumentirana, argumentirana i potkrijepljena rezultatima muzikoloških istraživanja. Ne postoje studije koje bi sistematizirale postojeće, relevantne izvore o različitim oblicima glazbovanja u to doba i omogućile razumijevanje mreže uzročno-posljedičnih veza među njima. Unatoč tomu, nepobitna je činjenica da je ono što danas nazivamo glazbenim identitetom regije, umnogome rezultat preplitanja različitih utjecaja, tragova i svjedočanstava prijašnjih kultura, naroda, osobnosti koje su obitavale na našem području.

Ratovi i osiromašenost provincije, društveno-politička klima i zahtjevi koje je u prvoj polovini prošloga

58 U izvorniku: "... ieri sera l'opera pucciniana, la Tosca toccò l'esaurito. …il tenore Mario Carlin raccolse un primo applauso al primo atto nella meravigliosa pagina pucciniana fatta di passione e di canto "Recondite armonie". Il pubblico ha quasi timidamente chiesto il bis, del resto non concesso. Il tenore non possiede una voce di ampia potenza ma è assai aggraziata. Il Carlin emette note anche le più acute senza eccesivo sforzo: egli sa ottenere dalla sua gola le più leggere sfumature...", L'Arena di Pola, 14. 04. 1946: Sucessi del tenore Mario Carlin, 2.

59 L'Arena di Pola, 4. 10. 1946, 2; L'Arena di Pola, 14. 04. 1946: Sucessi del tenore Mario Carlin, 2.

60 L' Arena di Pola, 3. 10. 1946: Concerto vocale della Lega Nazionale colla partecipazione del tenore Carlin e del baritono Suppan, 2.

61 U izvorniku: "Mario Carlin si è ripresentato ai suoi concittadini con un notevole bagaglio di esperienze, e da ottimo tenore, ha cantato i brani prescielti con la solita disinvoltura e bravura, riportando un sucesso lusinghiero nella romanza di Rodolfo.", L' Arena di Pola, 13. 10. 1946: Bella manifestazione artistica vocale-istrumentale al Ciscutti, 2.

62 Ibid.

63 O bogatoj pjevačkoj karijeri Maria Carlina svjedoče brojni Internet izvori a o suradnji s navedenim glazbenicima brojni albumi. Neke među njima navode se i na Amazon bazi: http://www.amazon.com/s/ref=sr_pg_3/103-1802472-7424667?ie=UTF8&keywords=mario%20carlin&rh=n%3A301668%2Cn%3A85%2Ck%3Amario%20carlin&page=1.

64 Izvor: Internet Movie Database IMDb, Turandot, 1958: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0462050/; Falstaff. 1956 :http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0870993/; I Pagliacci, 1954: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0816166/.

stoljeća pred umjetnike postavljalo zadovoljavanje ideoloških kriterija nametnutih od strane vlasti, zasigurno su utjecali na moduse angažmana pojedinaca i kulturnih institucija te u konačnici na cjelokupnu sliku glazbene scene Pule. Razvoj privatnog i institucionalnog glazbenog obrazovanja reflektirao se na kriterije pri izboru repertoara i razinu izvođačkog umijeća, napredak izvoditeljske prakse nametnuo je poštivanje umjetničkih kriterija pri procjenjivanju izvedbi od strane glazbene kritike. Bogaćenje i dinamiziranje glazbenog života umnogome su podupirale svojim angažmanom osobnosti poput Illersberga i Carlina, pomažući perifernoj sredini u oblikovanju glazbenih zbivanja, mjerljivih s događanjima u većim glazbenim središtima.

TRAILS OF PULA'S MUSICAL INDIVIDUALITY - CREATORS OF THE CITY'S MUSICAL IDENTITY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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SUMMARY

Even though music life was very rich and dynamic during the Austro-Hungarian and Italian occupation, musical studies on this period are rather scarse. During the first half of the 20th century, many famous composers, including Lehar and Smareglia were active in the largest town of the Istrian peninsula, although they remain rather unknown to the public today. Some of them were born in Pula, others happened to spend some time in the town. Antonio Illersberg from Trieste was a renowned composer and a longtime professor on the „Giuseppe Tartini" Conservatory in Trieste, who was engaged in Naval orchestra in Pula, and a choir conductor of the „Ciscutti" choir, during the time frame between 1904 and 1917. His most memorable employment was during the war years 1916 and 1917, when he was a choir and orchestra conductor of the opera seasons, which were noted in history as the first and the last time someone has tried to perform an opera with domestic forces. Some of his compositions were created in that time period, but for whom they were intended and if they were performed in Pula, it remains unknown. Mario Carlin from Fažana near Pula started his singing career in Pula, singing in concerts prepared by fascist support systems i.e. various „Dopolavoro" organisations. After that, he performed on the biggest opera stages during the fifties and sixties of the last century, surrounded by most famous singers and choir conductors of that time. This paper brings the reconstruction of lifes of these two famous musicians while they lived and worked in Pula, with the help of newspaper articles from that time and other available sources.

key words: music, opera,concert, performer, conductor

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MODELI ARTIKULACIJE URBANOG IDENTITETA U MONOGRAFIJI *PUNA JE PULA* MATE BALOTE

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IZVLEČEK

Namen članka je raziskati modele socio-kulturne konstrukcije in literarnega prikaza urbane realnosti v avtobiografski kroniki Puna je Pula istrskega znanstvenika, pisatelja in polihistorja Mije Mirkovića/Mate Balote (1898-1963). V Balotini sintezi zgodovine mesta ter tradicionalnih in sodobnih urbanih izkušenj se Pulj prikazuje kot večkulturno mesto na meji med velikima geopolitičnima sistemoma in primeren model konstrukcije kulturnih in nacionalnih identitet v nestabilnem geopolitičnem kontekstu ter v tranzicijskem obdobju med tradicijo in sodobnostjo. Analiza literarno-znanstvenega hibrida na meji med književnostjo in zgodovinopisjem obenem bo poudarila posebnosti kulture in zgodovine prostora s katerim se ukvarja.

Ključne besede: Pulj, monografija, urbana identiteta, Mate Balota

I MODELLI DI ARTICOLAZIONE DI IDENTITÀ URBANA NELLA MONOGRAFIA *PUNA JE PULA* DI MATE BALOTA

SINTESI

In questo saggio si esplorano i modelli di costruzione socio-culturale e di rappresentazione letteraria della realtà urbana nella cronaca autobiografica Puna je Pula dello scienziato e scrittore Mijo Mirković/Mate Balota (1898-1963). Nella sua sintesi di storia della città, di esperienza urbana tradizionale e moderna, Pola, come una città multiculturale sul bordo dei grandi sistemi geopolitici, si rappresenta come un modello adatto di riflessione sulla costruzione delle identità culturali e nazionali in un contesto geopolitico instabile e nel periodo di transizione tra tradizione e modernità. L'analisi dell'ibrido letterario-scientifico al confine di letteratura e storiografia indicherà nello stesso tempo le particolarità della cultura e della storia del territorio di cui si occupa.

Parole chiave: Pola, monografia, identità urbana, Mate Balota

UVOD

Književna monografija *Puna je Pula*, u kojoj Mijo Mirković/Mate Balota neobičnom kombinacijom stilova obrađuje tromilenijsku povijest grada, a posebno iscrpno dokumentira razdoblje naglog razvoja Pule kao glavne austrijske ratne luke, stilski je i kompozicijski vrlo specifičan žanr. Knjigu je autor potpisao umjetničkim pseudonimom, što znači da ju je smatrao književnim djelom, za razliku od, primjerice, monografske trilogije o Matiji Vlačiću Iliriku, u kojoj pretežu znanstveni elementi i koju potpisuje kao Mijo Mirković.

„Ne smeta ništa što se autor gotovo bezbrižno služi različitim i vrlo raznolikim postupcima i metodama, od reportaže, statističkog nabrajanja, memoarskog oblikovanja i čiste beletristike najboljeg kova, do novinarskog izlaganja...", komentirao je Gustav Krklec (pod pseudonimom Martin Lipnjak) hibridnost žanra u jednoj od prvih kritika ove neobične monografije: „Čemu se onda pitati, kojeg je literarnog roda i karaktera ova proza: naučnog, publicističkog, pjesničkog? – kad je u njoj profesorska akribija dr. Mije Mirkovića sva prožeta i natopljena gustom poetskom emotivnošću Mate Balote. Čitav je čovjek u njoj, učenjak i pjesnik podjednako, i ne samo to. U njoj je đak, radnik, zatvorenik, novinar i mornar, agitator i borac, doktor ekonomskih nauka i istarski seljak..." (Lipnjak, 1954).

Anticipirajući interese suvremene kulturologije, Mirković/Balota u *Punoj Puli* urbani identitet artikulira pišući 'povijest odozdo' i kombinirajući mikropovijest, povijest mentaliteta, povijest svakodnevnog života, usmenu, ali i povijest svog privatnog života (Duda, 2002, 97). Autor detaljno dokumentira procese intenzivne urbanizacije i modernizacije i pretvaranja zapuštene malarične pokrajine s početka 19. stoljeća u europsku metropolu, preispisujući kulturnu povijest istarskog urbaniteta iz perspektive lokalnog življa i ujedno artikulirajući grad kao prostor akumuliranog kulturnog sjećanja. Takva historiografija u formi intermedijalnog i intertekstualnog, gotovo postmodernističkog mozaika nosi u sebi i elemente književnog diskursa, autobiografije, komunikacijskih i znanstvenih medija. Nastalo u komunikaciji predmodernizma tradicionalne kulture (u kojoj je odrastao) i modernizma srednjoeuropske civilizacije (u kojoj se kao autor intelektualno razvijao), Balotino je stvaralaštvo ujedno formalno obilježeno i postmodernističkim karakteristikama svog okruženja: trajno nestabilna, fluidna i rubna geopolitička situacija, nesigurnost u definiranju politika identiteta, karakteristična nestabilnost u kulturi, uvjetovana i posredovana ideologijom i postmoderna pozicija konstantne izmještenosti raseljenog autora uvjetovali su i hibridnost žanra. Na (post)modernistički postupak, osim spomenute multiperspektive i pozicije pripovjedača-autora (zbog čega je cijela monografija autoreferencijalna na individualnom, autorskom planu kao i na nivou grada i njegovog zaleđa), ukazuje i stilska neujednačenost, nekongruentnost dijelova, diskontinuitet naracije i mješavina narativnih tehnika (Lešić, 2008, 422). Očito, ne radi se o čistoj fikciji koju krasi „značenjski višak prikaza" (Biti, 2000), već se dapače, vjernim izvještavanjem o povijesnoj stvarnosti, preciznim navođenjem izvora i arhivske građe, te iscrpnim dokumentarizmom ova memoaristika i povijesna kronika približava znanstvenoj studiji čiji je cilj dokazati središnju hipotezu: da je Pula u svojoj višemilenijskoj povijesti prosperirala uvijek i samo kad je funkcionirala u sklopu šireg zaleđa: zlatne faze razvoja grada bile su rimska i austrougarska vladavina, a autor je pretpostavio da će do sličnog razvojnog uzleta doći nakon pripojenja Istre matici zemlji. Stoga, uz propitivanje modela urbanog razvoja i analizu važnog perioda tranzicije usmene, ruralne, predindustrijske u modernu urbanu, pismenu kulturu, kao i detaljan pregled političkih odnosa u modernoj povijesti, koji su od Pule u jednom za cijelu Europu važnom periodu napravili centar društvenih zbivanja, monografija pruža i obilje materijala za istraživanje procesa urbanizacije i stvaranja urbanog identiteta lokalnog stanovništva, što su i neki od ciljeva ovoga rada.

Ključni događaj, koji je Mirkovića/Balotu i potaknuo da u jesen 1953., „o tridesetpetoj godišnjici 1918." literarizira povijest grada, bilo je šest prevratnih dana narodne vlasti u Puli (od 31. listopada do 5. studenog 1918.), nakon čega je talijanska vojska preuzela vlast. Mirkovića je, kao svjedoka i sudionika tih zbivanja, cijelog života duboko zaokupljalo pitanje neuspjeha prvog pokušaja uspostavljanja narodne vlasti u Istri. Prvi put svoje je ideje pokušao artikulirati u Krležinom „Pečatu" 1939. godine, pod naslovom *Kako je to zapravo bilo u Puli 1918*. (Balota, 1939). Međutim, pravi povod za pisanje knjige koja je dugo sazrijevala bilo je izbijanje tršćanske krize 1952., a koja je kulminirala u listopadu 1953. Počeo ju je pisati u kolovozu 1952., kao vlastiti umjetnički i stvaralački argument u prilog potvrdi istarske borbe za sjedinjenje. *Puna Pula* objavljena je 1954. godine, u doba Londonskog memoranduma i konačne realizacije revidiranih odluka Pariške mirovne konferencije.

Posljedica dinamičnog geopolitičkog i kulturno-povijesnog konteksta u kojem je djelo nastajalo je i spomenuta specifična hibridnost žanra, u kojem logično funkcioniraju i novi smisao dobivaju i produkti komunikacijskih medija, poput fotografija, izvještaja i faksimila originalnih dokumenta. Osim same građe, Balota je iz komunikacijskog medija, koji je (kao mladi novinar „Hrvatskog lista" u Puli) prvi savladao, preuzeo i karakteristične postupke, čime djelo dobiva književno-dokumentarni karakter, a aktualna ili povijesna zbivanja autentičnost, životnost i neposrednost radnje. Prema Pavlu Pavličiću „komunikacijski su mediji za književnost čest izvor intermedijalnoga materijala...Osobito je to karakteristično za ona razdoblja koja inzistiraju na ulozi književnosti u zbilji i na potrebi da literatura u stvarnosti intervenira...pri čemu citati iz komunikacijskih medija preuzimaju na sebe ulogu izvješća o zbilji" (Pavličić,

1988, 178). Književnost često uspostavlja intermedijalni odnos i sa znanstvenim medijima. Bliska povezanost znanstvenog pristupa i povijesnog svjedočenja s jedne, te književnosti s druge strane, ukazuju na kompatibilnost jednog i drugog načina spoznavanja stvarnosti, ali i na eventualnu nedostatnost svake od njih da samostalno opišu i objasne živu realnost povijesnih zbivanja. U zavičajnoj memoaristici Balota se koristi književnim sredstvima kako bi tekst približio čitaocu, ali i da bi autentičnu povijesnu građu obogatio novim značenjskim i vrijednosnim dimenzijama.

Takav multidisciplinarni pristup rezultirao je povremenom stilskom neujednačenošću i kompozicijskim nezgrapnostima, no istovremeno, originalnost ove esejističko-memoarske proze neke kritičare uvelike podsjeća na kapitalne mediteranske monografije Fernanda Braudela, „koje su neponovljiva kombinacija akumuliranih ogromnih znanja o predmetu (Mediteranu), izrazitog senzibiliteta što ga autor njeguje prema istome, no i vrhunskog stila kojim se sve to ispisuje stranicama i stranicama. U Braudelovu slučaju opisana je kombinacija producirala književni žanr koji je negdje između putopisa, feljtona, reportaže i intimnog dnevnika...“ (Lužina, 1997), a sličan je hibridni oblik i Balotina memoarska proza.

Originalni književno-povijesni kolaž najbliži dokumentarnoj monografiji istovremeno funkcionira i kao književna panorama povijesti grada, znanstvena analiza gospodarskog razvitka, ali i kao kulturni katalog artikulacije istarskog urbaniteta. Zbog bogatstva podataka i širine povijesnog pregleda koje nudi jedinstven je, vrlo popularan i često citirani izvor. Uz dokumentirana svjedočenja o ubrzanoj modernizaciji i urbanizaciji, kozmopolitskom ozračju, bogatom kulturnom životu i gostovanjima poznatih književnika, poput Karla Krausa i Hermanna Bahra, Mirković/Balota je prvi iznio i podatak o boravku Jamesa Joycea u Puli:

„Brzina razvitka i kvaliteti ljudi učinili su, da je Pula dobila više velegradski karakter od drugih gradova na Jadranu, da je život bio više velegradski nego na Rijeci, u Trstu ili u Mlecima. Mornarica i njen mnogonarodni sastav davali su Puli i međunarodni i kozmopolitski žig. Prvi broj „Polaer Tagblatta“ 1905. donosi oglas, u kojem se traži učitelj japanskog jezika. Osniva se škola jezika po Berlitzovoj metodi, na njoj se uči engleski, francuski, njemački, hrvatski i talijanski. Ona je smještena na drugom katu kuće br. 1 tadašnje ulice Clivo San Stefano, danas Ulice Slavka Grubiše. Na toj je školi neko vrijeme (od studenog 1904. do ožujka 1905., oko četiri mjeseca) bio učitelj engleskog jezika kasnije mnogo poznati svjetski pisac James Joyce. Tada su mu bile 23 godine, bio je već oženjen i stanovao je u namještenoj sobi kuće u Medulinskoj ulici stari br. 7. Imao je plaću od 6,6 funti mjesečno, više nego austrijski poručnik[1]“ (Balota, 2005, 99).

KNJIŽEVNA ARTIKULACIJA URBANE ZBILJE

Grad kao kulturno konstruirana stvarnost relativno je kasno ušao u hrvatsku književnost, s obzirom na usporen proces urbanizacije na našim prostorima (izuzev Dubrovnika kao specifične urbane strukture dugog trajanja). Pula u tom smislu predstavlja posebno zanimljiv model istraživanja urbanog književnog iskustva, jer je, nakon intenzivnog razvoja u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća pred Prvi svjetski rat postala drugi po veličini hrvatski grad! (Nemec, 2010, 5). Dinamiku procesa nagle urbanizacije i modernizacije i pretvaranja zapuštene malarične pokrajine u europsku metropolu prvi je detaljno dokumentirao upravo Mirković/Balota u svojoj monografiji, preispisujući kulturnu povijest istarskog urbaniteta s aspekta lokalnog življa i ujedno artikulirajući grad kao prostor akumuliranog kulturnog sjećanja.

Već u prvom, književno najuspjelijem i često citiranom poglavlju (*Puljski zaliv*) s posebno sugestivnim opisima pulskog zaljeva, koji su prve otkrile “pronicave oči umornih moreplovaca iz stare Helade”, drevnih Argonauta, autor uvodi prvi od mitova bitnih u konstrukciji kulturnog identiteta grada. Pišući o povoljnom prirodnom i geostrateškom položaju pulskog zaljeva, koji je dugo bio neiskorišten, Mirković/Balota na samom početku teksta iznosi svoju ključnu (znanstvenu) tezu, da su „trebale mnogo veće snage i mnogo jači interesi od lokalnih i regionalnih, koji će ne samo zaštititi grad i zaliv, nego ih i upotrijebiti i razviti:.. Život u puljskom zalivu bujao je samo u velikim okvirima i s velikom pozadinom. Snaga je Pule dolazila i u rimsko i u bizantijsko vrijeme i kasnije od njenog odnosa i funkcija prema istočnoj obali Jadrana i prema pozadini te istočne obale, području Save i Drave, Dunava i Bosne. Ona je bila nešto samo onda, kad je nešto bila u Iliriji. Kad bi puljski zaliv izašao iz velikih okvira i skupa s gradom ostao nezaštićen, njegov bi grad srljao iz opasnosti u opasnost...“ (Balota, 2005, 9-10).

Vraćajući se retrospektivno u daleku prošlost, autor preuzima ulogu kroničara razvojnih uspona i padova, povijesnih diskontinuiteta koji su ostavili traga na urbanom identitetu: „Od pojave rimskih legija u ovome zalivu do razaranja Pule od Anglo-Amerikanaca 1945. Pula je bila u tih dvadeset stoljeća nebrojeno puta osvajana, darivana drugima, više objekt nego subjekt, paljena, razarana, pljačkana...Više puta je kuga, još pogubnija od rata i glada, uništavala stanovništvo. Poslije nje (1371, 1527, 1631) sela bi potpuno izumrla, krovovi bi se kuća rušili, obrađivanje zemlje prestalo, i na selu i u gradu zavladala bi pustoš, dok ne bi ruke i dovedena stoka novih stanovnika ponovno preorali ledinu“ (Balota, 2005,10-11).

Slijedi iscprna politička analiza odnosa i sukoba interesa raznih vladara, od Ostrogota, Bizantinaca, Franaka,

1 O tome piše Balotin sin Vladimir Mirković u feljtonu *Mladić James Joyce u Puli*, objavljenom u časopisu „Horizont“, na temelju svjedočenja daktilografkinje Dragice Globočnik, čija je majka Amalija u jesen 1904, kao tajnica „Berlitzove“ škole u Puli, zaprimila mladog Joycea na novo radno mjesto; vidi Černjul (1987, 72-75).

akvilejskog patrijarha, markgrofa Istre, feudalnih gospodara grofova austrijsko-njemačkih, Genove, Venecije, Napoleona, do Austro-Ugarske, čija je vladavina ostavila traga u kulturnoj povijesti grada. Autor je posebno kritičan prema razdoblju venecijanske vlasti, koja je dovela do potpune urbane degradacije: „Posljednja dva vijeka mletačke vlasti nad Pulom, 17. i 18., bila su najžalosnija u povijesti puljskog zaliva i grada. Dok su se na svim stranama Europe i novoga svijeta razvijale proizvodne snage, život u puljskom zalivu bio je na izdisaju... " (Balota, 2005, 13). Književni prikaz umirućeg grada, kojeg je dokrajčila malarija, izrazito je naturalistički.

Nakon povijesnog pregleda, Balota sistematski raščlanjuje kulturno-geografske i geopolitičke karakteristike pulskog zaljeva i okolnih naselja kao elemente urbanog identiteta: razvojni usponi i padovi posljedica su upotrebe i korištenja zaljeva, jer je i sam grad stvoren radi njegove upotrebe. U oba povijesna perioda, kad je puljski zaljev korišten kao luka velikih carstava, ta su carstva bila u naponu razvitka i poslala su u perspektivnu koloniju najbolje od svojih proizvodnih mogućnosti, organizacijskih sposobnosti i stvaralačkih snaga: „Pula je postala rimska kolonija, Colonia Julia, onda, kad se Rimsko Carstvo širilo prema istoku, prema Panoniji, i tada su se u njoj nastanili građani, koji su došli iz Rima s osiguranim visokim dohocima i velikim pravima za sebe. Oni su se nalazili u neprijateljskoj porobljenoj zemlji, između tuđih naroda, pokorenih ali ne rezigniranih, koji su neprestano bili spremni na ustanak..."(Balota, 2005,18). Kad je u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća jedan od najljepših i najupotrebljivijih zaljeva na svijetu ponovo došao u veliki okvir i vršio funkciju organa daleke i velike pozadine na sjeveru i istoku, veliki urbanistički i znanstveni napredak dao mu je, osim europskog standarda, i kozmopolitska obilježja. No, i austrijska vlast ima kolonijalni karakter, ukazuje Balota, uvodeći u analizu elemente postkolonijalnog diskursa: „Iako u drugom vremenu, u drugom gospodarskom sistemu, pri daleko većem razvitku proizvodnih snaga i pri kapitalističkim proizvodnim odnosima, Austrija je, od 1846. dalje stvarala od Pule koloniju..."(Balota, 2005, 20), koja je ipak, zahvaljujući jakom gospodarskom zaleđu, bila toliko jaka, da je privukla i neke njemačko-austrijske pionire, poput baruna Kupelwiesera, koji je zapušteno i malarično brijunsko otočje pretvorio u elitnu svjetsku destinaciju.

No i ta je moćna kolonija nestala slomom Austrije 1918.: „Tako su nestale kolonije stranaca stvorene u puljskom zalivu u dvije tisuće godina. Od njih, osnovanih na tuđem tlu, bez veze s narodom, sa zemljom, s pozadinom, ostalo je samo kamenje, spomenici i grobovi,



Sl. 1: Pula - glavna austrijska ratna luka
Fig. 1: Pula, main austrian naval port

trulež i smrt. Samo narod, narod naš slovinski, hrvatski narod, koji je nadživio Gote i Bizantiju, Franke i Langobarde, austrijsko-njemačke barune i umiruće anemične građane mletačke epohe, Austriju i Italiju (talijanska vojna i civilna birokracija i malograđanstvo povezano s njom pobjegli su poslije 1945. kao i austrijski 1918.) uvijek je tu, uvijek u zemlji, nogama duboko zakorijenjen u njoj i organski vezan s njom..."(Balota, 2005, 24).

U ključnim poglavljima *Početak* i *Razvitak je ubrzan* autor rekonsturira kulturno-povijesni kontekst intenzivnog urbanističkog razvoja od sredine 19. stoljeća, kada je Pula izabrana za glavnu austrijsku ratnu luku, a sam car Franjo Josip polaže temelje Arsenalu. Zbog strateške važnosti grad se ubrzano urbanizira i naseljava mornaričkim službenicima i njihovim obiteljima iz cijele Monarhije, da bi nakon nekoliko desetljeća od zapuštenog i malaričnog provincijskog gradića postao dinamični i moderni srednjoeuropski i mediteranski *metropolis*. Preokret u razvoju označila je odluka danskog admirala Hansa Bircha Dahlerupa, prvog komandanta austrijske mornarice preseljene iz Venecije u Pulu, koji je vizionarski odabrao pulski zaljev za njezino sjedište. Nakon obilaska istočne jadranske obale, koja ga je podsjetila na Norvešku po prirodi, izgledu obale, karakteru i običajima stanovnika, „pri povratku u Pulu i dok se u njegovu parnu jahtu *Morski galeb* tovario ugljen, admiral Dahlerup šetao je po palubi i prvi put mu je 'sinulo, da treba nasuti čitavu sjeveroistočnu uvalu puljske luke i tako dobiti prostor za arsenal, koji može postati najljepši na svijetu po prostranosti i prikladnosti'...Dvije godine kasnije (1853.) Pula je već postala glavna ratna luka austrijskog carstva" (Balota, 2005, 41)

U poglavlju *Razvitak je ubrzan,* koje obiluje arhivskom građom i statističkim podacima, pratimo intenzivan proces urbanizacije i modernizacije Pule i južne Istre: izgradnju puljskog arsenala (1856.), vodovoda (1859.), kasarni, mornaričke bolnice (1866.), zavoda, mornaričke komande, novih stambenih četvrti. Prve urbanističke projekte i planove za izgradnju mornaričkih objekata izgradio je Poljak Viktor Domaszewsky, upravitelj građevinske sekcije mornarice, koji je, nakon studijskog obilaska Petrograda, Lübecka, Amsterdama, Londona, Liverpoola, Plymoutha, Portmoutha, Pariza i Toulona 1850., primijenio najbolja europska iskustva u izgradnji vojnih objekata na Jadranu. Uskoro (1876.) Pula dobiva željezničku prugu Pula-Divača, a time i spoj na čitav europski željeznički sistem. Između 1870. i 1880. sagrađeno je preko pet stotina novih zgrada ili u prosjeku pedeset svake godine. Grad je dobio plin i električno svjetlo. Početkom 1904. počeo je voziti i električni tramvaj. Razvija se moderni turizam, a promet putnika je toliko intenzivan da je u kratkom roku sagrađeno osam hotela i sedam kavana, u kojima se, osim lokalnih izdanja na tri jezika, čitaju sve europske novine: „U Pulu su dolazile novine iz Beča, Graza, Praga, Zagreba, Ljubljane, Sušaka, Splita, Osijeka, okupiranog Beograda, Krakova, Züricha, Basela, Berlina, njemačke, češke, hrvatske, slovenske, poljske..." (Balota, 2005, 148-149).

Autor, koji je i sam kao dječak radio na izgradnji utvrde Max na Stoji, podrobno opisuje utvrđivanje grada i luke i stvaranje impresivnog zaštitnog obalnog i kopnenog fortifikacijskog kompleksa: od 6 okruglih tvrđava, po tri sa svake strane, koje su čuvale ulaz u luku od 1866. do 28 utvrda koje su 1910. u tri prstena branile pristup gradu s kopna i mora. U međuvremenu, od 1849. do 1914. traje utakmica u naoružavanju na moru, u kojoj je sudjelovala i Austrougarska, a car Franjo Josip koristi svaku priliku da dođe u Pulu, "da vrši ceremonijalne posjete i primanja, priređuje svečane ručkove na jahti, da gleda grad, koji je posebno sjajno iluminiran u njegovu čast, plamene u Diviću (Areni) gdje se radi izazivanja utiska pale čitava brda smole. On prisustvuje porinuću novih ratnih brodova i u Puli izdaje niz carskih zapovijedi" (Balota, 2005, 53).

U poglavljima *Arsenalci* i *Odnosi u gradu* dokumentirano je naglo proletariziranje južno-istarskih seljaka, koji preko noći postaju "arsenalci", čineći dugo vremena glavninu radničkog stanovništva industrijskog grada. Vječni putnici između grada i sela, nisu sudjelovali u kolektivnom životu niti jedne zajednice: "prestavši biti čisti seljaci, a ne postavši i čisti radnici, oni su gubili prijašnja svojstva solidarnosti. Bili su jednostavni, disciplinirani, solidni radnici, kojima od rada u arsenalu, rada kod kuće i vožnje tamo i amo nije ni ostajalo vremena i energije, da se drugima bave" (Balota, 2005, 62). Upravljačka hijerarhija u arsenalu zrcalila je i političke odnose: službeni jezik bio je njemački, kao i uprava pojedinih pogona i škole. Kvalificirani stručni radnici, većinom Hrvati i Talijani, nisu se zbog toga mogli identificirati ni s upravom ni s poduzećem, ali ni složiti međusobno. Među arsenalcima su se do 1914. formirale tri skupine: njemačka, hrvatska (odnosno slavenska, koju su podupirali Slovenci, Česi i Poljaci) i talijanska, a takvo je grupiranje odgovaralo i političkom grupiranju u gradu. Iako je socijalistička ideja sjedinjavala radnike, sve se više zaoštravala nacionalna borba između hrvatske, pretežno seljačke većine i talijanske, pretežno građanske manjine, ukazuje autor. Iscrpnom sociokulturnom analizom Balota opisuje socijalna i nacionalna previranja na naglo urbaniziranom, industrijaliziranom i moderniziranom jugu Istre, što dovodi do dramatičnih promjena kulturnog identiteta. Pišući o odnosima „dva kulturna kruga" autor specificira identitetske sastavnice ruralnog i urbanog identiteta, hrvatskog sela i talijanskog grada, koje koegzistiraju u oštroj opreci:

„Hoteći postati građani, Hrvati iz istarskih sela, koji su dolazili u Pulu, prilagođavali su se građanima i oponašali su građane, primali su jela, odijelo, navike i govor koji su tu našli. Sve je to bilo talijansko. Prije Dobrile, u Dobrilino vrijeme i dugo još poslije toga, čitati i pisati značilo je čitati i pisati talijanski. Kad su ljudi prelazili sa sela u grad, ostavljali su na selu iza sebe ne samo benevreke i sukneni koret, opanke i klobuk, mijeh, dvojni-

ce i roženice, nego i slavenske crkvene obrede, Kačića i dio slavenske svijesti. U gradu su nalazili talijanski govor, škole i naslage civilizacije. Civilizacija je bila tuđa, ali su je oni primali, da ne bi sami izgledali tuđi i niži" (Balota 2005:80). U cijelom periodu od 1848. do 1918. talijanska je buržoazija ostala vladajući element u gradskoj upravi, bolnici, trgovini, obrtništvu i u intelektualnim zanimanjima, ističe autor. Austrijska vlast podržavala je, naime, lokalnu vlast užeg talijanskog građanskog sloja, dok većinsko seljačko stanovništvo, istarski Hrvati i Slovenci, nije imalo nikakve preduvjete za kulturno, književno i političko djelovanje. Pitanje nacije i nacionalizma u paralelnim procesima nacionalnog preporoda pokrenulo je pravu političku borbu u rubnoj pokrajini, te politiziralo usmenu, dotad apolitičnu ruralnu kulturu istarskog sela, čime je ujedno započela borba „naroda bez povijesti" za očuvanje opstojnosti kulturnog identiteta, protiv kulturno-političke akulturacije i njene krajnje posljedice – asimilacije (Bertoša, 1985, 25). Ti su sporovi išli na ruku austrijskoj nacionalnoj politici koja je s jedne strane favorizirala germanizaciju, a s druge plašila iredentizmom i panslavizmom, dajući koncesije sad jednima, sad drugima, prema poslovici „podijeli pa vladaj", i s uspjehom upravljala situacijom u Istri sve do kraja svoje vladavine (Darovec, 1997, 74).

Ubrzani razvoj grada i intenzivne migracije te nagle sociokulturne promjene dovele su do porasta socijalne bijede i kriminala: „S naglim razvitkom, sa stanovništvom, koje svake godine dolazi novo izvana, heterogena nacionalno i socijalno, s kolonijalnim i kolonizatorskim karakterom, Pula je imala mnogo bijede, mnoštvo paupera, raširenu prostituciju, legalnu i nelegalnu i mnogo kriminala...U gradu su se događale provale, prevare, pokušaji samoubojstva i ubojstva...Poneki pustolov iz arsenala, kako bilježi policijska kronika, glumio bi zaljubljenost u djevicu plaćene ljubavi iz jedne od 4 ili 5 javnih kuća, kad je djevica imala novaca, i obećavao joj brak, dok ne bi ona povjerovala i predala mu uložnu knjižicu...Prevarene matere ostavljale su sitnu novorođenu djecu pred vratima oca. Raspuštena djeca gađala su kamenjem prolaznike i prozore. U samoj su se gradskoj općini dešavale pronevjere, u koje su bile upletene desetine ljudi..." (Balota, 2005, 82).

Posebno se detaljno analiziraju politički odnosi i neravnopravna ekonomska snaga, koja je dovodila i do supremacije na kulturnom i političkom planu: „U prvo vrijeme uspona Pule Hrvati se nisu mogli mjeriti ekonomski ni s Talijanima, ni s Nijemcima. Ekonomska zaostalost stvarala je zaostalost u pismenosti i političkoj svijesti. U vrijeme, kad su se talijanski građanski liberali borili u porečkom saboru protiv austrijskog centralizma i njemačke hegemonije i za ujedinjenje s Italijom, naši su svećenici i kanonici nastojali pritisnuti Talijane u kut, lomatajući po zraku papirnatim adresama vjernosti dinastiji. U to je vrijeme Pula postajala radnički grad, radnici Hrvati osjećali su se iskorišćivani od organa baš toga carskog doma, lojalnost dinastiji za njih nije mogla biti ozbiljna životna stvar" (Balota, 2005, 93-94). Agresivna germanizacija doprinijela je stvaranju provincijske solidarnosti Hrvata i Talijana Pule, fronte Istrana protiv došljaka. Ta je solidarnost bila uperena protiv prodiranja militarizma u javni život i društvene odnose, protiv germanizacije i protiv jačanja austrijsko-njemačke kolonije. Talijani su taj istarski provincijalizam koristili prvo u borbi protiv Nijemaca, a kasnije u borbi i protiv samih Hrvata, nazivajući barbarima sve protiv kojih su se borili, pojašnjava autor: „Ponižavajući izraz za Nijemca bio je 'njoki', za Hrvate i Slovence 'šćavi'. Blaži, opet ponižavajući izraz za Hrvate bio je 'ćići'" (Balota, 2005, 83).

U informativnom presjeku preporodnih zbivanja, koja su ojačala ekonomske, kulturne i političke pozicije istarskih Hrvata, ističe se kulturni rad biskupa Strossmayera i Dobrile, Matka Laginje i Josipa Krmpotića koji 1898. dolazi u Pulu kao poslovođa prve hrvatske tiskare, čime su stvoreni uvjeti da "Naša sloga", koja je izlazila u Trstu od 1870. prijeđe u Pulu (Balota, 2005, 95). Balota dokumentira i osnivanje Pazinske gimnazije (1899.), Ćirilometodske družbe u Puli (1893.), Istarske posujilnice (1891.) i Narodnog doma (1908.). Družbin projekt otvaranja narodnih hrvatskih škola, širenje čitaonica i knjižnica dali su veliki poticaj prosvjeti i jačanju nacionalne svijesti, a s razvojem kulturne i ekonomske snage hrvatskog građanstva rastao je i politički utjecaj. I grad i njegovo zaleđe radili su za arsenal i mornaricu, tako da se i pored znatnog uvoza iz cijelog carstva za potrebe snabdijevanja glavne ratne luke razvijala i lokalna ekonomija i uslužne djelatnosti.

Poglavlja *Ratni dani* i u *U mornaričkoj kasarni* analiziraju zbivanja u grada tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata, koji ga zahvaća upravo na vrhuncu razvoja, kad s gotovo 100.000 stanovnika predstavlja carstvo u malom. Kulminacija narativnog toka obilježena je uvođenjem autobiografskog diskursa i obrtanjem pripovjedačke perspektive, što nam omogućava da, paralelno s pregledom međunarodne političke situacije, početak rata pratimo iz direktnog svjedočenja mladog mornara i novinara. Dokumentarističkim izvještavanjem o dramatičnim zbivanjima, autor nas uvodi u kulminaciju ratne drame, poraz i rasap moćne europske imperije i degradaciju njezine glavne ratne luke.

Poglavlje *Šišanska ulica br. 24* dokumentira razvoj modernog novinstva u Istri: na adresi tiskare Josipa Krmpotića od 1915. do 1918. tiskan je „Hrvatski list" i dnevne novine na talijanskom i njemačkom jeziku, a mladi Mirković izučio novinarski zanat: „Novo u tome pisanju bila je neposrednost i stvaranje sigurne veze s čitačem u Puli i na brodovima, iznošenje njihovih briga, strahovanja, misli i pregnuća, novo je bilo otvoreno poniranje u život mase, seljaka i radnika, obrađivanje motiva njihova svakidašnjeg života i patnje, hrane, bolesti, umiranja, škole, zdravlja, klasnih odnosa na selu, koji su se tada jako zaoštravali i postali vidljivi i jasni..." (Balota, 2005, 165). Kraj rata stvara i nove odnose snaga, a

pulski mornari utemeljuju narodnu upravu i objavljuju "jugoslavensku rezoluciju" (Balota, 2005, 271). *Zapisi* dokumentiraju originalne programske točke o stvaranju nove socijalističke jugoslavenske države radnika i seljaka. Poglavlje *Raskid* registrira kratkotrajno preuzimanje vlasti od strane Narodnog vijeća, a uzroke propasti prve narodne uprave Balota nalazi u neorganiziranosti, nemoći i nepovezanosti akcija novog vodstva. *Šest dana* trajala je hrvatska i jugoslavenska vojna i civilna vlast u Puli, od 31. listopada iza ponoći do 5. studenog poslijepodne. Talijanska vojska, koja je u Pulu stigla u ime pobjedničke koalicije slijedom odredbi tajnog Londonskog ugovora iz 1915., dočekana je kao okupacijska. Poglavlje *Iza toga* slika grad pod novom talijanskom vlašću, a autor registrira progone svih istaknutih intelektualaca i narodnjaka. Opsežnu monografiju zatvara poglavlje *Divizije,* koje retrospektivno donosi pregled narodne borbe u Istri.

IDEOLOŠKA PROIZVODNJA ZNAČENJA

Za razliku od tradicionalnih pristupa književnim djelima, orijentiranih na pozitivistički pristup samom umjetniku ili na mimezu, suvremene teorije usmjerene su na istraživanje društvene i ideološke proizvodnje značenja. Pritom se kao ključna nameću pitanja ideološke vrijednosti i interesa koji oblikuju svaki prikaz, načina na koje pripovjedni tekstovi strukturiraju shvaćanje subjekta, nas samih, pa time i „drugih", kako artikuliraju identitet: u fokusu interesa su pitanja ideologije, politike, etike, etniciteta, klase... Kroz Lyotardove „velike pripovijesti", ideološke naracije, kulture „pričaju sebi o sebi", uvijek u suodnosu s Drugim i drugačijim. Tako se posreduje specifična slika svijeta i gradi identitet. Polazeći od pretpostavke da pripovijest ima središnju ulogu u prikazu i tvorbi identiteta, književna i kulturna teorija krenula je od strukturalističkog pitanja „što čini priču" prema poststrukturalističkom problemu „što priča čini", tj. na koji način konstruira, promovira, održava i reproducira određenu sliku svijeta, identitete i ideologije. Suvremeni postkolonijalni i postmarksistički kritički pristupi redefinirali su u tom smislu naratološka promišljanja, razotkrivajući moć priče kao ideološkog formanta naše svijesti o svijetu i kreatora kulturnog identiteta (Lešić, 2008, 251).

Postmoderna teorija pripovijedanja pitanje konstativa/priče/istine zamjenjuje pitanjem performativa/diskurza/učinka, čime politika i etika postaju ključne za performativni obrat teorije pripovijedanja (Peternai, 2005, 114 i Biti, 2002). Naglasak se premješta s pitanja vjerodostojnosti i istinitosti na pitanje političko-etičkih učinaka koje pripovjedni tekst proizvodi. Zanima nas, dakle, što određeno pisanje čini, tekst kao akcija, njegove strategije i taktike, recepcija i učinkovitost pripovijedanja (Burke, 2006, 101).

Postmoderni relativizam osporio je apsolutizam univerzalnih vrijednosti, ukazujući da postoje tek lokalne i kontingentne istine koje nastaju kroz kulturne sustave kao odgovor na potrebu za dominacijom, opstankom i samopotvrdom određenih kolektiviteta. Nakon što je strukturalistička naratologija uvela kategoriju pripovjednog teksta, kao temeljnog načina na koji ljudi razumijevaju sebe i svijet oko sebe, svi su književni oblici postali jednakovrijedan predmet književno-znanstvenog proučavanja. U sklopu tog proširenog pojma književnosti, koji uz roman u teorijska razmatranja uključuje i ispovjedne, eruditsko-intelektualne, enciklopedijske i hibridne oblike proze analizirat ćemo i Balotinu monografiju. Naratologija, naime, uvriježen pojam umjetničke proze (*fiction*) zamjenjuje neutralnijim i obuhvatni-



Sl. 1: Pula – Arena
Fig. 1: Pula, Amphitheatre

jim pojmom pripovjednog teksta (*narrative)* koji briše granicu između mita i romana, usmenih i pismenih oblika, znanstvenog i književnog pripovijedanja (Barthes, u Biti, 1992, 47-78). Zahvaljujući demokratskom proširenju dotadašnjeg područja književnosti, pripovjedni tekst dao je i tzv. "narodima bez povijesti" mogućnost samoreprezentacije, pohranjujući iskustvo onih koji dotad nisu imali pristupa "višim" žanrovima.

Naratologija je otvorila i pitanje povijesnog diskursa, odnosno odnosa povijesnog i fikcionalnog pripovijedanja, pri čemu se i historiografija počinje promatrati kao retorička praksa, koju se čita kao autoreferencijalnu strukturu o etičko-političkom diskursu povjesničara. Nakon brisanja modalnih i žanrovskih granica među tekstovima, pitanje literarne dimenzije historiografskih tekstova (i obratno) postalo je uobičajena praksa. Istražuje se zbog čega su pojedini fikcionalni ili nefikcionalni žanrovi ideologičniji, odnosno efikasniji u artikulaciji, stvaranju i posredovanju identiteta, nacionalnog mita ili socijalne ideje. U tom smislu analizirat ćemo i dosad nedovoljno istražene aspekte Mirkovićeva/Balotina stvaralaštva.

MODEL POSTKOLONIJALNOG PREISPISIVANJA POVIJESTI

Balotinu monografiju možemo čitati kao model velike kulturne naracije, i to naracije hrvatskog nacionalnog identiteta, koji se gradi u opreci s konkurentnim ideološkim (nacionalnim) narativima, a ujedno funkcionira i kao model postkolonijalnog preispisivanja povijesti. U prethodnoj analizi uočili smo da Balota identitet istarskog hrvatskog puka gradi u opreci s kulturnim pričama stranih zavojevača i građana, pri čemu je daleko najkritičniji prema razdoblju mletačke vlasti koje je bilo „najžalosnije u povijesti puljskog zaliva i grada": „Samo narod, stari naš slovinski, hrvatski narod, koji je nadživio Gote i Bizantiju, Franke i Langobarde, austrijsko-njemačke barune i umiruće anemične građane mletačke epohe, Austriju i Italiju (talijanska vojna i civilna birokracija i malograđanstvo povezano s njom pobjegli su poslije 1945. kao i austrijski 1918.), uvijek su tu, uvijek na zemlji, nogama duboko zakorijenjen u njoj i organski vezan s njom...narod koji hiljadu godina nije tu uzmakao ni pred kime ni pedlja. Samo se njegova pokoljenja neprekidno tu redaju, pravilno, prirodno i zakonito" (Balota, 2005, 24). Već na prvi pogled uočljiva je nacionalna i ideološka mitologizacija, odnosno narativna konstrukcija i interpretacija istarske povijesti, koja je donekle razumljiva s obzirom na postkolonijalni kontekst u kojem je nastala. To je narativ koji „oprirođuje" i esencijalizira pravo na teritorij kolektiva, koji je „odstranio nejednakost između naroda i klasa i uklonio kolonizatorske odnose, te stvorio prvi put u dvije tisuće godina jedinstvo između Pule i Istre, između grada i sela, bratstvo i jedinstvo naroda" (Balota, 2005, 24). U tekstu se jasno iščitava ideološka homogenizacijska funkcija, koja književnosti daje ulogu sredstva za ispisivanje kolektivnog identiteta u društvenu stvarnost.

Novi se kulturni identitet pritom gradi u konfrontaciji s kulturom dotadašnjih kolonizatora, pa je i cijela multikulturna povijest grada i regije prikazana kao kontinuirani konflikt sela i grada, lokalnog stanovništva i stranih osvajača: autor tako „tjesnogrudnim građanima, sebičnim lihvarima, sitnim cjepidlačarima, ulizicima i intrigantima" koji su „dva tisućljeća živjeli u iluziji da su i dalje kolonizatori u tuđoj zemlji i među tuđim narodima i da im je jedini zadatak da drže u podložnosti narod oko grada i u pokrajini koji ih je hranio" suprotstavlja „mudre hrvatske župane svuda tuda oko Pule, u svakom selu, zaseoku i štanciji ...koji su radili zemlju, čuvali stoku, sadili masline i loze, sjekli šumu, palili vapno i lovili ribu i čekali strpljivo…da nestane i samih takvih ukletih građana" (Balota, 2005, 18-19). Kompleksan odnos sela i grada uvjetovan je ideološkim stereotipnim obrascima i negativnim projekcijama prvih generacija istarskih intelektualaca koji, zahvaćeni burnim političkim promjenama, raskidaju tradicionalne veze s ruralnom sredinom i kroz emancipatorski društveni angažman potaknut preporodnim zbivanjima i intenzivne kontakte s europskom civilizacijom grade vlastiti nacionalni i kulturni identitet, propitujući urbane modele suživota i preispisujući kulturnu povijesti grada i njegovog zaleđa. Pritom se kao ključni oponent, uz ekonomski razvijeniju i jaču njemačko-austrijsku koloniju predstavlja „gospodarski slabije no politički zrelije, te kulturno i politički naprednije talijansko građanstvo", koje je „u vijeku razvitka nacionalizma isticalo suvremenu nacionalnu ideju narodnog ujedinjenja... nasuprot monarhističko-carsko-kraljevske fikcije vjernosti habsburškom domu" (Balota, 2005, 93). Analizom povijesnih modela suživota multikulturne pulske kolonije, kroz ideološki definirane opreke gradi se i novi urbani identitet istarskog puka. Selekcijom događaja i radnji iz historijskog niza povijest se pretvara u pripovijest, kako bi se čitatelju komunicirao pristupačan narativni slijed, kojim će ovjeravati kolektivni (konkretno nacionalni ili sociokulturni) aspekt vlastitog identiteta. Narativnim strukturiranjem pri/povijesti i njenim protezanjem kroz više društvenih sistema i povijesnih epoha, povezuje se porijeklo i budućnost narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta, dok se, s druge strane, iscrpnim dokumentiranjem iz arhivske građe, koje nadopunjuje osobno svjedočanstvo, ističe nefikcionalnost, objektivnost i vjerodostojnost pripovijedanja. Ključan nacionalnointegracijski aspekt ove proze odredio je izbor pojedinih događaja kao relevantnih za tok povijesne radnje, tako da i sam postupak selekcije uključuje ideološku perspektivu.

Autor ipak nije nacionalno isključiv, već naprotiv, vrlo istančano ukazuje na kulturne posebnosti i razlike, posebno u dijelovima u kojima književnim sredstvima oslikava ozračje multikulturalne tolerancije u austrijskoj mornarici: „Na takvim ratnim brodovima, na kojima bi iznenadno čas zatitrala sitna erotična lirska talijanska melodija, čas zaorila teška i snažna hrvatska epika Dal-

macije i Istre, gdje su se Talijani osjećali duhovitijima a Hrvati jačima, gdje su oficiri sjedili zavaljeni u počivaljkama na krmi, s fesom na glavi, sa svilenim grimiznim papučama na nogama, s čibukom u zubima, vedri sredozemnomorci, koji su glumili orijentalce... "(Balota, 2005, 31). Solidarni u mornaričkoj svakodnevici („čitali smo iste novine, brinuli iste ili slične brige, jednako reagirali, mrzili i oduševljavali se"), slobodno vrijeme mornari glavne carske luke koristili su za čitanje novinskih vijesti i diskusiju o mogućnostima i načinima stvaranja vlastitih nacionalnih država i njihovom ustrojstvu: „Jugoslaveni o svojoj, Česi o svojoj, Poljaci o svojoj"... O nacionalnom ujedinjenju ljeta 1917. u Puli su, uz njih, raspravljali i Ukrajinci i Rumunji, te najopreznije, Talijani: Austro-ugarska se tako upravo u ratnoj mornarici cijepala na sastavne dijelove (Balota, 2005, 149-150). Multietnička simbioza u gradu ogleda se i u pregledu kulturnih događanja, organiziranih za pripadnike mornarice svih narodnosti: književne i glazbene večeri, dobro posjećena kazališna gostovanja njemačkih, austrijskih i čeških skupina, hrvatske opere, kino-predstave i pokladni plesovi koji su okupljali najraznovrsnije skupine, civilne i vojne i davali oduška „discipliniranoj inventivnosti Nijemaca i vojničkim formalizmom ukočenoj fantaziji južnjaka s Jadrana" (Balota, 2005, 104).

Najveći dio monografije Balota je posvetio najdinamičnijoj fazi razvoja moderne Pule, koja se od sredine 19. stoljeća, kada je grad izabran za glavnu austrijsku ratnu luku, poklapa s pokretom nacionalne emancipacije istarskih Hrvata. Paralelno tako pratimo naglu urbanizaciju Pule i uspjehe narodnog preporoda, razvoj multikulturne europske metropole i proces politizacije istarskog puka, panoramu europskih političkih zbivanja i nacionalne odnose Talijana i Hrvata: „Kao građani, Talijani su se osjećali superiorniji prema Hrvatima... Bili su živi, brzi i pokretni. Ali bili su i više prilagodljivi, elastični, okretni...Kao seljaci, Hrvati su bili fizički jači, izdržljiviji... U borbi s prirodnim elementima, sa zemljom i stokom oni su bili tvrdi, uporni, prodorni. Bistriji od građana, oni su lako naučili talijanski...Uvijek smo dozvoljavali, da Talijani budu tvrdoglavi i ne samo da ne uče, nego i da ne podnose naš jezik, da uvijek igraju ulogu kolonizatora, a mi ulogu podvrgnutih" (Balota, 2005, 64-65). U analizi međunacionalnih odnosa Balota kontinuirano koristi postkolonijalni diskurs, u kojem je povremeno zamjetno i stereotipiziranje, uvijek u funkciji definiranja razlike i konstrukcije identiteta. Iako je puno prostora posvećeno nacionalnom pitanju, pristup nije jednodimenzionalan: Balota se bavi i razvojem radničkog i socijalističkog pokreta i revolucionarnim previranjima u proletariziranom industrijskom gradu, naznakama „promjena koje su imale donijeti kraj izrabljivanju, nacionalnom i društvenom" (Balota, 2005, 75). Saznajemo tako da je 1918. Pula bila „najjača radnička konglomeracija u jugoslavenskim zemljama", nosioci revolucionarnog pokreta u Puli bili su mor-



Sl. 1: Mijo Mirković kao mladi novinar "Hrvatskog lista" u Puli 1918.
Fig. 1: Mijo Mirković as a joung journalist in Pula in 1918.

nari ratne mornarice i arsenalski radnici (Balota, 2005, 336), no nacionalna razjedinjenost onemogućavala je zajedničku revolucionarnu akciju, iako je neprijatelj bio uglavnom poznat: bili su to „imperijalisti Nijemci i Mađari ili imperijalisti Talijani" (Balota, 2005, 211-216).

Radi se o velikom narativu nacionalnog i klasnog oslobođenja, u kojem se diskurzivnim i narativnim strategijama reprezentira i konstruira južnoslavenska i socijalistička ideologija temeljena na antifašizmu. Mirković/Balota svoju emancipatorsku naraciju ispisuje u postrevolucionarnom razdoblju, rekonstruirajući ključna razdoblja borbe za nacionalno i društveno oslobođenje, kao i razloge ranijih neuspjeha. Njegova pripovijest o oslobođenju i priključenju Istre matici zemlji ipak prešućuje jedan dio povijesti: poslijeratni talijanski egzodus, koji smatra logičnom povijesnom posljedicom („talijanska vojna i civilna birokracija i malograđanstvo povezano s njom pobjegli su poslije 1945. kao i austrijski 1918."; Balota, 2005, 24). To je djelomično i razumljivo, jer je i njegova monografija, kao i glavnina jugoslavenske historiografije i publicistike iz tog vremena bila u službi diplomatske borbe za nove zapadne granice i u funkciji dokazivanja legitimiteta jugoslavenskih teritorijalnih zahtjeva.

U tzv. „zonama kontakta", socijalnim prostorima u kojemu se kulture susreću i međusobno sukobljavaju, u kontekstu asimetričnih odnosa moći, identitet se gradi kroz pripovijesti. U okviru postmodernih teorija diskursa i nacija je „naracija" – priča o kolektivnom identitetu. Prema naratološkoj teoriji, kako ukazuje Vladimir Biti (Biti, 2002, 7-29), u trenutku kad je spoznajna koncepcija jezika ustupila mjesto komunikacijskoj, odnosno premještanjem naglaska s konstativne na performativnu koncepciju pripovjednog teksta, pripovjedni tekst se počeo promatrati kroz socijalnu profiliranost, a identitet kojemu pripovijest teži više nije toliko spoznajni koliko društveno definiran.

Drugim riječima, u okvirima komunikacijskog modela, naglasak je prvenstveno na društvenoj angažiranosti i ideološkim učincima književnosti na procese redefiniranja i preispisivanja kulturnog identiteta. S druge strane, ako se „pri/povijest razumije kao krunska strategija nacionalne i kulturne identifikacije, nacionalni se identitet pokazuje ambivalentnim liminalnim hibridnim konstruktom koji počiva na isključenjima" (Bhabha, u Biti, 2002, 157). I veliki se nacionalni narativi grade simboličkim (ili stvarnim) isključenjem drugačijih Drugih, pri čemu interpretacije povijesti s dvije strane granice konkuriraju kao konfliktni narativi. U tom konktestu, i spomenutu kulturološku opreku selo-grad, koja se u hrvatskoj kulturnoj povijesti konstruirala kao nacionalna opreka talijansko urbano-slavensko ruralno možemo čitati kao ideologem u funkciji konstrukcije nacionalnih granica, koji recentna istraživanja dekonstruiraju, ukazujući da se radi o stereotipu konstruiranom u funkciji nacionalne konfrontacije od preporodnog razdoblja naovamo (Dota, 2010, 63).

IZMEĐU KNJIŽEVNOSTI I POVIJESTI

Približavanje književnosti i povijesti u Mirkovićevoj/Balotinoj historiografskoj fikciji možemo čitati i kao upisivanje autobiografskog diskursa u nacionalno-integracijsku historiografsku naraciju. U tom smislu, korisno je ukazati na antropologijsko-etnologijski obrat unutar historiografije, koji je, uvođenjem koncepta mikropovijesti, usmene povijesti i „pisanja povijesti odozdo" pogodovao razvoju novih modela lokalne povijesti koji u svom fokusu imaju kulturu, povijesne diskontuitete i osobna svjedočanstva, te hermeneutičku interpretaciju (Biti, 2000, 64-81). Autorefleksivni manevar mikropovijesti dokumentacijsku aparaturu tradicionalne historiografije nadopunjuje rekonstrukcijom perspektive sudionika povijesnog zbivanja, pružajući otpor tehnikama ideologijskog zaposjedanja. Ukazuje se na nemogućnost razlučivanja subjektivnih od objektivnih povijesnih prikaza, znanstveno provjerljivih i ideologijski pristranih izvještaja. Pripovjedni tekst promatra se kao kombinacija umjetnički domišljene forme prezentacije kakva prošlog djelovanja i iskaznog čina, koji obuhvaća istovremeno informaciju, selektivnost znanstvenog interesa i objašnjenje interpretativne hipoteze (Biti, 2000). U tom kontekstu promatramo i Balotin stvaralački postupak.

Prethodna analiza pokazala je da, upravo zbog primarnosti društveno-političke motivacije i ideološko-komunikacijske funkcije, autor kombinira pripovjedne strategije imanentne historiografskom i književnom diskursu. Na taj način, povijesna kronika postaje biografija grada, kulturološka studija i dokumentarno-informativna autobiografija. Autobiografski se subjekt oblikuje pod utjecajem nacionalne političke i kulturne zbilje, pa se tako i njegov individualni identitet ostvaruje prvenstveno kroz kulturnu naraciju, priču o kolektivnom identitetu. I analiza naratoloških osobina teksta (na tematskoj i razini izraza, narativnih strategija, pozicije pripovjedača), ukazuje da je ova autobiografska proza tematski usmjerena dokumentarističkom i realističkom prikazivanju događaja vezanih za društveni i nacionalni angažman autora. Naratološke karakteristike ukazuju na modele tradicionalnog oblikovanja narativnog testa u kojem se prati kronologija zbivanja, a deskripcija povijesnih događanja ima primat u naraciji, dok se pozicija pripovjedača mijenja, ovisno o vremenskoj udaljenosti i povijesnom kontekstu, odnosno projekciji političkog, povijesnog i sociokulturnog trenutka (Sablić Tomić, 2008).

U prijelomnim razdobljima, poput onog koje Mirković/Balota obrađuje u svojoj autobiografskoj monografiji, refleks nacionalno-emancipatorske funkcije i socijalnog angažmana obilježio je sve fikcionalne i nefikcionalne žanrove, pri čemu javna uloga angažiranog intelektualca, kulturološki kontekst i okolnosti recepcije uvjetuju i narativne strategije i naratološke osobine korištenih žanrova. Na razini izraza, radi se o polidiskurzivnoj naraciji, u kojoj se izmjenjuju historiografski,

esejistički, poetski i dokumentarni diskurs. Presudnost povijesnih okolnosti definira i prevladavanje konteksta i usmjerenost na vanjska zbivanja, nauštrb unutarnje doživljajnosti autobiografskog subjekta, koja je uvijek u funkciji 'višeg' idejnog, odnosno ideološkog cilja. I strukturu kronike zadao je kulturno-povijesni i politički kontekst: uvodna poglavlja, koja nas uvode u ključne trenutke stvaranja moderne Pule i Istre kontekstualno su određena i predstavljaju svojevrstan kulturno-povijesni i kulturno-geografski okvir, pripovijedajući o specifičnostima povijesti i prostora ovog rubnog područja.

U tom smislu možemo reći da Balotina monografija donekle zaista prati model Braudelovih mediteranskih monografija iz pluralne poli-perspektive društveno-humanističkih znanosti, nudeći nova interdisciplinarna viđenja i čitanja kulturnog identiteta grada i šire regije. Odnos osobne perspektive i svjedočenja prema dokumentiranoj povijesti, nacionalnoj, klasnoj i socijalnoj problematici, ideološkim i ekonomskim uvjetima, ukazuje da se radi o književnosti kao dijelu šireg sociokulturnog sustava.

ZAKLJUČAK

Analiza Balotine monografije o razvoju Pule ukazala je na moguće moduse iščitavanja narativnih reprezentacija urbane zbilje i artikulacije grada kao kulturno konstruirane stvarnosti i prostora kulturnog sjećanja (Low, 2006, 7). U Balotinoj sintezi tradicionalnog i modernog urbanog iskustva Pula se, kao multikulturni grad na granici velikih imperija, reprezentira kao zahvalan model promišljanja konstrukcije kulturnih i nacionalnih identiteta u nestabilnom geopolitičkom kontekstu i u tranzicijskom razdoblju između tradicije i modernosti. Paralelno s procesima zamišljanja nacije pratili smo stvaranje modernog urbanog subjekta, koji se u (post)kolonijalnom diskursu gradi u tradicionalnoj opreci selo-grad (narod-građani, lokalno stanovništvo-kolonizatori), pri čemu smo lokalno autorsko pismo analizirali kao autoreferencijalnu strukturu i svjedočenje o etičko-političkom diskursu u procesu društvene i ideološke proizvodnje značenja, odnosno formiranja osobnog i kolektivnog identiteta. Autobiografska dokumentarna kronika koja prati ključne nacionalno-integracijske procese tako se pretvara u pri/povijest o stvaranju nacije, u krunsku strategiju nacionalne i kulturne identifikacije, pri čemu se nacionalni i kulturni identitet pokazuje narativom: ambivalentnim liminalnim hibridnim konstruktom koji počiva na isključenjima. Preispisivanjem kulturne povijesti istarskog urbaniteta s aspekta lokalnog življa, autorski subjekt ujedno rekonstruira vlastitu, kao i povijest i identitet svoje zajednice u odnosu i opreci, odnosno u razlici prema Drugom. Sociokulturna konstrukcija grada rezultat je upisivanja autorovih individualnih sjećanja i doživljenih iskustava u urbano tkivo, odnosno spajanja autobiografske građe, povijesnih dokumenata i osobnih iskustava s gradskim prostorom, njegovom poviješću, tradicijom i kulturom.

MODELS OF ARTICULATION OF URBAN IDENTITY IN THE MIJO MIRKOVIĆ/MATE BALOTA'S MONOGRAPH PUNA JE PULA

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SUMMARY

The paper will explore the models of socio-cultural construction and literary representation of urban reality in the autobiographical chronicle Puna je Pula (Pula is Full) written by Istrian scientist, writer and polyhistor Mijo Mirković/Mate Balota (1898-1963). In Balota's synthesis of history, traditional and modern urban experience, Pula, as a multicultural city on the edge of major geopolitical systems, represents a model for reflection of construction of cultural and national identity in the instable geopolitical context and in the transitional period between tradition and modernity. Analysis of the specific literary-scientific hybrid on the border between literature and historiography indicated the specific features of culture and history of the area of concern. We indicated that the characteristic identitarian and geopolitical instability in the culture of the border zone, conditioned and mediated by ideology, resulted in almost postmodernist mix of discourses, genres and narratives. In terms of contemporary literary and cultural theory, we have analyzed processes of social and ideological production of meaning and the formation of personal and collective identities. We have shown how autobiographical documentary chronicle that tracks key national-integration processes turns into the narrative about the creation of the nation, as the key strategy of national and cultural identification.

Keywords: Pula, monograph, urban identitety, Mate Balota

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FLUIDITÀ DI DISCORSO E FLUIDITÀ DI POTERE: CASI D'INTERNAMENTO NELL'OSPEDALE PSICHIATRICO DI POLA D'ISTRIA TRA IL 1938 E IL 1950

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SINTESI

Nel lavoro si considerano le realizzazioni linguistiche o, con Foucault, le pratiche discorsive, documentabili dalle cartelle cliniche di pazienti internati nella struttura psichiatrica dell'ex ospedale di Pola d'Istria, Santorio Santorio, durante il periodo di passaggio dalla sovranità italiana a quella jugoslava. Si presentano e si analizzano le contaminazioni linguistiche rinvenibili nei documenti esaminati, nonché le diciture bilingui croato-italiano dei moduli prestampati, con i relativi ibridismi sintattici e lessicali, indizi, questi ultimi, del passaggio non solo politico ma socioculturale, linguistico e ideologico del territorio istriano (e fiumano) dalla giurisdizione italiana a quella jugoslava. Si pone così in evidenza il concetto di fluidità, sia del potere coercitivo, sia della prescrizione della (nuova) lingua.

Parole chiave: Pola, Istria, ospedale psichiatrico, schizofrenia, potere, discorso, lingua.

FLUIDITY OF DISCOURSE AND FLUIDITY OF POWER: CASES OF COMMITTAL TO THE MENTAL HOSPITAL OF PULA IN ISTRIA FROM 1938 TO 1950

ABSTRACT

The paper discusses the linguistic realisations or, according to Foucault, discursive practices preserved in the medical records of patients hospitalised in the psychiatric ward within the hospital in Pula, in the period of transition from the Italian to Yugoslav rule. The linguistic contaminations found in the processed documents are presented and analysed, as well as the bilingual Croatian-Italian terms in printed forms, with appropriate syntactic and lexical hybrids indicating not only the political but also the sociocultural, linguistic and ideological transition of the Istrian (and Rijeka) territory from the Italian to the Yugoslav jurisdiction. In this way it is stood out the concept of fluidity, both of coercive power and of the prescription of the (new) language.

Keywords: Pula, Istria, psychiatric institution, schizophrenia, rule, speech, language.

Dalla Relazione che il dott. Giovanni Bossi presentò nel 1905 alla Giunta provinciale dell'Istria, veniamo a sapere che il nuovo Ospedale civico "Santorio Santorio" di Pola, inaugurato il 6 ottobre 1896, comprendeva, tra gli otto nuovi padiglioni isolati, pure uno "destinato all'osservazione di ammalati di mente con 16 letti" (Bossi, 1906, 8). Nel 1908 il reparto fu notevolmente ampliato ed in esso trovò sistemazione il nuovo padiglione chirurgico, mentre nell'originario edificio in cui operava quest'ultimo prese sede, accanto ad altri, il reparto psichiatrico (si tratta dell'edificio in cui tutt'oggi è ancora operante il Dipartimento di neuropsichiatria). Per più di un decennio, però, l'allora Sezione psichiatrica fu costretta a svolgere la sua attività di cura dei malati esclusivamente negli angusti e ristretti spazi sotterranei dell'edificio. Tale situazione rimase inalterata fino al 1925, quando l'intera struttura fu destinata unicamente ad uso della Sezione psichiatrica (è probabile che risalga a quell'anno la scritta tutt'oggi leggibile sulla facciata dell'edificio, "Sezione psichiatrica").

Nel settembre del 1947, con il passaggio della città dall'amministrazione angloamericana a quella jugoslava – e quindi con la cessazione della sovranità italiana su Pola –, l'ex *Sezione psichiatrica* diventa *Neuropsihijatrijski odjel*. Come riporta la giornalista Branka Mogorović in un articolo scritto un decennio dopo, non ci fu un passaggio delle consegne dai medici italiani a quelli jugoslavi, cioè croati ("Glas Istre", 1957, 4). Quest'ultimi, infatti, assunsero la direzione dell'Ospedale il 20 settembre 1947 in un ambiente pressoché privo di personale medico e di pazienti. Dalle parole di un intervistato (un addetto ai lavori di manutenzione) veniamo a sapere come si svolse la scena: "Bilo nas je oko dvadesetak. Dočekali smo grupu liječnika pred upravnom zgradom, jednostavno i skromno. Samo s kitom cvijeća".[1]

L'autrice dell'articolo, però, ci informa implicitamente ancora di un altro dato sul quale la presente ricerca principalmente si focalizza: quello linguistico. Infatti, dalle parole di un intervistato, testimone delle due realtà storiche dell'ospedale, veniamo a sapere che "U bolnici se govorilo samo talijanski. A naše majke, koje su ovamo dolazile na liječenje, nisu poznavale taj jezik. I, nisu se snalazile, nisu znale reći što su htjele, nisu razumjele…" ("Glas Istre", Pola, 27 settembre 1957).

Una non meno alienante situazione d'inadeguatezza linguistica caratterizzerà il nosocomio di Pola anche in seguito, relegando però, ora, nella posizione di chi non capisce, quanti non erano in grado di esprimersi nella lingua dei nuovi amministratori. Si tratta, dal punto di vista linguistico e antropologico, di una situazione specularmente opposta. L'affermazione del nuovo potere politico implicava ineluttabilmente la conseguente affermazione anche della nuova lingua. Questo passaggio o *fluidità* di potere, che porta con sé non solo un nuovo strumento espressivo ma anche, con Foucault, nuove "pratiche discorsive", è chiaramente ravvisabile dalla documentazione archivistica dell'istituzione manicomiale polese.

La prima anomalia che emerge dalla consultazione dei fascicoli custoditi presso l'archivio del Reparto di neuropsichiatria di Pola riguarda la mancanza, eccetto pochi casi, di documenti attestanti il ricovero di pazienti prima del 1947.[2] È possibile che la documentazione medico-amministrativa inerente la degenza degli ammalati nel periodo compreso tra gli inizi del Novecento e il 1947, sia stata rimossa dall'amministrazione italiana immediatamente prima di lasciare l'ospedale e depositata, successivamente, presso istituzioni o enti archivistici in Italia, oppure presso gli ospedali psichiatrici di Trieste o di Gorizia dove venne trasferito, durante gli anni della seconda guerra mondiale, un elevato numero di pazienti.[3]

Nel presente lavoro ho considerato complessivamente ventuno documenti, compresi entro un arco di tempo che va dal 17 agosto 1938 al 16 ottobre 1950. Di questi, quattordici sono redatti in lingua italiana e riguardano: sette ordinanze di ammissione in manicomio, rilasciate dall'autorità competente; cinque certificati medici attestanti l'infermità mentale dell'interessato; due cartelle cliniche. Sette documenti sono stati redatti dopo il 20 settembre 1947, cioè in seguito alla consegna dell'ospedale di Pola all'amministrazione jugoslava, e comprendono sei cartelle cliniche e un certificato medico. Sono scritti quasi esclusivamente in lingua croata e

1 Inoltre, un infermiere informa la giornalista che i medici italiani lasciarono l'ospedale tre giorni prima dell'effettivo passaggio delle consegne: "Čudno je, da su talijanski liječnici […] napustili bolnicu tri dana prije primopredaje. Ostavili su je nama, bolničarima i primaljama, nisu čekali ekipu naših liječnika da je njima predaju" ("Glas Istre", 1957, 4). Similmente si esprimono anche il dott. Zvonimir Maretić: "Kad smo stigli u Pulu 20. IX [1947] popodne, pred ulanznim vratima okupilo se osoblje koje je ostalo u ustanovi […]. Talijanski liječnici otputovali su još 15. IX uveče […]. Zatekli smo samo tridesetak bolesnika u ispražnjenoj bolnici" (Maretić, 1969, 21-22), e il dott. Vidoslav Paić: "20. IX. 1947. odjel preuzima dr F. Jelašić. Na odjelu je zatekao svega 12 ženskih i 18 muških bolesnika, uz njih 4 bolničara i 6 spremačica" (Paić, 1969, 62).

2 Come riporta invece il dott. Bossi nella citata Relazione, durante il solo settennio 1897-1903 risultano essere stati curati nell'ospedale di Pola 422 pazienti affetti da *alienazioni mentali* (Bossi, 1906, 30). Un criterio diverso nella classificazione delle psicopatologie deve essere stato quello adottato dal dott. Giovanni Mantovan, il quale, nella sua Relazione alla Giunta provinciale sull'operato dell'ospedale per l'anno 1911 riportava, alla voce *Malattie del sistema nervoso*, un numero complessivo di 527 ammalati (Mantovan, 1912, 30). Per un elenco del numero di ammalati tra il 1912 e il 1925 cfr. V. Paić, (Paić, 1969, 62). Anche qui la sproporzione con la cifra indicata da Mantovan è esorbitante: il numero maggiore di ricoverati in un anno, infatti, risulta essere stato, nel 1912, di 198 ammalati, mentre nel 1925 il numero dei curati non superava i 96 ricoveri.

3 Tra il 1840 e il 1904, inoltre, un numero imprecisato di pazienti provenienti dall'Istria furono ricoverati presso gli ospedali psichiatrici veneti di S. Servolo e S. Clemente (cfr. Casagrande, 2009, 3).

sono interessanti poiché testimoni della contaminazione linguistica prodottasi, nel periodo considerato, all'interno dell'istituzione psichiatrica di Pola e, pertanto, indizi del passaggio da un codice linguistico ad un altro. Dallo spoglio dei documenti, però, non ho escluso i due estremi di questo *motus linguae*, identificabili da una parte nel discorso in lingua italiana, e dall'altra in quello in lingua croata. Tra questi due estremi sono ravvisabili quelli che Michel Foucault definisce "i limiti di un processo, […] l'inversione di un movimento regolatore, […] la soglia di un funzionamento" (Foucault, 1967, 13), ossia, in questo caso, la frammentazione e la dissoluzione di un codice linguistico, quello italiano, attraverso l'attestazione, negli atti documentali del reparto manicomiale, delle schegge verbali di tale codice: errori e scarti grammaticali, fusioni e commistioni linguistiche, distorsioni sintattiche e lessicali, contemporaneamente all'affermazione del codice linguistico nuovo, quello croato.

L'ordinanza di ammissione in manicomio più remota risale al 17 agosto 1938 XVI (Fig. 1, ASP[4]). In essa, come nelle tre successive (degli anni 1940, 1943, 1944), si riflette fedelmente la "pratica discorsiva" del potere psichiatrico nell'allora Regno d'Italia, come pure lo strumentario cui quel potere ricorreva nel momento di ricovero coatto nella struttura manicomiale. In apice al foglio reca lo stemma della casa sabauda, sotto il quale è riportato il titolo dell'autorità di pubblica sicurezza in nome della quale si provvedeva al ricovero obbligatorio dell'ammalato. Vediamo che nel documento, emesso a Rovigno, l'autorità preposta all'autorizzazione del provvedimento era il Podestà[5] il quale, in base al certificato medico attestante l'"alienazione mentale" del paziente, tale da "renderlo pericoloso a sé ed agli altri", nonché ritenendo "urgente e di pubblico interesse provvedere all'internamento in un manicomio dell'alienato" ordinava, conformemente alla Legge14 febbraio 1904, al R. D. 16 agosto 1909 e al R. D. 31 gennaio 1929, "l'ammissione d'urgenza ed in via provvisoria nell'ospedale Psichiatrico di Pola" (ASP – Ordinanza 17 agosto 1938 XVI). La documentazione veniva inviata alla Direzione dell'Ospedale psichiatrico della città e, per conoscenza, al Procuratore del Re presso il R. Tribunale Civile Penale di Pola.

Di poco dissimile risulta pure l'Ordinanza emessa a Dignano il 13 febbraio 1940, XVIII (ASP), con la quale si ordinava "*l'ammissione, in via provvisoria, nel manicomio Santorio Santorio di Pola dell'alienato povero* [nome e cognome omessi]".[6] L'autorità preposta all'esecuzione del decreto era in questo caso il Pretore[7] di Dignano,


C.P.C.
COMUNE DI Rovigno

La Gestione Amministrativa

QUALE AUTORITÀ LOCALE DI P. S.

Visto il certificato dd. 2 luglio 1946 rilasciato dal medico [redacted] , dal quale risulta che [redacted] nata a Rovigno nell'anno 1861 di professione casalinga, e residente a Rovigno "Casa del Vecchio"

è affetta da alienazione mentale in modo da renderla pericolosa a sè ed agli altri;

Ritenuto pertanto essere urgente e di pubblico interesse provvedere all'internamento in un manicomio dell'alienata su nominata;

Visti gli art. 2 della Legge 14-2-1904 N. 36 e 42 del Regolamento approvato con R. E. 16-8-1909 N. 615 per la esecuzione della Legge stessa che è stata estesa alle nuove Provincie con il R. D. 31-1-1929 N. 204;

ORDINA

l'ammissione d'urgenza ed in via provvisoria nel Ospedale Psichiatrico Santorio Santorio di Pola [redacted]

Fig. 1: Ordinanza, 2 luglio 1946, Rovigno.
Sl. 1: Uredba, 2. julij 1946, Rovinj.
Fig. 1: Order on 2nd July 1946, Rovinj.

il quale autorizzava il provvedimento "*In nome di sua Maestà Vittorio Emanuele III* […] *Re d'Italia e d'Albania* [aggiunto in ciclostile] – *Imperatore d'Etiopia*". Il deterioramento dei due documenti rende purtroppo impossibile la lettura del timbro posto in calce al testo.

Anche l'Ordinanza datata Pola, 10. 4. 1943, A XXI (ASP), come pure l'annesso certificato medico per ricovero in manicomio, rispecchiano e rispettano fedelmente le disposizioni dell'apparato coercitivo del tempo. Qui l'autorità responsabile della pubblica sicurezza è rappresentata, accanto al medico, dal Questore[8] (della Provincia di Pola) il quale, come negli atti esposti sopra, sulla base della dichiarazione medica attestante l'infermità mentale del soggetto, e considerata la sua pericolosità "*per sé e per gli altri*", ne ordinava il ricovero "*in via provvisoria e d'urgenza nella sala di osservazione del locale Ospedale*". Nel certificato medico, infatti, alla voce *Fatti specifici*

4 Archivio della Sezione psichiatrica (Odjel za psihijatriju) dell'ospedale di Pola (Opće bolnice Pula) per gli anni 1938-1950. Tutti i documenti considerati nel presente lavoro sono stati rinvenuti e sono reperibili nel suddetto Archivio.
5 Capo dell'amministrazione comunale durante il fascismo.
6 Dal responsabile dell'Ufficio legale dell'ospedale, nella presentazione del presente lavoro non mi è stato permesso riportare i nomi dei pazienti, né del personale medico interessato. Tutti i nomi, già nel corso della ricerca, sono stati accuratamente oscurati.
7 Magistrato che aveva competenza su cause civili e penali di limitata entità.
8 Funzionario di polizia preposto a una questura, cioè ad un commissariato di polizia.

enunciati in modo chiaro e particolareggiato dai quali si deduca la manifesta tendenza dell'individuo a commettere violenza contro se stesso o contro gli altri od a riuscire di pubblico scandalo, il medico annotava: "2 tentativi di suicidio. Rifiuta da 3 giorni ogni cibo".[9] In calce all'Ordinanza è visibile il timbro, recante impresso lo stemma del regno d'Italia e l'iscrizione, nel cerchio circostante, "R. Questura Pola". Il referto medico allegato riporta impresso, sotto l'intestazione, l'Atto giuridico al quale fa riferimento e in base al quale è prodotto.[10] Dopo le generalità dell'ammalato, il medico riportava i sintomi della malattia e i fatti dai quali si deduceva *la manifesta tendenza dell'individuo a commettere violenza contro sé stesso o contro gli altri od a riuscire di pubblico scandalo*. Seguiva la rubrica in cui esprimeva il proprio parere sulla necessità o meno dell'*immediato ricovero di urgenza*, quella sulla *possibilità di trasportare l'alienato al manicomio per le condizioni fisiche in cui si trova senza grave nocumento della sua salute* e, in chiusura, poteva aggiungere *altre eventuali osservazioni*.

Nell'Ordinanza emessa dalla stessa autorità di Pola e datata 10.10.1944 (ASP) (compilata, molto presumibilmente, dalla stessa mano), è ravvisabile un indizio rivelatore di un mutamento in atto all'interno della struttura di potere. Non è riportato, infatti, nell'apposito spazio, l'anno in cifre romane. Però, anche se dalla caduta del Regime era trascorso già più di un anno, il sigillo che licenziava il documento portava ancora l'effigie del fascio littorio e, circoscritta, la dicitura "R. Questura di Pola". Nel certificato medico che accompagna la medesima ordinanza, alla voce *Indole, sintomi, origine e decorso dell'infermità mentale*, il medico riporta che

> *a 18 anni il paziente soffrì per la prima volta di depressione psichica, indi da militare ricadde nello stessi [stesso] stato che fu diagnosticato come schizofrenia venendo anche come tale congedato per tale malattia. Da due mesi è ricaduto in uno stato di apatia, mutacismo o negativismo, a volte stati ansiosi e di eccitamento.*

La giustificazione del ricovero coatto scaturisce, come riportato dal medico, dalla necessità di "evitare che commetta violenza"; inoltre, nella rubrica in cui si chiede di indicare i fatti specifici provanti l'alienazione mentale del soggetto, si legge:

> *il paziente viene talvolta preso da agitazione per cui si scaglia contro chiunque venga ad avvicinarlo. Così pure fa atti impulsivi scagliando oggetti, tentando di sfondare la porta della sua stanza se vi viene rinchiuso ed esprimendo intenzioni suicide.*

Indicatore esplicito dell'ormai avvenuta caduta del Regno d'Italia e, conseguentemente, dell'avviato passaggio a una nuova realtà amministrativa è il certificato medico emesso a Rovigno il 2 luglio 1946 (ASP). Infatti, benché il modulo sia rimasto sostanzialmente lo stesso (generalità dell'ammalato, dichiarazione prestampata attestante lo stato di alienazione mentale dell'ammalato e "l'assoluta urgenza" del suo ricovero) e redatto in lingua italiana, nell'intestazione del foglio sono stati cancellati (pur tuttavia visibili) lo stemma comunale, la dicitura "Provincia dell'Istria", e il termine "Comune" è stato sostituito dalla sigla C. P. C. (Comitato popolare cittadino). In calce al documento, al posto del soppresso titolo "Il Podestà" si legge "Il Presidente". Il timbro, poi, rappresenta qui l'elemento di maggior interesse poiché reca, accanto alla dicitura in lingua italiana, anche quella in lingua croata, e, soprattutto perché rappresenta l'effige della nuova realtà politico-amministrativa. Lungo i margini interni superiori del bollo, infatti, ed intorno alla stella a cinque punte, si legge: "Comitato cittadino popolare Rovigno – Dipartimento di sanità", mentre nel semicerchio inferiore: "Zdravstveni odjel – Gradski narodni odbor Rovinj".

Anche l'Ordinanza che si accompagna al medesimo documento è stata emendata dei titoli che rimandavano alla destituita autorità italiana (ASP, fig. 2). Al posto di quelli sono stati aggiunti, come sopra, i nuovi nominativi del neo costituito "potere popolare": si ha così la soppressione dello stemma del Regno, la sostituzione di "Comune" nella dicitura "Comune di Rovigno" con la sigla C. P. C., la sostituzione del titolo "Il Podestà" nella dicitura "Il Podestà quale autorità locale di P. S." con l'espressione "La Sezione Amministrativa" e, nuovamente, in calce, al posto del titolo "Il Podestà", si legge la nuova denominazione "Il Capo Sezione". La configurazione del timbro riflette anche qui quella del documento esaminato sopra, con l'unico cambiamento nell'indicazione del Dipartimento responsabile che qui è quello "Amministrativo – Upravni odjel".

Accluso a questi due documenti vi è un altro, recante l'intestazione "Notizie storiche" (ASP) nel quale, accanto alle generalità dell'interessato, figurano diverse altre rubriche inerenti al manifestarsi e all'evolversi della malattia, similmente come si può osservare in una cartella clinica. Così, alla voce *Carattere morale prima*

9 L'articolo 2 della Legge 14 febbraio 1904 prescriveva infatti che l'ammissione in una struttura psichiatrica era "autorizzata, in via provvisoria, dal Pretore sulla presentazione di un certificato medico e di un atto di notorietà" in base alla richiesta fatta "dai parenti, tutori o protutori, e […] da chiunque altro nell'interesse degli infermi e della società". L'autorizzazione, però, prevedeva ancora lo stesso articolo, poteva essere ordinata pure dall'"autorità locale di pubblica sicurezza", ma solo, come dimostrano anche gli atti dell'archivio di Pola, "in caso di urgenza, […] in via provvisoria, [e] in base a certificato medico" (Legge 14 febbraio 1904, n. 36, *Disposizioni sui manicomi e sugli alienati. Custodia e cura degli alienati*, "Gazzetta ufficiale", n. 43, 22 febbraio 1904).

10 (Art. 39 del Regolamento per l'esecuzione della legge 14 febbraio 1904 n. 36 sui manicomi e sugli alienati, approvato con R. D. 16 agosto 1909 n. 615).


C.P.C.
COMUNE DI Rovigno

La Sezione Amministrativa
QUALE AUTORITÀ LOCALE DI P. S.

Visto il certificato dd. 2 luglio 1946 rilasciato dal medico [redacted] dal quale risulta che [redacted] nata a Rovigno nell'anno 1861 di professione casalinga, e residente a Rovigno "Casa del Vecchio"

è affetta da alienazione mentale in modo da renderla pericolosa a sé ed agli altri

Ritenuto pertanto essere urgente e di pubblico interesse provvedere all'internamento in un manicomio dell'alienata su nominata:

Visti gli art. 2 della Legge 14-2-1904 N. 36 e 42 del Regolamento approvato con R. E. 16-8-1909 N. 615 per la esecuzione della Legge stessa che è stata estesa alle nuove Provincie con il R. D. 31-1-1929 N. 201;

ORDINA

[redacted]

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Fig. 2: Ordinanza, 2 luglio 1946, Rovigno.
Sl. 2: Uredba, 2. julij 1946, Rovinj.
Fig. 2: Order on 2nd July 1946, Rovinj.

dello sviluppo della pazzia il medico annota: "sempre dedita all'alcool e trascurante nel vestire e bigotta", la voce *Occupazioni consuete ed abitudini* ci informa che l'ammalata era una casalinga. Segue la voce *Modo d'invasioni della pazzia, se improvvisa o preceduta da prodromi*, dalla quale risulta che nell'interessata la malattia era "preceduta da permalosità [e] mania di persecuzione", mentre alla voce *Sintomi che accompagnano la pazzia, notando principalmente se l'alienato sia dominato da allucinazioni o da tendenze pericolose* si legge che la paziente manifestava stati allucinatori: "basta che le altre ricoverate la guardino perché essa si senta percossa, insultata, per cui reagisce con atti e parole offensive". Nella rubrica *Atti commessi contro sé, o contro altri, in istato vero o presunto di alienazione mentale; se gridi, laceri o rompa, e se ricusi di cibarsi e da quando* il medico annota: "anche in relativa tranquillità lacera federe, vestiti e altro. Grida, si agita, minaccia, disturba anche di notte, non dorme". Seguono le voci: *Da quanto tempo siasi riconosciuta la necessità di allontanare dalla famiglia l'infermo* ("Da qualche mese"), ed altre più specificamente attinenti all'eziologia della malattia. Il timbro in calce al documento è identico a quello esaminato nel referto medico dello stesso oggetto.

La più recente cartella clinica rinvenuta nell'archivio della Sezione psichiatrica dell'ospedale di Pola e compilata in lingua italiana, reca il numero di registro 3040 e riguarda un paziente maschio, celibe, di professione bracciante, ricoverato dal 9 agosto 1946 al 30 gennaio 1947. Nell'unica pagina rinvenuta, sono riportate la diagnosi della malattia: "Psicosi maniacale in deficiente", nonché le prime manifestazioni della malattia e il decorso della stessa durante il ricovero. Veniamo così a sapere che il paziente

> *è sempre stato considerato di intelligenza inferiore alla norma. Sembra non abbia mai avuto ricoveri in ospedali psichiatrici.*
> *Tre giorni prima dell'attuale ricovero cominciò ad accusare cefalee, divenire poi appartato, irrequieto, […] infine aggressivo.*
> *Durante le due prime settimane di osservazione è stato costantemente agitato, […] insonne. È poi diventato progressivamente più tranquillo. Attualmente appare attonito, confuso, passa le giornate appartato, indifferente al luogo. Interrogato o non risponde oppure risponde con qualche parola senza rapporto con la domanda rivolta.*

Il succedersi della gestione del potere, nonché l'esempio e l'espressione di ancora un'altra autorità operativa in quel periodo in Istria (a Pola), si ricava dall'Ordinanza emessa il 28 aprile 1947 (ASP), sempre a Pola, nella quale l'intestazione "Il Podestà" è sostituita con "L'ispettore di polizia", mentre lo stampato ricalca fedelmente quello delle ordinanze già esaminate. In calce, il titolo podestarile è sostituito da "L'ispettore", mentre la convalida del documento rinvia all'autorità locale competente, ossia, come attesta l'iscrizione interna al sigillo: "Forze di polizia – Venezia Giulia – Zona A Pola", al Governo militare alleato. Con il documento si ordina che "[nome e cognome del soggetto] nato a Pola il 2 febbraio 1907, celibe, carpentiere, abitante a Pola in via Stancovich n° 27 *sia ricoverato in via provvisoria e d'urgenza nella sala di osservazione del Manicomio dell'Ospedale Santorio Santorio di Pola*", perché, come scrive il medico nel certificato per il ricovero in manicomio, affetto da "frenosi maniaca depressiva" e "pericoloso per sé e per gli altri (ha minacciato con il coltello anche il padre)".

L'Ordinanza più recente di ricovero in manicomio, emessa dall'Ispettorato di Polizia di Pola, è datata 15 luglio 1947 (ASP). Essa è interessante poiché è scritta a macchina, su semplice foglio di carta protocollo, riportando fedelmente il testo prestampato come nelle Ordinanze già viste. Intestatario e firmatario dell'atto è, accanto al bollo come nel documento precedente, l'Ispettore di polizia del Comune di Pola. Il documento recita:

> *L'ispettore di polizia del Comune di Pola*
> *Visto il certificato medico del Dott. [nome del medico] il quale dichiara che [generalità del pazi-*

ente] è affetto da alienazione mentale e ritenuto pericoloso per sé e per gli altri, per cui urge il suo ricovero in un manicomio.
Vista la legge 14 febbraio 1904 sui manicomi e sugli alienati ed il regolamento 16 agosto 1909 n. 615 nonché il R. D. 31 gennaio 1929 n. 204 – ORDINA
che [nome e cognome dell'ammalato] sia ricoverato in via provvisoria e d'urgenza nella sala di osservazione del locale manicomio.

Anche il certificato medico (ASP) al quale l'Ordinanza si riferisce, riporta scritte a macchina le voci già prestampate – ad eccezione della rubrica *Indole, sintomi, origine e decorso dell'infermità mentale* – nei moduli precedentemente esaminati: *Cognome e nome dell'ammalato*: [oscurati] *Paternità e maternità, data e luogo di nascita*: [oscurati]. Alla voce *Fatti specifici enunciati in modo chiaro e particolareggiato dai quali si deduce la manifesta tendenza dell'individuo a commettere violenza contro sé stesso o contro gli altri od a riuscire di pubblico scandalo*, il medico registra:

Da qualche settimana si dimostra confuso disorientato, allucinato. È stato trasportato all'ospedale ieri ed ivi accoltovi d'urgenza perché creduto affetto di delirio per malattia organica. In divisione medica si dimostrò agitato, a volte furibondo. Privo di coscienza si mise a girare in camicia per la corsia riuscendo di pubblico scandalo e non potendosi in nessun modo trattenere perché reagiva violentemente ad ogni contrarietà.

Infine, alla voce *Necessità di ricoverare il malato nel manicomio* il medico rispondeva di sì, "perché pericoloso e di pubblico scandalo".

Dallo spoglio delle cartelle cliniche prodotte a partire dal 20 settembre 1947 dal neo costituito Neuropsihijatrijski odjel, è possibile rilevare, accanto alla *fluidità del potere* – reificato ora nella nuova autorità politico-amministrativa jugoslava attraverso le figure del medico e della *Narodna milicija* –, pure la *fluidità del discorso*, inteso, quest'ultimo, come continuità del discorso psichiatrico, di cui cambia, come si è detto, solo il codice linguistico. Peculiare è, a questo proposito, la lettura che delle cartelle cliniche dà Judith Kasper. Secondo la filosofa, infatti, lo schema della cartella clinica è "paragonabile allo schema di un dramma classico in cinque atti. Atto I: presentazione dei personaggi (ammissione) e ricapitolazione delle vicende passate (anamnesi); atto II: descrizione dello stato attuale (esame psichico); atto III: sviluppo dell'azione (diari clinici); atto IV: peripezia (esito); atto V: fine (data di uscita o di morte)" (Kasper, 2009b, 63-64). In questo senso, il discorso psichiatrico offre la descrizione del manicomio non come luogo di cura, "ma esclusivamente come un luogo di segregazione, dove gli internati e le internate venivano semplicemente "contenuti"" (Panattoni, 2009, XV), perché inadeguati ai codici prescritti dalla società.

Nel presente lavoro, però, più che sul discorso psichiatrico, ci si concentrerà sulle testimonianze scritte, sulle tracce cioè che da tali testi emergono e che costituiscono il segno di una rottura, e del conseguente precario passaggio da un codice linguistico ad un altro attraverso l'attuazione di un bilinguismo effimero, ibrido e contaminato. Indizi di tale commistione linguistica sono evidenti fin dalle primissime cartelle emesse dalla nuova struttura amministrativa. La principale novità formale dei nuovi moduli era costituita innanzitutto dalla dicitura bilingue, croato – italiano. L'intestazione del documento recitava: *Povijest bolesti – Istoriato della malattia*,[11] ed era costituito da uno stampato contenente una prima sezione in cui l'infermiere addetto o l'impiegato riportava le generalità dell'ammalato, ed una seconda per le voci *Dijagnoza – Diagnosi*, *Otpušten – Rilasciato* e *Operacija – Operazione* che venivano compilate dal medico responsabile. Inoltre, sotto lo stampato, il medico annotava i dati somatici dell'ammalato, i referti delle analisi mediche effettuate, lo stato psicologico del paziente, nonché i dati relativi all'osservazione quotidiana dell'ammalato, con la descrizione dell'evoluzione e dell'esito della malattia, corroborata spesso da affermazioni o riflessioni espresse dal paziente, o da stralci di dialoghi intercorsi tra il medico e quest'ultimo. Infine, indicava la terapia da somministrare e, se rilasciato, il motivo e la data del rilascio. Però, mentre il discorso strettamente nosologico del medico rimane circoscritto all'interno della lingua standard croata, le rubriche che erano di competenza del personale infermieristico rivelano invece una concessione, a livello lessicale e sintattico, alla contaminazione dal sistema linguistico italiano.

È il caso ad esempio della cartella clinica datata 14. 10. '47 (ASP) ed immatricolata con il numero 382 dove, alla voce *odjel / reparto* leggiamo l'alterazione del sostantivo "Psichiatrico" o "Psihijatrija" in "Psikjatria". Sempre nello stesso documento, alla rubrica *Zanimanje – Professione*, il compilatore riporta l'aggettivo "agricolo" al posto del sostantivo "agricoltore", mentre nell'indicazione della residenza (*Prebivalište – Residenza*) si legge che il paziente abitava a "Valtura N. 59", nel *kotar – distretto* di "POla". Rivelatrice di una contaminazione linguistica è pure la risposta riportata dal compilatore della

11 Già dalla traduzione del sostantivo croato "povijest" (storia), si coglie un'incongruenza con la relativa trascrizione italiana "istoriato", termine questo estraneo alla tradizione clinica italiana, nella quale troviamo invece gli equivalenti *Notizie nosologiche*, *Notizie storiche*, *Diario* o semplicemente *Cartella clinica*, oppure soltanto la denominazione della struttura ospedaliera con lo stampato indicante la sezione dedicata alle generalità dell'ammalato, quella per l'analisi somatica, un'altra per l'esame psichico, un'altra ancora destinata a raccogliere i dati quotidiani relativi al "quadro clinico" del paziente.

cartella alla domanda *Je li već bio u bolnicu, u kojoj i kada? – Era già in un ospedale, nel quale e quando?*: "sì a Udine 1925", il che, oltre all'osmosi espressiva, conferma il perdurante e ricorrente ricovero di ammalati istriani in istituti manicomiali più o meno distanti da Pola.[12] Dal breve esame fisico e psichico riportato dal medico risulta che l'agricoltore, di 42 anni, era affetto da sindrome paranoica provocata da un sentimento di gelosia ossessiva nei confronti della moglie. Scrive il medico:

> *Osjeća se posve zdravo, dovezla ga je milicija sa kolima crvenog križa, ali ne zna zašto, neki su ljudi u selu govorili da je on lud, ali ne zna zašto oni tako govore. Njegova žena je uzela novac od njegove krave i [illeggibile] sa sobom i to je sve.*
> *Osjeća se sasvim dobro. Zašto ste došli onda ovamo? "Pa tako da vidim kako i ovdje svijet živi". U vrlo dobrom kontaktu sa okolinom, odmah spreman na razgovor, bez ikakvih grimasa, bez ikakvih nemira. Jedino je teško voditi razgovor u jednom smjeru. Preskače iz jedne rečenice u drugu koje nemaju mnogo zajedničkoga, ali ipak ne gubi konačnu nit razgovora.*
> *Prema podatcima jednog bolničara bolesnik je poznat u svojem selu kao nastran čovjek. Pred desetak godina bio je prvi puta oženjen i tada je odjednom počeo sumnjati u nju da ona nešto imade sa seoskim svečenikom. Sve je bilo [illeggibile], on ju je stalno s time progonio, dok ga ona konačno nije ostavila i otišla svojim roditeljima. I ovamo je došao za njom. Na koncu je ona da se skloni od njegovog proganjanja otišla u Italiju, ali je on i tamo otišao za njom i ona je jedva uspjela da si zametne trag. Na nagovor njegovih roditelja uzeo je u svoju kuću jednu ženu iz obližnjeg sela, ali je naskoro i nju počeo sumnjičati da ide sa svećenikom. U zadnje vrijeme postao je radi toga rabjatan, i par puta je svoju ženu skoro i ubio, sve radi toga jer da ide sa svećenikom. Čitavo selo poznavalo je ovu drugu kao vrijednu i čestitu ženu.*

L'agricoltore è stato dimesso poiché *migliorato* due settimane più tardi, il 29 ottobre 1947.

Indizi di "discontinuità, di frattura, di soglia o di limite" (Foucault, 1997, 43) sono ravvisabili pure nella cartella clinica datata 29. 11. 47, n. di matricola 1084 (ASP). La rubrica *odjel / reparto* qui viene semplicemente segnata con l'abbreviazione "PS", mentre nella successiva *Vjera i bračno stanje – Religione e stato civile* si legge "Katt. neoženjen". Dalla professione riportata sappiamo che l'ammalato esercitava il mestiere di muratore, ossia "radni zidar", che era residente (*Prebivalište – Residenza*) presso l'"Albergo Moncenisio" del *kotar – distretto* "Pula", mentre alla voce *Otkuda je bolesnik došao i tko ga je dopratio? – Da dove proviene l'ammalato e chi lo accompagna?* Si legge: "od Pule (Narodna MILL.)". La breve descrizione dello stato fisico e psicologico riportata sotto – purtroppo reperita incompleta – , rispecchia la diagnosi emessa dal medico: "stupor psychogenis":[13]

> *Bolesnik dopraćen od Nar. Milicije, bez podataka. Nalaz: srednje visok, dobro ishranjen, nešto blijed. Na obje strane lica po 6-7 dugih ogrebotina, koje su već iskrostirane, očito posljedica grebanja sa noktima. Nalaz na srcu i plućima uredan. Abdomen b. o. neurološki b. o.*
> *Bolesnik leži nepomično u krevetu, na pitanja ne odgovara. Na sugovornika gleda, ali ništa ne govori. […].*

Il paziente è stato dimesso dopo una settimana, il 6 dicembre 1947, perché *izliječen – guarito*.

Un'altra breve degenza nel reparto psichiatrico di Pola è quella documentata dalla cartella clinica datata 27. 12. 47, e registrata con il numero 1469 (ASP). Dalla data di nascita veniamo a sapere che si trattava di un giovane paziente di ventisei anni, del circondario di Pisino, dichiarato affetto da schizofrenia. L'uomo, ritenuto guarito, venne dimesso dall'ospedale dopo cinque settimane, il 3 febbraio 1948. Anche qui la voce *odjel – reparto* è indicata con le lettere iniziali PS, mentre dalla rubrica *Vjera i bračno stanje – religione e stato civile* si apprende che l'uomo era *Kat. neoženjen* (cattolico, non coniugato). Al nostro esame è di nuovo interessante la voce *Zanimanje – Professione* dalla quale emerge ancora una volta la contaminazione, qui a livello fonetico, della realizzazione grafica del sostantivo "zemljoradnik" (agricoltore), che l'infermiere addetto alla stesura del modulo trascrive, alterandolo quale conseguenza

12 Per un approfondimento del problema cfr. gli Estratti dei verbali delle sedute della Giunta provinciale dell'Istria per il periodo 1863-1898 in cui sono ricorrenti le specificazioni dei pagamenti effettuati per "spese di cura e mantenimento di maniaci istriani" agli ospedali di Trieste, Gorizia, Udine, Gemona, S. Daniele del Friuli, Fiume, Stenjevac, ecc. Similmente si esprime Paić: "Skučen prostor i prenatrpanost koja se povećavala uporedo s povećanjem broja stanovnika Pule, stvaralo je upravi bolnice i liječnicima velike poteškoće u prihvaćanju duševno bolesnih iz Pule i Istre, tako da su te bolesnike slali u duševne bolnice u Rijeku, Trst, Gemonu, Goricu, Stenjevac pa i dalje" (Paić, 1969, 61). Per il periodo tra il 1947-1952 una situazione analoga è descritta dai dott. Franjo Jelašić, Vladimir Nikšić e Benjamin Rabach (Jelašić et al., 1953, 1): "Od 1945 do 1947 veći dio bolesnika gravitirao je prema Rijeci, a tek od 1947, kad je uređen psihijatrijski odjel u Puli za kronične i svježe slučajeve […], odjel u Puli prima pretežni dio duševnih bolesnika iz sjevernog, centralnog i jugozapadnog dijela Istre. Riječki odjel također je premijestio sve istarske kronične bolesnike u Pulu,a isto su učinile i bolnice u Vrapču i Popovači. Naravno, priličan broj Istrana ima i u unutrašnjosti Hrvatske, razasutih po čitavoj Jugoslaviji i dosta emigriranih u Italiji i Americi […]".

13 Come scrive Judith Kasper, lo stupore è "uno stato di completa apatia e insensibilità pur essendo il soggetto in stato di veglia" (Kasper, 2009b, 132).

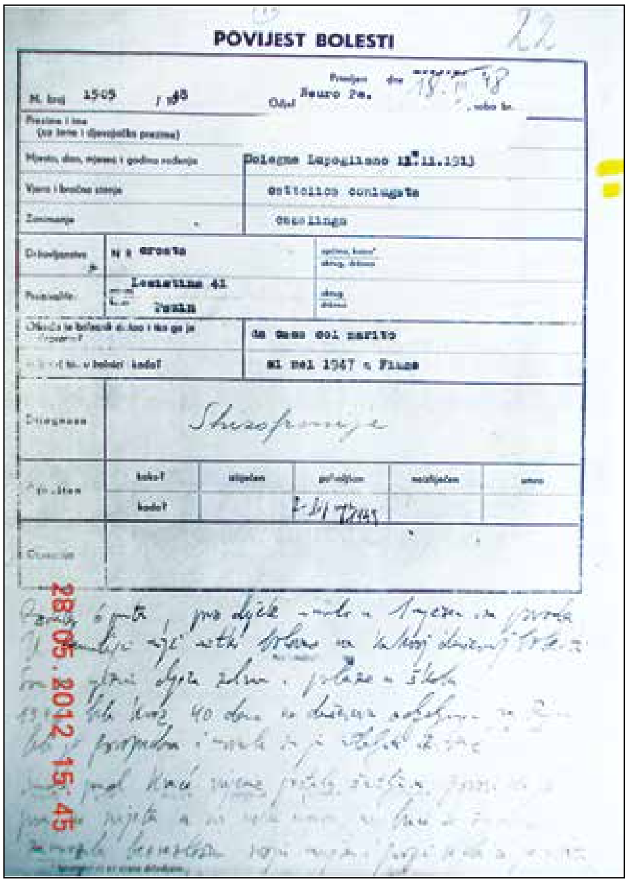


Fig. 3: Cartella clinica n. 1505/1948, 18 marzo 1948, Pola.
Sl. 3: Zdravniški karton št. 1505/1948, 18. marca 1948, Pulj.
Fig. 3: Medical records no. 1505/1948, 18th March 1948, Pula.

della pronuncia italiana del nesso [lj] + [o], con "zemljioradnik", attestando ancora una volta la perturbazione tra sistemi linguistici diversi ma vicini.

Nella redazione del quadro clinico del paziente, il medico riporta notizie riguardanti il motivo che ha condotto al ricovero del paziente, l'esame fisico e l'esame psichico dell'ammalato, nonché la terapia adottata per la cura:

> *Bolesnik je po selu pred par dana počeo pred ženama otkapčati hlače i pokazivati splovilo. Kad su ga pozvali na odgovornost zašto to radi odogovorio bi da žene stalno govore da on nema splovilo, pa neka vide da ima. U familiji nije nitko bolovao na duševnoj bolesti. Kod kuće je radio kao zemljoradnik na svojoj zemlji.*
> *Nalaz: visok, izobličenih ličnih kostiju, duge glave, dugog toraksa.*
> *Nalaz na srcu i plućima uredan.*
> *Neurološki b. o.*
> *Psihički: odgovara na pitanja promptno, sa osjećajem distancije, orijentiran, mnestičke funkcije u redu. Halucinacije se ne mogu ustanoviti a i sam ih poriče. Kaže da su ga žene čudno gledale u selu, "jer da nema splovilo". Da li ste baš čuli da su govorile? "Ne, ali sam siguran da su među sobom govorile, pa sam im onda pokazao". O tome govori bez žamuranja. Zar vas nije bilo stid pokazivati takve stvari? "Zašto, kad su stalno to o meni govorile". Ovdje u bolnici nitko o tome ne govori. O svojem splovilu sam ništa ne priča, ako ga se ne pita. Izgleda da mu to stalno ide po glavi, jer o tome govori bez ikakvog sustezanja. Inače u načinu govora i izražavanja sasvim djeluje sređeno i nenapadno.*
> *Th: insulinske kome. Postepeno sve manje govori o svojem splovilu i kao nečem što u stvari bilo ali sada više ne postoji. Kako je inače sasvim sređen i miran, otpušten je 3. II. '48.*

Esemplificativa dell'ibridazione linguistica croato-italiana è la cartella clinica datata 18. III '48, n. matr. (M. broj) 1505 / 1948 (ASP, fig. 3). Difatti, mentre il modulo è impresso esclusivamente in lingua croata, le risposte alle varie rubriche dello stesso sono scritte a macchina e in lingua italiana. Così alla voce *Mjesto, dan, mjesec i godina rođenja* corrisponde la dicitura: "Dolegne Lupogliano 11. 11. 1913". Alla rubrica *Vjera i bračno stanje* il compilatore scrive: "cattolica coniugata", mentre alla voce *Zanimanje* si legge: "casalinga". Nella rubrica *Državljanstvo* è riportato, accanto a *N R* ("Narodna Republika"), "croata", mentre il nome del *kotar* ("distretto") alla voce *Prebivalište* è reso in croato: "Pazin". Dopo le generalità dell'ammalato seguono due rubriche più specifiche: *Otkuda je bolesnik došao i tko ga je dopratio?*, e *Je li već bio u bolnici i kada?*, dalle quali veniamo a sapere che l'ammalata è arrivata in ospedale "da casa col marito" e che è già stata ricoverata "nel 1947 a Fiume". La voce *Dijagnoza*, compilata manualmente e da grafia diversa da quella con la quale è descritto, sotto, il quadro clinico della paziente, riporta la dicitura "Shizofrenija". Come visto già per le cartelle precedenti, anche qui il medico riporta notizie inerenti alla vita familiare della paziente e un riassuntivo quadro psichico della stessa durante il periodo di degenza al reparto psichiatrico. Veniamo così a sapere che

> *Rodila 6 puta, prvo dijete umrlo u 1. mjesecu iza poroda. U familiji nije nitko bolovao na kakvoj duševnoj bolesti. Sva su njezina djeca zdrava i polaze u školu. 1946 bila kroz 40 dana na duševnom odjeljenju u Rijeci. Bila je goropadna i morali su je udaljiti iz kuće. Sada pred kraće vrijeme postala šutljiva, govori da je prva na svijetu a svi neka umru, ne brine se za djecu, zamrzila bezrazložno svoju majku i grozi se da će je ubiti. Sjedi po čitav dan i ne radi ništa. Doveo ju je njezin muž, i dao podatke.*

Na odjelu neobično mirna, većinom se drži kreveta, na nikog se i ne osvrće, ako ju se pita nešto, većinom gleda pred sebe ili krzmajući kaže: "pa vi to bolje znate nego ja". Ne upušta se u razgovor ni sa jednom bolesnicom. Lice uvijek bezizražajno, bez ikakvih promjena, u kretanjima i hodu troma, bezvoljna, tek koji put duboko uzdahne i kaže: teško je sirotinji. Ni jedanput nije pokazala ni najmanju želju da ode kući (iako ima 4 djece) i jedino bi rekla: "kako Vi hoćete". Radi njezinog drugog stanja nije se mogla provoditi terapija s kordiazolom. Nakon poroda ostala je nepromjenjena, prema djetetu bila je hladna, i kad su ostale bolesnice ljubile njezino dijete i igrale se s njime, ona je mirno stajala kraj kreveta i jedva da bi i gledala prema njima. Inače ga je držala čisto. 2. VI. predana mužu.

La fluidità, intesa come continuità del discorso psichiatrico nella sua realizzazione coercitiva, è documentata anche dalla cartella clinica datata 28. 6. '48, numero di matricola 3473 / 1948 (ASP). Infatti, se prima, durante l'amministrazione italiana dell'Istria, l'autorità repressiva era impersonata, come si è visto, accanto al medico, dal podestà, dal questore o, durante l'amministrazione angloamericana di Pola, dal capo di polizia, con l'avvento della nuova realtà politico-amministrativa (jugoslava), il paradigma costrittivo non cambia. A cambiare è soltanto il codice attraverso il quale si esprime. Così, alla voce *Otkuda je bolesnik došao i tko ga je dopratio?*, nella succitata cartella, si legge: "Od zatvora iz Pule sa Nar. Mil.". In particolare, assolutamente fedele al discorso psichiatrico vero e proprio, risulta la scrittura psichiatrica, ossia ciò che il medico annota nella cartella riguardo al paziente. Anche qui essa si realizza seguendo uno schema già incontrato nelle cartelle cliniche ante 1947: il medico riporta l'anamnesi, cioè una breve descrizione della vita del paziente prima del ricovero, l'esame fisiologico, quello psichico, il diario clinico e l'esito: l'avvenuta guarigione, o meno, oppure il decesso.

Dai dati trascritti nella cartella veniamo a sapere che la paziente era una ragazza di ventuno anni, nata a Prozor, in Erzegovina, nubile, di religione cattolica, e che era già stata ricoverata precedentemente, nel 1945 a Sebenicco. La ragazza, come risulta dal documento, era stata dichiarata affetta da psychopatia, cioè da disturbo della sessualità, giacché, come affermato dalla ragazza stessa e riportato dal medico nell'esame psichico, non provava alcun interesse sessuale nei confronti dei maschi, ma si sentiva attratta, esclusivamente, dalle donne. Per questo motivo la ragazza sarà internata nel reparto psichiatrico di Pola quasi un mese, dal 28 giugno al 22 luglio 1948, quando sarà dimessa, però "non guarita", dal manicomio, come si legge alle voci *Otpušten* e *neizliječen*. Forse ancora più che negli altri casi considerati, la scrittura psichiatrica si trova qui "in funzione della formulazione e della giustificazione della diagnosi" (Kasper, 2009, 65). Scrive, infatti, il medico:

Podatke o sebi daje sasvim sređeno, precizno, adekvatne mimike i motorike, mirna i nenapadna. Na odjel došla u hlačama, u govoru bez znakova disocijacije. Tvrdi da nikad nije imala menstruaciju, uvijek je još kao dijete volila igrati ulogu muškog. Prema ženama osjeća veliku sklonost i najveće joj je zadovoljstvo ako dotična žena misli da je ona muškarac. Obično sve završi samo sa poljubcem, jer "odnošaj naravno ne može imati, jer je i sama žensko". Prema muškarcima nema nikakvog osjećaja. Ako žena traži i odnošaj onda ona nastoji već nekako da tome izmakne. Nikad se ni govorom ne odaje da je žensko. Na ispitivanju govori kao žena, jer sada nije potrebno da igra ulogu muškarca. Živčane napadaje imala je često, liječila se je svakojako, ali nikako da se izliječi. Kad joj dođe napadaj osjeća se nervozno, mora hodati, često i ne zna što radi. Jedini joj je lijek protiv tih napadaja da nešto ukrade, bilo što, i to je jedino sredstvo da se riješi napadaja. Žao joj dođe što često mora i siromašnima ukrasti štogod, ali onda nastoji da kasnije to vrati. Zadovoljstvo i smirenje joj čini to da nešto potajno uzme i da to sakrije. "Crkla bi da ne uzme".

La scrittura fredda e impersonale del medico, ripetitiva nelle sue unità costitutive, è l'atto di potere legittimato dallo Stato e concesso all'istituzione manicomiale attraverso il quale, come scrive Casagrande,

chiudere il malato in un quadro psicopatologico che lo destorifica, lo riduce a merce, ne misconosce qualsiasi attributo di soggettività. Viene ridotto a strumento per la costruzione di una scienza che serve solo al medico per giustificare il rapporto di dominio e di potere, per ricondurre la follia nell'ambito della ragione e per normalizzare il folle ed omologarlo ad un mondo che non lo riconosce, se non come individuo svalutato, all'interno di una istituzione che serve solo per controllarlo (Casagrande, 2009, 6).

Si tratta di una organizzazione nella quale "vengono privilegiati la segregazione e l'isolamento che danno origine ad un microcosmo oggettivante, autoritario, oppressivo ed emarginato in cui la custodia prevale sulla cura" (Casagrande, 2009, 7).

L'ultimo documento considerato in questo lavoro risale al 16 ottobre 1950 (ASP). Non si tratta però di una cartella clinica ma di un attestato con il quale il medico responsabile del reparto psichiatrico confermava la degenza di un paziente dal 28 giugno 1946 fino alla morte, avvenuta nel mese di marzo del 1947 (il giorno non è riportato). L'attestato è interessante poiché sintetizza in

pochi paragrafi quanto finora considerato sulla continuità delle pratiche di potere e di discorso nell'istituzione manicomiale di Pola, e sulla contaminazione linguistica a livello sintattico e lessicale. Non sappiamo se il documento sia stato compilato dal medico responsabile del reparto (il quale si firma in calce in qualità di garante dell'originalità dell'estratto con la cartella clinica), o da un impiegato e poi soltanto firmato da quello. Lo scritto però tradisce una struttura frastica italiana piegata alla costruzione morfosintattica croata del discorso. Ciò è ben ravvisabile dalla composizione della frase, dall'uso errato delle declinazioni dei sostantivi, così come dall'uso scorretto della coniugazione dei tempi. Inoltre, il documento presenta cancellazioni, correzioni ortografiche e aggiunte riportate a mano da qualcuno che rilesse successivamente il testo. Non è stato però corretto il termine "Diagnoza", combinazione della voce italiana "diagnosi" e di quella croata "dijagnoza". Nello scritto si legge:

> *P O T V R D A*
> *[nome e cognome del paziente, omesso] rodj. 1878 u Puli, nalazio se je u duševnoj bolnici u Puli od 28. VI. 1946 do _. III. 1947 kada je umro. Diagnoza je bila: Stato demenziale presumibilmente da neurolues.*
> *Prije dolaska u bolnicu unatrag 9 godina ima[o] je tremo[r] glave. Od tada je postepeno duševno propadao i bio je upućen u duševnu bolnicu jer je besciljno lutao po mjestima Istre, pokušao je jednom samoubistvo i imao je ideje da je on uništen.*
> *U bolnici je bio trom, bez volje za oblačenje i osobnu čistoću, indiferentan prema mjestu gdje se nalazi. Pokazao je slabo sjećanje, fragmenta[r]no tromih asocijacija. Postojale su smetnje u govoru (xxxxxx). Wassermann u likoru negativan, Weichbrodt pozitivan, Pandy pozitivan.*
> *Na liječničkoj uputi za duševnu bolnicu označen je da već 9 godina pokazuje duševne alteracije, a u zadnjoj godini to se je znatno pogoršalo [i] pokazuje pravo da[n → m]entno stanje.*
>
> *za izvod iz pov. bolesti jamči*
> *šef psihijat. odjela*
> *[omesso]*
> *Pula, dne 16. X. 1950.*

Concludendo, il discorso psichiatrico, sia durante l'amministrazione italiana, sia durante la nuova amministrazione jugoslava, ha essenzialmente la funzione di avvalorare il potere dell'istituzione manicomiale, e di "avvalorare il potere della posizione sociale dei suoi rappresentanti, l'importanza della loro funzione pubblica" (Panattoni, 2009, XIII). Si tratta di un discorso, cioè di un sapere, che riproduce costantemente se stesso, circolare: fa riferimento a un sapere precostituito e chiuso in se stesso che funge da modello nella redazione delle cartelle cliniche, che a loro volta fungeranno da fonte cui attingere per la stesura di pubblicazioni in riviste scientifiche o per la compilazione di nuove cartelle cliniche (Panattoni, 2009, XIV).

GLADKOST GOVORA IN GLADKOST MOČI: PRIMERI VMEŠAVANJA V PSIHIATRIČNI BOLNIŠNICI V PULJU, V ISTRI MED 1938 IN 1950

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POVZETEK

*V delu so v ospredju jezikovni odnosi, ali kot pravi Foucault, d*iskurzivne prakse*, ki izhajajo iz zdravstvenih kartonov bolnikov, hospitaliziranih v psihiatrični strukturi bolnišnice v Pulju v Istri v obdobju prehoda od italijanske do jugoslovanske suverenosti. Predstavljajo se in analizirajo jezikovna onesnaženja najdena v preučenih dokumentih in vpisih v dvojezične hrvaško-italijanske predtiskane obrazce s svojimi skladenjskimi in leksikalnimi hibridizmi, slednji kot znaki prehoda iz ne le političnega, ampak družbeno-kulturnega, jezikovnega in ideološkega istrskega (in reškega) ozemlja od italijanske k jugoslovanski jurisdikciji. Na ta način poudarjamo koncept* gladkosti *kohercitivne moči kot tudi predpisanega novega jezika.*

Ključne besede: Pulj, Istra, psihiatrična bolnišnica, shizofrenija, moč, govor, jezik.

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PRENAMJENA VOJNIH BROWNFIELD LOKALITETA: PRIMJER PRENAMJENE VOJARNE KARLO ROJC U PULI

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IZVLEČEK

Mesto Pula se je v obdobju od sredine 19. do konca 20. stoletja razvijalo kot »vojaško« mesto, kar je imelo za posledico obstoj velikega števila vojaških objektov in aktivnega vojaškega prebivalstva. V pričetku 1990-ih je prišlo do izseljevanja dela vojaških funkcij in je do danes v upravljanje mestu predano 12 vojaških objektov in kompleksov. Predaja nekoč vojaških objektov v uporabo mestu je povzročila spremembo funkcije nekaterih delov mestnih četrti. Ena od takšnih četrti je četrt Monet Zaro v kateri sta bili mestu vrnjeni kar dve vojašnici. Cilj dela je pokazati in pojasniti modele spremembe namembnosti vojaških »brownfield lokalitet«, prednosti in slabosti namestitev v »brownfield« objektih in vpliv novih funkcij na lokalno skupnost na primeru vojašnice Karlo Rojc.

Ključne besede: sprememba namembnosti, brownfield lokacije, Pula, Karlo Rojc, vojaški objekti.

RIUSO DEI BROWNFIELD SITI MILITARI: ESEMPIO DEL RIUSO DELLA CASERMA KARLO ROJC A POLA

SINTESI

Nel periodo tra la metà del Ottocento fino alla fine del Novecento, la città di Pola si è sviluppata come una città „militare" è il risultato era un grande numero di edifici militari e numeroso personale militare in servizio attivo. L'inizio degli anni novanta ha visto la partenza di una parte delle forze armate e finora 12 edifici e complessi militari sono tornati sotto l'autorità della città. La ceduta degli edifici una volta militari per venir usati dalla città ci ha portato il cambio nelle funzioni delle parti individuali dei quartieri cittadini. Uno di questi quartieri è Monte Zaro dove addirittura due caserme erano restituite alla città. L'obiettivo di questo materiale è di presentare e spiegare i modelli del riuso dei brownfield siti militari, poi di dare i vantaggi e svantaggi dell'alloggio nei brownfield siti e l'impatto delle funzioni nuove sulla comunità locale usando come l'esempio il riuso della caserma Karlo Rojc.

Parole chiave: riuso, brownfield siti, Pola, Karlo Rojc, edifici militari

UVOD

Povlačenjem Jugoslavenske narodne armije iz nekadašnjih vojarni te ustrojstvom Oružanih snaga Republike Hrvatske 28. svibnja 1991. godine došlo je do značajnih promjena u prostornoj strukturi vojnih objekata. Godine 1992. započinje povrat imovine te su do danas vraćena 302 objekta, od toga 123 uredima lokalne uprave i samouprave a 179 Središnjem uredu za upravljanje imovinom (Središnji državni ured za upravljanje državnom imovinom HFP, 2004).

Iako vojni razvoj Pule bilježimo već 1805. godine smještanjem francuske vojske u prostore nekadašnjeg samostana i crkve sv. Franje, koja je pretvorena u vojarnu, snažniji vojni razvoj započinje nakon 1850. godine i kontinuirano traje sve do 1990-ih. Tijekom jednog i pol stoljeća izgrađen je veliki broj vojnih objekata različite namjene te je Pula s pravom nosila naziv „vojnog grada". Danas je na prostoru Grada Pule predano na korištenje ukupno 10 nekretnina, a još 26 je pod upravom Ministarstva obrane Republike Hrvatske. S obzirom na veličinu i lokaciju objekata oni predstavljaju vrijedno gradsko zemljište te brzo postaju važan resurs (Svirčić Gotovac, 2011) te predmet interesa brojnih društvenih aktera.

Vojarna Karlo Rojc, koja je objekt ovog istraživanja, građena je u razdoblju od 1870. do 1899. godine te je bila namijenjena za vojnu školu. Edukacijska funkcija održala se sve do 1976. godine kada je prenamijenjena u vojarnu. Od 1992. do 1996. godine u vojarni su bile smještene izbjeglice i prognanici. Godine 1994. predana je Gradu Puli koji ju je 1998. godine predao na korištenje organizacijama civilnog društva. S površinom od 35 434 m^2 predstavlja značajan potencijal za razvoj društvenih funkcija u gradu Puli.

CILJEVI I METODOLOGIJA RADA

Fortifikacijski sustav grada Pule izuzetno je složen te se gotovo kontinuirano razvijao od kraja 18. stoljeća. Tijekom toga razdoblja razvijao se sustav utvrda, bitnica i potpornih točaka (uporišta) u okolici i na najvišim točkama grada dok su istovremeno u gradu građeni objekti za smještaj vojnika (vojarne) i prateće aktivnosti (bolnica, kasina, stanovi). Tema ovog rada su vojni kompleksi, objekti za smještaj vojnika (vojarne) te vojni uredi koje je JNA svojim povlačenjem 1990. godine prepustila Oružanim snagama Republike Hrvatske u Puli.[1] Specifičan cilj rada je prikazati procese prenamjene vojnih kompleksa na primjeru vojnog kompleksa Karlo Rojc.

Budući su radovi na temu prenamjene vojnih objekata u Hrvatskoj relativno malobrojni u prvom dijelu rada detaljnije se objašnjava pojam i tipovi brownfield lokacija i objekata, načini njihove prenamjene te utjecaj prenamjene na promjenu prostorne, funkcionalne i socijalne strukture grada te se daje pregled dostupne domaće i inozemne literature iz različitih disciplina. U drugom dijelu rada prikazan je, u kratkim crtama, razvoj Pule kao vojnog središta, koji je rezultirao izgradnjom znatnog broja fortifikacijskih utvrda i vojnih objekata na prostoru grada. U trećem dijelu rada ukratko je prikazano trenutno stanje povrata vojnih objekata na upravu gradu te planovi za prenamjenu istih. Istraživanje je provedeno metodom terenskog istraživanja, fotografiranja i kartiranja pri čemu je provedena evaluacija trenutnog stanja lokacije. U posljednjem, četvrtom dijelu rada dan je primjer prenamjene nekadašnje vojarne Karlo Rojc i utjecaj prenamjene na socijalnu i funkcionalnu strukturu gradske četvrti Monte Zaro. Za potrebe istraživanja dani su rezultati intervjua provedeni s predstavnicima udruga smještenih u sklopu kompleksa te su dane preporuke za daljnje postupanje prenamjene. Pri određivanju uzorka za intervju korišten je kvotni uzorak, kao poseban oblik neprobabilističkog uzorka. Prema Registru udruga Republike Hrvatske, udruge smještene u nekadašnjoj vojarni Karlo Rojc mogu se svrstati, prema glavnim grupama djelatnosti, u jednu od 20 skupina. Unutar svake djelatnosti udruge se mogu dalje podijeliti na uže djelatnosti.

Polaznu točku za provođenje intervjua činio je upitnik koji je sadržavao 14 pitanja. Prva, uvodna skupina pitanja vezana je uz razdoblje dolaska u prostor vojarne te razloge smještanja na prostoru nekadašnje vojarne. Drugu skupinu pitanja činila su pitanja vezana uz prednosti i nedostatke smještanja udruga na prostoru nekadašnje vojarne. Treću skupinu pitanja činila su pitanja vezana uz funkcioniranje samog Centra gradskih udruga Rojc. Posljednja skupina pitanja vezana je uz planove budućeg razvoja Centra gradskih udruga Rojc. Prilikom izbora sugovornika vodilo se računa da u uzorku budu zastupljeni predstavnici najvećeg broja korisnika tj. predstavnici kulturnih, sportskih i socijalnih djelatnosti te civilnog društva.

Za potrebe izrade rada korištena je arhivska građa Hrvatskog državnog arhiva u Zagrebu, Državnog arhiva u Pazinu te Državnog arhiva u Splitu. Posebice su korišteni fondovi Općina Pula (HR-DAPA-40[2] i HR-DAPA-67[3]) s podacima o vojsci i novačenju te izgradnji infrastrukture u razdoblju od 1845. do 1918. te 1919. do 1943. godine te građa fonda Lučka kapetanija Pula (HR-DAPA-77[4]) u kojima se nalaze vrijedni podaci o lučkoj infrastrukturi od 1920. do 1955. godine. Za ovu temu značajan je i fond Lučki admiralat Pula ili Pulski admiralat (HR-HDA-1188[5]) Hrvatskog državnog arhiva s

1 Tema ovog rada su vojne brownfield lokacije. Prema svim dostupnim definicija vojnih brownfield lokacijama fortifikacijske sustave bitnica, utvrda i uporišta ne ubrajamo u skupinu vojnih brownfield lokacija te oni time nisu niti tema ovog rada.
2 HR-DAPA-40 – Državni arhiv u Pazinu (fond Općina Pula)
3 HR-DAPA-67 – Državni arhiv u Pazinu (fond Općina Pula)
4 HR-DAPA-77 – Državni arhiv u Pazinu (fond Lučka kapetanija Pula)
5 HR-HDA-1188 – Hrvatski državni arhiv (fond Lučki admiralat Pula)

gradivom o ustanovama, tvrđavama i vojarnama pomorskog pješaštva. Fond pulskog admiralata čuvan u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu sadrži 288 knjiga, 459 kutija i 83 svežnja. U Državnom arhivu u Splitu nalazi se Zbirka planova inženjerijske direkcije u Puli za razdoblje od 1855. do 1916. godine (HR-DAST-191-1[6]) koja obuhvaća 79 planova i nacrta utvrda i baterija izgrađenih u navedenom razdoblju.

PREGLED DOSADAŠNJIH ISTRAŽIVANJA

Posljednjih 20-ak godina prenamjena zemljišta tema je brojnih istraživanja. Iako su procesi prenamjene u svijetu prisutni već stotinjak godina, pojam *brownfield* javlja se tek početkom 1990-ih godina te predstavlja kompleksan skup izazova i mogućnost ponovnog iskorištavanja već iskorištenog prostora. Brojne su definicije *brownfield* zemljišta i lokacija, a ne postoji niti jedinstvena definicija degradiranosti i degradiranih područja (Cvahte, Snoj, 2011). Prema Agenciji za zaštitu okoliša SAD-a (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency) *brownfield* lokacije predstavljaju neiskorištene prostore koje karakteriziraju stvarni ili percipirani problemi zagađenja (Hollander, J.B., Kirkwood, N.G., Gold, J.L. 2010) Prema CABERNET-u *brownfield* lokacije su one lokacije koje su pogođene nekadašnjim korištenjem zemljišta ili okolnog područja, napuštena su ili nedovoljno iskorištena, najčešće se nalaze u urbanim sredinama te imaju stvarne ili percipirane ekološke probleme te im je potrebna intervencija kako bi se priveli svrsi (Dixon, Raco, 2007). Prema G.M. Miletić i A. Mišetić *brownfield* lokacije „su izgrađeni ili korišteni dijelovi urbanog prostora koji se nalaze u razvijenijim urbanim sredinama na koje je utjecala prethodna namjena konkretnog zemljišta ili objekta, a već duže vrijeme su napušteni ili zapušteni, karakteriziraju ih stvarni ili percipirani problemi zagađenja te zahtijevaju konkretnu intervenciju kojom bi dobili novu funkciju." (G.M. Miletić, A. Mišetić, 2010). Mogućnost ponovnog razvoja i novih funkcija ističe i definicija M. Nefs prema kojoj su *brownfield* zemljišta dijelovi industrijskog ili komercijalnog zemljišta koji su napušteni ili nedovoljno iskorišteni te su često ugroženi ekološkim problemima i na kojima postoji potencijal ponovnog iskorištavanja (Nefs, 2006). Sličnu definiciju daje i L. Lorber (Lorber, 2011). Prema Cvahte i Snoju *brownfield* lokacije su degradirana područja koja uslijed utjecaja različitih čimbenika imaju negativan utjecaj na ekosistem i čovjeka te kvare estetski dojam kraja. *Brownfield* zemljišta su neadekvatno iskorišteni dijelovi zemljišta koji bi uz pravilnu organizaciju i upravljanje mogli postati značajan potencijal za održivo korištenje (Cvahte, Snoj, 2011). Prema A. Perić i M. Maruna *brownfield* lokacije su površine i objekti u urbaniziranim područjima koji su izgubili svoju prvobitnu namjenu ili se vrlo malo koriste. Često imaju ili se pretpostavlja da imaju ekološka opterećenja i na njima se nalaze ruinirani proizvodni ili drugi objekti. (Perić, Maruna, 2012). Prema Dixonu i Racou (2007) *brownfield* zemljišta obuhvaćaju ispražnjene prostore, napuštene građevine, zapuštene građevine, građevine za koje je predviđena prenamjena i imaju potencijal za prenamjenu (Dixon, Raco 2007). Znatno jednostavniju definiciju dao je S.G. Bageen. Prema njemu *brownfield* lokacije su „ranije izgrađeni prostori na kojima je izgrađena čvrsta struktura te infrastruktura, a koji više nisu u upotrebi" (Bageen, 2006). Iako je definicija puno većina sadrži određene zajedničke elemente. Prvenstveno se to odnosi na postojanje nekadašnje namjene koja više ne postoji pri čemu je potrebna intervencija kako bi se osigurala nova namjena te postojanje stvarnih ili percipiranih ekoloških problema koji pridonose smanjenju vrijednosti lokacije.

Osim *brownfield* lokacija možemo razlikovati još dvije vrste zemljišta. Prva vrsta su ispražnjene lokacije (eng. *vacant land*) koje predstavljaju ranije razvijeno zemljište koje je danas ispražnjeno i na kojem je moguć razvoj bez dodatnih sanacija koje bi uključivale rušenje, čišćenje čvrste strukture i ostataka. Druga vrsta su zapuštena zemljišta (eng. *derilict land*) koja su toliko zagađena i oštećena ranijom industrijskom ili drugom uporabom da je nemoguće daljnje iskorištavanje bez provođenja sanacije koje uključuju rušenja i čišćenja čvrste strukture (UKs National Land Use Database).

U osnovi razlikujemo četiri tipa *brownfield* lokacija, ovisno o njihovoj prethodnoj namjeni. Najbrojnije su industrijske brownfield lokacije nastale uslijed relokacije ili zatvaranja industrijskih pogona. Uz njih izdvajamo još i područja ili građevine vojne namjene, prometne namjene te nekadašnje stambene objekte i projekte.

Vojne *brownfield* lokacije su izgrađeni ili korišteni dijelovi prostora na kojoj su se nalazili objekti koji su bili u vojnoj uporabi ili namijenjeni vojnim osobama, kao što su vojarne, barake, vojni kampovi, zračna pristaništa, vježbališta, stanovi itd. te drugi vojni objekti i prostori (Bagaeen, 2006). Važno je napomenuti da prema svim definicijama pa tako i prema definiciji Bagaeena za koju smo se i mi odlučili u ovom radu vojne *brownfield* lokacije ne obuhvaćaju ostatke fortifikacijskih sustava gradova. To je posebice važno s obzirom da je Pula tijekom svoje povijesti više puta razvijala svoj fortifikacijski sustav. Dijelovi fortifikacijskog sustava izrađenog u 19. stoljeću, kojeg je činila 31 građevina u Gradu Puli te ukupno 50 građevina u području poznatom kao Pomorska tvrđava Pula, koji je podrazumijevao cjelovito područje teritorija grada i šireg teritorija u kojem se od 1813. do 1918. razvijala obrana grada i luke, a koji su i danas dijelom očuvani, nisu predmet istraživanja ovog rada.

Usprkos raširenom procesu povratka vojnih objekata do sada su, u literaturi, znatno brojniji primjeri revitalizacije industrijskih *brownfield* lokacija dok su primjeri prenamjene vojnih *brownfield* lokacija relativno malo-

6 HR-DAST-191-1 – Državni arhiv u Splitu (fond Zbirka planova inženjerijske direkcije u Puli)

brojni. Jedan od prvih radova koji se bavi ekonomskim posljedicama zatvaranja vojnih baza u SAD-u bio je rad Barneya Warfa iz 1997. godine. Na ovim područjima ističe se rad Vladimira Mihajlova iz 2009. godine u kojem je prikazana prenamjena vojnog kompleksa Metelkovo Mesto te rad G.M. Miletić i A. Mišetić na temu analize stavova novih korisnika nekadašnje vojarne, a danas sveučilišnog kampusa Borongaj. (Mihajlov, 2009, Miletić, Mišetić, 2010).

Brojni su radovi koji se bave važnošću baštine i njezinim odnosom na formiranje identiteta određenog dijela grada te stvaranje osjećaja identiteta lokalnog stanovništva (Hayden, 1997, Castello, 2006, Cizler, 2012). Postojanje objekata u dugom razdoblju dovest će do stvaranja svojevrsnih odnosa i veza između objekata i stanovništva. Objekti će postati dio svakodnevice lokalnog stanovništva te dio baštine prema namjeni. Takav objekt baštine ima svoju kulturnu, komunikacijsku, ekološku, estetsku, povijesnu, duhovnu i simboličku vrijednost (Jelinčić, 2010). Zamiranjem postojeće funkcije i pojavom nove doći će do promjene tih vrijednosti. Prenamjena lokaliteta može dovesti do značajnih funkcionalnih i strukturnih promjena pojedinih dijelova grada kroz otvaranje novih radnih mjesta, poboljšanje kvalitete života gradskog stanovništva uvođenjem novih sadržaja te može rezultirati poboljšanjem slike dijela grada i dati poticaj uravnoteženom i održivom regionalnom razvoju. Tako je primjerice projektom prenamjene londonske luke, poznatim kao Thames Gateway, predviđeno otvaranje čak 180 000 radnih mjesta, izgradnja 160 000 stanova, uvođenje bolje zdravstvene zaštite, novog i poboljšanog prijevoznog sustava te uređenje rekreacijskih zona (Tallon, 2010).

Da bi prenamjena bila uspješna poželjno je aktivno sudjelovanje lokalne zajednice. Kako ističe Tallon (2010) lokalno stanovništvo trebalo bi biti pokretačka snaga procesa regeneracije. No postoje i određena ograničenja, te pretjerani utjecaj lokalne zajednice u procesima regeneracije može imati i negativni efekt. Jedno od najčešćih ograničenja je postojanja parcijalnih interesa pojedinih dijelova lokalne zajednice te nevoljkost prihvaćanja promjena.

Grad Pula do sada je bio tema brojnih istraživanja a neki od tih radova bavili su se i vojnim naslijeđem Pule. Među njima svakako treba spomenuti dvije knjige Attilia Krizmanića *Pulska kruna* iz 2008. godine koja daje pregled razvoja fortifikacijskog sustava Pule tijekom 19. stoljeća te mogućnosti zaštite i valorizacije istog. Napominjemo da se autor u svojoj knjizi većinom bavi fortifikacijskim sustavom kula i bitnica, samo povremeno spominjući vojarne i ostale komplekse koje ubrajamo u skupinu vojnih *brownfield* lokaliteta.

Problem prenamjene *brownfield* lokaliteta izrazito je kompleksan i uključuje čitav niz aktera poput gradskih vlasti, arhitekata, ekonomista, sociologa, geografa pa sve do lokalne zajednice. Brojni su načini prenamjene objekata, a svaki od aktera u njemu vidi svoj interes i benefit. Jedan od pristupa svakako je i *„bottom up“* pristup pri kojem se kreće od stavova i mišljenja lokalne zajednice te novo definirane namjene zemljišta. (Lorber, 2011) Sveobuhvatan model prenamjene *brownfield* lokacija prikazala je L. Lorber u svom radu iz 2011. godine. Model je temeljen na BRM metodi (Brownfield Revitalization Method) razvijenoj u sklopu ReTinA projekta (Revitalization of Traditional Industrial Areas) koja obuhvaća tri temeljna okvira: pravni okvir, integrirani pristup urbanom razvoju i okolišu i imidžu te *branding* lokacije. Iako je taj model razvijen u svrhu revitalizacije nekadašnjih industrijskih područja neki elementi mogli bi se primijeniti i u slučajevima revitalizacije vojnih *brownfield* lokacija. Održivi razvoj *brownfield* lokacija izuzetno je važan te uključuje okolišne, socijalne i ekonomske prednosti. Okolišne prednosti su smanjenje razvoja i pritiska na *greenfield* lokacije, zaštita javnog zdravlja i sigurnosti, zaštita tla te zaštita podzemnih voda. Najčešće socijalne prednosti odražavaju prednosti za lokalnu zajednicu, kao što su obnova urbanih područja, brisanje stigme i negativne percepcije određenog dijela grada, povećanje sigurnosti. Tako se pokazalo da je prenamjenom vojarne Metelkova Mesto u Ljubljani, čija je prenamjena započela još 1990. godine značajno smanjena stopa kriminaliteta među mladima, a kao posljedica aktivnog sudjelovanja mladih u programima u sklopu nekadašnje vojarne (Mihajlov, 2009). Među ekonomskim prednostima najvažnije su privlačenje domaćih i stranih ulaganja i povećanje vrijednosti i produktivnosti zemljišta (Catney et al.., 2007).

Napuštanjem primarne funkcije većina *brownfield* *l*okacija doživljava sličnu „sudbinu“. U prvoj fazi dolazi do devastacije i krađe materijala s građevine pri čemu ona naglo počinje propadati[7]. S obzirom na budući sadržaj koji se uvodi u napuštene i često zapušteni objekte, analizom brojnih domaćih i inozemnih primjera prenamjene, izdvajamo sljedeće osnovne tipove funkcionalne prenamjene:

- Komercijalnu prenamjenu pri čemu u objekte ulaze komercijalni sadržaji poput trgovina, ugostiteljskih objekata, profesionalnih usluga itd.
- Uslužnu prenamjenu pri čemu u objekte ulaze različiti uslužni sadržaji najčešće namijenjeni široj zajednici.
- Poslovna prenamjena pri čemu u objekte ulaze poslovni subjekti.
- Poduzetnička prenamjena koja se najčešće ogleda u otvaranju poduzetničkih zona koje koriste prednosti lokacije i postojanja komunalne i osta-

7 Takvih primjera ima mnogo a prisutni su bili i u Puli kako nakon 1990-ih tako i u ranijim razdobljima. Kako navodi M. Balota „Čim su grupe njemačkih radnika napustile barake, u kojima su stanovali na Monvidalu, i uputile se prema kolodvoru, stanovništvo je isto poslijepodne (28.X.) raznijelo vrata, prozore, stakla, ostatke namještaja, gvozdene krevete, daske baraka, sve što se moglo odnijeti…“(Balota, 1981).

le infrastrukture. Prilikom prenamjene u poduzetničke svrhe na lokalitete najčešće ulaze poduzetničke zone ili pak laka i čista industrija te istraživanje i razvoj.

- Administrativna prenamjena pri čemu u objekte ulaze različite, najčešće, javne službe poput sudova, upravnih tijela itd..
- Kulturna prenamjena koje podrazumijevaju posjet objektu baštine, otvaranje muzeja, galerija, povremenih ili stalnih izložbenih prostora, održavanje performansa (kulturna animacija), kulturnih i edukativnih centara, otvaranje objekata za posjetu (npr. dvoraca, kurija) i sl.
- Socijalna prenamjena koja podrazumijeva ulazak različitih sadržaja poput udruga civilnog društva, neprofitnih udruga, kulturnih, obrazovnih i obrazovnih udruga namijenjenih široj zajednici i provođenju slobodnog vremena.
- Obrazovna prenamjena koja najčešće podrazumijeva prenamjenu objekata u sveučilišne kampuse ili srednjoškolske centre.
- Rekreacijska prenamjena koja podrazumijeva čišćenje prostora i ostavljanje slobodnog prostora za rekreaciju i provođenje slobodnog vremena. Na taj način smanjuje se stupanj izgrađenosti u pojedinim dijelovima grada te se pridonosi kvaliteti života.
- Rezidencijalna prenamjena koja podrazumijeva adaptaciju objekata u stambene svrhe ili uređenje smještajnih kapaciteta. U tip rezidencijalne ili stambene prenamjene najčešće će se prenamijeniti lokaliteti smješteni u blizini središta grada, prometnih čvorišta te na oblama rijeka ili jezera. Tipovi stanova variraju od stambenih kompleksa namijenjenih stanovnicima slabije platežne moći pa do novih rezidencijalnih četvrti namijenjenih imućnijim stanovnicima. Na prostoru Zagreba za sada su prisutni primjeri prenamjene po principu izgradnje u potpunosti novog objekta.
- Prometna prenamjena koja podrazumijeva uređenje prometnica, zračnih pristaništa i slično (Cidell, 2003).
- Mješovita prenamjena.

Kakav će biti tip prenamjene ovisit će o čitavom nizu faktora kao što su veličina objekta i zemljišta, lokacija, pristup i dostupnost, stupanj zagađenja, kvaliteta okoliša, politika urbanog planiranja, položaj stručnjaka urbanog planiranja u društvu, položaj ekonomskih aktera, položaj i utjecaj udruga civilnog društva (Svirčić Gotovac, 2011, Svirčić Gotovac 2010, Kiss, 2009, Čaldarović, Šarinić 2008).

Na području Europe značajniji počeci prenamjene vojnih objekata započinju s prvim valom demilitarizacije od 1990. do 1996. godine nakon povlačenja sovjetskih snaga iz država nekadašnjeg Istočnog Bloka.[8] U tom valu demilitarizacije napuštaju se vojni objekti, a bez plana njihove prenamjene, brojni objekti su opljačkani. Drugi val demilitarizacije započinje 1996. godine. Od tada pa sve do danas proces zatvaranja vojnih kompleksa i njihova prenamjena široko je prisutna u europskim državama. Do sada bilježimo različite oblike prenamjene od poduzetničke prenamjene (primjer nekadašnje zračne baze Legnica u Poljskoj prenamjene u poduzetničku zonu za 500-tinjak zaposlenih), stambene ili rezidencijalne prenamjene (primjer prenamjene upravne vojne četvrti Terminów prenamijenjene u stambenu četvrt s 3000 stanova), mješovite prenamjene (primjer projekta Volspark u Postdamu) ili pak obrazovna prenamjena (vojne baze Elbelg u Poljskoj).

Primjera prenamjene vojnih objekata nalazimo i na području Hrvatske. Tako je vojarna Gaj tzv. Crvena vojarna u Osijeku prenamijenjena u Sveučilište, Stara kasarna u Đakovu vraćena je redovnicama sv. Križa, Vukovarska vojarna 204. brigade pretvorena je u Memorijalno, informacijski, dokumentacijski i edukativni centar Domovinskog rata. Na području Zagreba bilježimo nekoliko primjera obrazovne prenamjene tako je vojarna na Borongaju dana Sveučilištu u Zagrebu, a Vojarna u Ilici 202 Hrvatskom katoličkom sveučilištu.

U Republici Hrvatskoj proces reorganizacije Oružanih snaga započinje 2002. godine. No proces povrata imovine započeo je još 1992. godine te su do danas vraćena 302 objekta. Ministarstvo obrane Republike Hrvatske svrstava vojne objekte u četiri kategorije: perspektivne, privremeno perspektivne, neperspektivne i nekretnine koje treba pribaviti (MORH, 2006). Za prenamjenu objekata značajne su kategorije neperspektivnih i privremeno perspektivnih objekata. Godine 2005. MORH je raspolagao sa 335 vojnih objekata od čega je 117 smatrano privremeno perspektivnima i neperspektivnima te se razmatrala mogućnost njihovog napuštanja. U tu svrhu MORH je pokrenuo *Program zatvaranja i prenamjene vojnih objekata*. Od 117 objekata njih 88 se smatra neperspektivnima te je ušlo u navedeni *Program*. Do sada je u Primorskoj Hrvatskoj vraćeno ukupno 45 nekretnina od kojih 10 na području Grada Pule. Na području Grada Pule preostalo je još 26 nekretnina koje su na upravljanju MORH-u ode kojih je 20 neperspektivnih te 6 perspektivnih i privremeno perspektivnih.

RAZVOJ „VOJNE PULE"

Godine 1842. Pula je bilo malo naselje s 1 126 stanovnika. Petnaest godina kasnije (1857.) taj broj porastao je na 3 628, a 1910. godine bilo je već 58 562 stanovnika (Duda, 1999/2000). Razlog takvom porastu leži u razvoju vojnih funkcija grada te s njim povezanih ekonomskih i stambenih funkcija.

8 Naravno, primjera prenamjene bilo je i ranije poput primjerice prenamjene Pješačke vojarne Kraljevića Rudolfa ili Konjaničke vojarne u Zagrebu, no od 1990-ih možemo govoriti o sustavnom pristupu prenamjene vojnih *brownfield* lokacija.

Tabela 1 Kretanje broja civilnog i vojnog stanovništva te ukupnog stanovništva u Puli od 1797. do 1910. godine
Table 1 Number of civic and military inhabitants and total inhabitants in Pula from 1797 till 1910
Izvor/Source: Balota, 1981.

Godina	Civilno stan.	Vojno stan.	Ukupno	Godina	Civilno stan.	Vojno stan.	Ukupno
1797.	590	10	600	1880.	17777	7695	25472
1818.	-	-	926	1885.	19166	8500	28666
1842.	1076	50	1126	1890.	23092	8561	31653
1857.	6551	2000	8551	1900.	28643	7584	36227
1867	13000	4303	17303	1910.	42058	16993	59041

Prva važna godina u razvoju suvremene Pule je 1799. kada je donesena prva odluka o premještanju arsenala iz Venecije u Pulu, no konkretni koraci nisu učinjeni. Ideje o smještaju mornarice i vojske u pulski zaljev javljaju se i u razdoblju francuske vlasti početkom 19. stoljeća, a 1807. godine na otoku Sv. Andrije izgrađena je utvrda za smještaj topova. Godine 1813. grad osvaja austrijska vojska. U slijedećih dvadeset godina radit će se pojedinačni planovi na izgradnji obrambenog sustava grada (Krizmanić, 2008a). Nova odluka o izgradnji arsenala donesena je 1834. kada su austrijske vlasti donijele odluku o gradnji vojarne i arsenala. Prva tri skladišta budućeg arsenala izgrađena su 1846. godine (Balota, 1981). Revolucionarna zbivanja u Europi, pa i Veneciji, 1848. godine ubrzali su odluku i radove te je ratna mornarica preseljena u Pulu (Krizmanić, 2008a). U kolovozu 1850. godina zapovjednik mornarice admiral Hans Birch Dahlerup posjećuje Rijeku, Crikvenicu, Kraljevicu, Bakar, Zadar, Šibenik i Pulu kako bi odlučio o konačnoj lokaciji za izgradnju ratne luke i arsenala. Konačna odluka[9] bila je da se Pula odredi kao buduća ratna luka i arsenal s brodogradilištem[10] (Balota, 1981). Pula postaje središte svih mornaričkih jedinica, nadleštva, ustanova, škola i zavoda.

Usporedo s jačanjem vojne funkcije rastao je i broj stanovnika Pule. Iz tablici 1 vidljiv je jači porast broja vojnih osoba nakon 1857. godine. Tako su primjerice 1880. čak 30% stanovnika Pule bile vojne osobe, a 1910. godine gotovo 29% ukupnog stanovništva činila je vojska. Vojna funkcija grada ujedno je uvjetovala razvoj kozmopolitanizma u Puli. Kolika je bila važnost vojne funkcije za razvoj grada potvrđuje i geslo cara Franje Josipa I i admiralitetea *„Die stadt mueste sich der marine identifizieren"* ili *„Grad se mora identificirati s mornaricom"* (Perović, 2006). No, usporedno s porast broja vojnih osoba raste i broj civilnog stanovništva koje u Pulu doseljava privučeno ponudom zaposlenja u vojnoj industriji i brodogradilištu te u obrtima te u kasnijem razdoblju i u trgovini.

Promjene vlasti rezultirale su i iseljavanjem ranije pridošlog stanovništva. Tako nakon 1918. iz Pule iseljavaju Nijemci, Česi, Ukrajinci, Poljaci, Mađari doseljeni u Pulu najviše kao časnici u nekadašnjoj mornarici[11]. Stalnu promjenu stanovnika potvrđuje i Igor Duda navodeći *„Uslijedila su desetljeća promjena vojski, novi su podstanari silom ili dobrovoljno ulazili u nekad austrijske vojarne iz kojih se i opet iznosilo sve što se moglo iznijeti, ali je istodobno grad gubio (možda već) stare i dobivao neke nove Puljane*." (Duda, 1999/2000). Prvim službenim poslijeratnim popisom iz 1948 godine u Puli je popisano 21 065 stanovnika. Godine 1991. popisom je ustanovljeno 62 378 stanovnika. Nakon toga uslijedio je pad broja stanovnika te je popisom iz 2001. godine popisano 58 494. stanovnika. Pad je s jedne strane posljedica iseljavanja dijela vojnog stanovništva ali i posljedica promjene u prostornom obuhvatu Grada pri čemu je nekoliko naselja[12] pripojeno općini Medulin te je promijenjena metodologija popisa.

Usporedo s porastom broja stanovnika dolazi i do snažne izgradnje grada. U razdoblju od 1860-ih do 1880-ih godina dolazi do jake izgradnje novih gradskih četvrti, bolničkog kompleksa, knjižnice, casina, mornaričke crkve. Grad se širio iz stare gradske jezgre u četiri „vala" proširenja građevnog područja kojim su se u tkivo grada inkorporirala područja između vojnih utvrda i bitnica. Prvi val izgradnje trajao je 1860-ih godina a obuhvaćao je područje danas užeg središta grada između Arsenalske i Flaciusove ulice, ulice Joakima Rakovca do Trga na Mostu. Drugi val krajem 1860-ih obuhvaćao je područje od Valkana preko Monvidala do uvale Sv. Petra. Treći val proširenja pratio je linije od Monte Era preko utvrde San Giorgo kod Gradskog groblja do uvale Sv. Petra. Četvrtim valom proširenja, krajem stoljeća, grad se širi dalje na istok duž današnje Premanturske i

9 Postoje različiti izvori o djelovanju i ulozi H.B. Dahlerupa u donošenju odluke o izboru Pule za glavnu vojnu luku. Prema Baloti (1981) Dahlerup je smatrao Pulu povoljnom lokacijom za izgradnju vojne luke. Prema Krizmaniću (2008) smatrao je da je povoljnija lokacija Trst te da je Pula nepovoljna zbog nepostojanja infrastrukture te veličine naselja koje je tada imalo nešto više od 1000 stanovnika.

10 Kamen temeljac za izgradnju brodogradilišta i arsenala položila je carska obitelj 9. prosinca 1856. godine na otočiću Uljaniku nekoć zvano Olivieninsel ili Scoglio Olivi). Iako je tada dio arsenala već bio izgrađen i u funkciji. (Balota, 1981).

11 28. studenog 1918. talijansko zapovjedništvo ratne Luke Pule donijelo je odluku da se iz Pule u roku 5 dana moraju iseliti svi oni građani koji nisu prije rata imali zavičajno pravo u Puli (Balota, 1981).

12 Naselja Pješčana Uvala, Valbonaša, Vinkuran i Vintijan (Zupanc, 2004).

Tabela 2 Kretanje broja stanovnika Pule i indeks promjene nakon Drugog svjetskog rata
Table 2 Number of inhabitants of Pula and index of change after the Second World War
Izvor/Source: Korenčić M. (1979): Naselja i stanovništvo SR Hrvatske 1857-1971., Zagreb, JAZU; RZS (1984), DZS (1996), DZS (2002), DZS (2011)

Godina popisa	Broj stanovnika	Indeks promjene
1948.	21065	-
1953.	28512	135,4
1961.	37403	131,2
1971.	47498	127,0
1981.	56153	118,2
1991.	62378	111,1
2001.	59850	98,9
2011.	57460	96,0

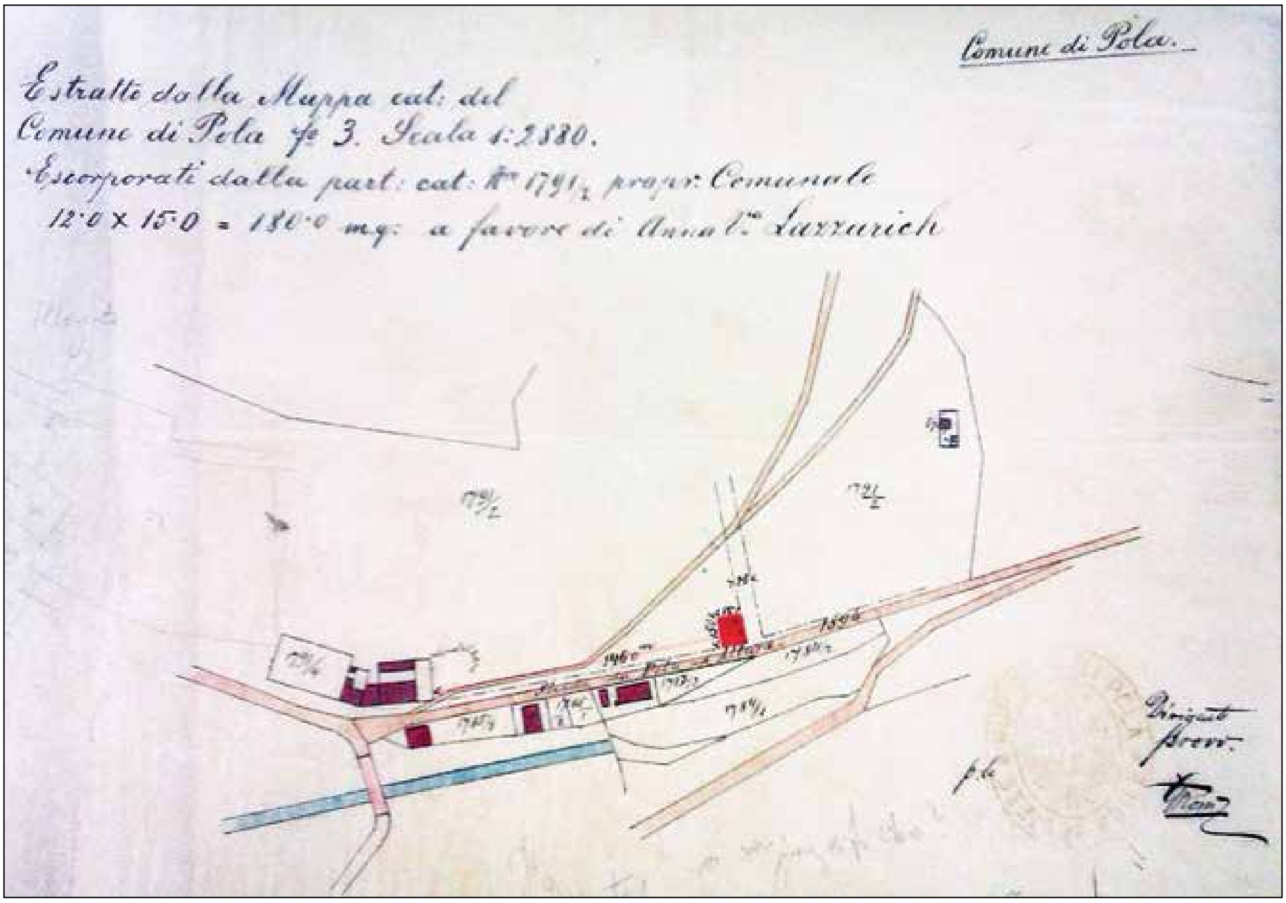
Medulinske ulice (Krizmanić, 2008). S porastom broja stanovnika rasla je i stambena izgradnja. Samo 1867. godine izgrađeno je 60 stambenih zgrada. Takav trend izgradnje nastavljen je i u iduća dva desetljeća kada je građeno u prosjeku 50 novih stambenih zgrada i kuća godišnje što potvrđuju i sačuvane molbe za gradnju (Balota, 1981, HR-DAPA-40[13]). Godine 1910. u Puli je bilo 7346 stambenih zgrada i kuća, ali je i dalje postojala potreba za izgradnjom (Balota, 1981). U skladu s regulacionim planom pojedini dijelovi grada nisu izgrađivani kako visina građevina ne bi onemogućavala vidik i otežavala vojnu funkciju grada. Usporedno s izgradnjom grada gradi se brodogradilište na Uljaniku gdje je 1866. godine izgrađen prvi plivajući dok u Europi (Balota, 1981). Ekonomskom napretku u tom razdoblju pridonijela je i izgradnja pruge Pula – Divača 1876.godine te luka Pula u tom razdoblju nije bila samo vojna već i trgovačka luka.

Istovremeno s izgradnjom grada ruše se ostaci starih zidina i gradi se novi fortifikacijski sustav koji je trebao braniti Pulu kako s kopna tako i s mora. Sustav se protezao od Barbarige i Vodnjana na sjeveru do rta Kavran i Marlera na jugoistoku, rta Kamenjak na jugu i Brijuna te je obuhvaćao 28 utvrda (kula). Godine 1869. Povjerenstvo za fortifikacije određuje granicu tvrđavske jezgre prema kopnu. Godine 1908./09. oko grada se gradi ži-



Sl. 1 Faze razvitka grada od 1860. do 1909. godine
Fig. 1 Development oft he city form 1860 till 1909
Izvor / Source: prema Krizmanić, 2008a preradili autori

13 HR-DAPA-40 – Državni arhiv u Pazinu (fond Općina Pula)



Sl. 2 Plan uređenja obalne zone iz 1889. godine
Fig. 2 Plan for development of waterfront area from 1889
Izvor / Source: HR-DAPA-40

čana ograda (ferri della città) s naoružanim stražarnicama. Tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata dolazi do formiranja tzv. Pomorske tvrđave Pula, obrambenog sustava grada koji je obuhvaćao 50 fortifikacijskih objekata od čega 31 na području grada Pule. Uz to postojala je i Jedinstvena teritorijalna tvrđava Pula koja je 1917. godine obuhvaćala kopneno područje s otocima od Limskog do Raškog zaljeva te do Premanturske punte uključujući i fortifikacijski sustav Malog Lošinja s ukupno 42 500 vojnika (Krizmanić, 2008b). U tim zonama bila je zabranjena gradnje. Tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata u Puli nije bilo vojnih operacija, no grad je više puta bombardiralo talijansko zrakoplovstvo.

Nakon šestodnevne jugoslavenske vojne i civilne vlasti (od 31. listopada do 5. studenog 1918.) u Pulu ulazi talijanska vojska i mornarica te u razdoblju između Prvog i Drugog svjetskog rata Pula ulazi u sastav Italije. U tom razdoblju dolazi do zastoja u širenju grada već se popunjavaju prazni prostori u postojećoj urbanoj strukturi. U razdoblju 1938.-1940. donosi se novi Regulacijski plan Pule i Detaljan plan centra. U njima nema važnijih aktivnosti na vojnim građevinama i sklopovima (Krizmanić, 2008a).

U razdoblju od siječnja 1944. do svibnja 1945. godine Pula je bombardirana dvadeset i tri puta te su znatno oštećene kako vojne, tako i civilne građevine, posebice u zoni Arsenala, Brodogradilišta te gradske četvrti Sv. Polikrapa, Baraka i Monte Zara u kojoj je smještena i vojarna Karlo Rojc. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata od 1945. do 1947. godine grad je pod anglo-američkom vojnom upravom, nakon čega ulazi u sastav SFR Jugoslavije. Nekadašnji fortifikacijski sustav i sve vojne građevine dolaze pod upravu Jugoslavenske narodne armije. Neki objekti zadržavaju vojnu funkciju poput obalne utvrde Monte Kristo koja je 1982. godine adaptirana za potrebe mornaričke pješadije, dok neki poput Obalne utvrde Marie Louise (Forte Lazzaro Mocenigo) postaju skladišta. Godine 1966. donesen je novi Generalni urbanistički plan Pule u kojem su vojni kompleksi kategorizirani kao zone specijalne namjene te djelomično predviđeni kao resurs za razvoj luke i turizma u gradu. Novi Generalni urbanistički plan grada Pule donesen je 1983. godine i u njemu su vrijedne građevine iz ranijih razdoblja svrstane u šest kategorija. Između ostalih u skupinu D i E ubrojeno je i nekoliko građevina vojne namijene nastale u doba austrijske vlasti poput Vojne bolnice, Mor-

Tabela 3 Vraćeni vojni objekti na području grada Pule
Table 3 Military facilities in Pula regained from the Croatian Armed Forces
Izvor: MORH, 2012.

Vojni objekt / lokacija	Godina povrata	Površina (m2)	Novi korisnik
Vojarna Karlo Rojc	1994.	35 434,00	Grad Pula
Vojarna Vladimir Gortan	1994.	51 375,00	Grad Pula
Skladište Goricka 9	1993.		Tvrtka Staklar
Vojarna Premantura	1993.	1 759 287,00	HPT
Vojarna Smokvica	1999.		Brodogradilište Uljanik
OUP Kampi	2005.		Ministarstvo pravosuđa
Vojarna Istarskih brigada	2007.	10 013,00	OŠ Monte Zaro, Županijsko i općinsko državno odvjetništvo, Zemljišno-knjižni odjel Općinskog suda
Skladište Valmarin-Bradamonte	2006.		Brodogradilište Uljanik
Vojni kompleks Pineta	2002 .		Hrvatski fond za privatizaciju
Vojni kompleks Monumenti i Sv. Katarina	2004.	509 406,00	Hrvatski fond za privatizaciju
Zgrada Admiraliteta	2010.	83 551,00	Istarska županija, Ministarstvo financija, Ministarstvo pravosuđa

naričkog groblja, Mornaričke crkve, Mornaričkog parka, kompleksa vojarni, te parka Monte Zaro.

U posljednjem GUP-u donesenom 2008. godine izričito se navodi i nekoliko objekata vojne namijene. Pri tome je vojna luka Vargarola-Fižela navedena kao pomorska građevina od važnosti za Republiku Hrvatsku. Također u kategoriji zaštićenih objekata u kategoriji 1 u koju ulaze građevine ili sklopovi izuzetne spomeničke vrijednosti koje se moraju očuvati i obnoviti između ostalog navodi se 27 utvrda i topničkih bitnica iz austrougarskog razdoblja, Mornarički kasino, Mornaričko groblje nekadašnja Mornarička vojarna, zgrade i zidine Arsenala, Mornarička crkva te Machine schule potom vojarna Karlo Rojc i susjedne građevine vojne ambulante. U kategoriji 2, građevinama koje treba očuvati i obnoviti od nekoć vojnih objekata naveden je sklop Mornaričke bolnice. U kategoriji 3 kojeg čine građevine ambijentalne vrijednosti gradskog značajna od vojnih objekata navedeni su utvrde u topničke bitnice, te sve zgrade iz austrijskog razdoblja u vojnim kompleksima Musila, Vallelunge, Mulimentima i na otoku Sv. Katarine. Također u Generalnom urbanističkom planu određeno je da sve utvrde i topničke bitnice izgrađene u razdoblju prije Drugog svjetskog rata moraju biti očuvane i prezentirane u izvornom obliku. (Službene novine, Bolletitino ufficiale, 14.07.2008, 5a/08)[14]

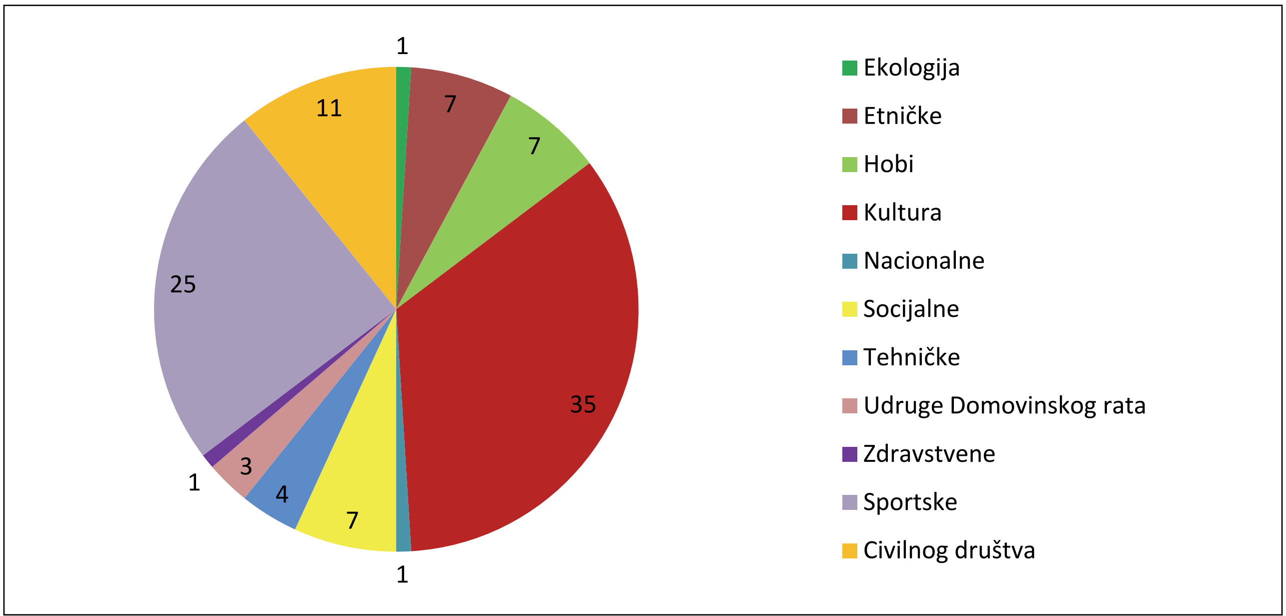
Pojedine vojne građevine i objekti su pod zaštitom Ministarstva kulture. Tako je Barutana Signnole iz 1865. godine na ulazu u vojni kompleks Musil zaštićena kao nepokretno kulturno dobro, kompleks nekadašnje mornaričke zrakoplovne postaje Puntižela (hidrobaza) zaštićena kao povijesna cjelina, povijesna cjelina Monumenti, te pokretno kulturno dobro Zbirka Mornaričke biblioteke.[15]

PRENAMJENE VOJNIH OBJEKATA U PULI : VOJARNA KARLO ROJC

Početkom 1990-ih, odlaskom Jugoslavenske narodne armije, započeo je proces povrata vojnih objekata na prostoru čitave Republike Hrvatske pa tako i grada Pule. Proces je intenziviran nakon 2002. godine kada započinje proces reorganizacije Oružanih snaga Republike Hrvatske. Do sada je na prostoru grada Pule vraćeno ukupno 12 objekata[16]. Zbog svoje arhitektonske, društvene i povijesne vrijednosti brojni vojni objekti u Puli danas čine dio identiteta grada te imaju važnu ulogu u urbanoj regeneraciji.

Proces povratka i prenamjene vojnih lokaliteta još je u tijeku. Pojedinačni lokaliteti i građevine većinom su doživjele socijalnu prenamjenu te je tako u zgradu Mornaričke bolnice useljen odjel Opće bolnice Pula, nekadašnji Mornarički kasino prenamijenjen je u knjižnicu i u odjel Instituta za društvena istraživanja Ivo Pilar, dok je u nekadašnjem Mornaričkom opservatoriju uređen dječji vrtić. Istovremeno prenamjena većih vojnih

14 Službene novine, Bollettino ufficiale, 14.07.2008: Odluka o donošenju generalnog urbanističkog plana grada Pule, 5a/08.
15 Uz navedene zaštićene su još i Arheološko nalazište s austrougarskom vojnom utvrdom Kaštijun Graditeljski sklop i arheološka zona utvrde Monte Grosso, topničke bitnice Valmaggiore i merzerskih bitnica Monte Grosso i sv. Maištada, preventivno zaštićeno kulturno dobro Muzil-San Giovanni, područje topničke bitnice i skupine objekata Fižela te utvrde Marie Louise, Monsival/Bourgignon, Monvidal. Munida i Žunac, Musil, Punta Kristo i Stoja. No one nisu predmet istraživanja ovog rada.
16 Kompleks Monumenti i Sv. Katarina možemo promatrati ili kao jedan cjeloviti kompleks ili kao dva kompleksa.



Sl. 3 Struktura korisnika Društvenog centra Rojc 2012. godine
Fig. 3 Structure of users of Centre Rojc in 2012
Izvor / Source: terensko istraživanje i www.pula.hr

kompleksa (vojarni) teče znatno sporije. 2007. godine objavljen je Prostorno – programski koncept Brijuni rivijera koji pretpostavlja razvoj prostorno funkcionalne cjeline s turističkom namjenom u prostoru od sjeverne granice općine Bale do Pule te na prostoru grada Pule obuhvaća komplekse Pineta i Monumenti - Sv. Katarina. Danas je većina velikih vojnih kompleksa devastirana te se koristi za održavanje koncerata alternativnih skupina ili u rekreacijske svrhe kao prostori šetnje i rekreacije.

Predmet ovog istraživanja bio je prikazati proces prenamjene vojnih *brownfield* lokacija na primjeru nekadašnje vojarne Karlo Rojc. Na svojevrstan način razvoj ove vojarne predstavlja razvoj vojne Pule „u malom". Zgrada vojarne Pomorske škole (Marinen Schule) građena je od 1870. do 1889. godine. Tijekom talijanske vlasti u vojarni je bila smještena vojna škola za pitomce. Zgrada je svoju obrazovnu funkciju zadržala i tijekom jugoslavenskog razdoblja sve do 1975. godine do kad je u njoj djelovala tzv. partizanska mašinska škola te je dio kompleksa preuređen u vojarnu. Od 1976. do 1991. godine čitav kompleks prenamijenjen je u vojarnu. Jugoslavenska narodna armija napustila je vojarnu u prosincu 1991. godine. Povlačenjem JNA od 1992. do 1996. godine u vojarni su naseljeni izbjeglice i prognanici. Slijedeće dvije godine, do 1998. godine, zgrada je prazna. U tom razdoblju zgrada doživljava znatno propadanje i uništavanje karakteristično za sve napuštene *brownfield* lokacije gdje nakon napuštanja dolazi do stihijske pljačke (eng. plundering) pri čemu pojedinci i organizirane skupine iz vojarne odnose sve što se može iznijeti pri čemu se građevina uništava. U Generalnom urbanističkom planu Pule iz 2008. godine zgrada nekadašnje vojarne Karlo Rojc i susjedne građevine zaštićene su u kategorije „1" kao građevine izuzetne spomeničke vrijednosti šireg regionalnog i državnog značaja koje se moraju apsolutno čuvati i odnositi metodama obrade i konzervatorskih načela (Službene novine, Bolletitino ufficiale, 14.07.2008, 5a/08).[17]

Godine 1998. Grad Pula zgradu vojarne Karlo Rojc predaje na korištenje civilnim udrugama, iako su pojedine udruge u centru smještene i ranije u vrijeme kada su u vojarni boravile izbjeglice i prognanici. Deset godina kasnije (2008. godine) osnovani su Vijeće i Koordinacija Rojca. Vijeće je tijelo koje čine predstavnici svih udruga smještenih u vojarni , a osnovano je s ciljem usklađivanja i poboljšanja rada te koordinacije suradnje s Gradom. Koordinacija je radna grupa koja koordinira funkcioniranje Centra gradskih udruga Rojc (Društveni centar Rojc). Ukupna površina zgrade vojarne iznosi 17 000 m^2 i sastoji se o dvije zgrade sjeverne zgrade s pet katova i južne zgrade s 4 kata. Od ukupne površine trenutno se iskorištava 11 693 m^2 od čega je 4 610 m^2 zajedničkog prostora. U sklopu vojarne nalazi se i otvoreni prostor površine 30 000 m^2.

U prostoru nekadašnje vojarne danas djeluje stotinjak udruga od čega je nešto više od trećine udruga registriranih u djelatnosti kulture, a nešto više od četvrtine čine sportski klubovi i udruge. Na trećem mjestu po zastupljenosti su udruge civilnog društva s 11,5%, koje su među prvima i postale korisnice prostora.

17 Službene novine, Bollettino ufficiale, 14.07.2008: Odluka o donošenju generalnog urbanističkog plana grada Pule, 5a/08.

Polaznu točku za provođenje intervjua činio je upitnik je sadržavao 14 pitanja. Prva, uvodna skupina pitanja vezana je uz razdoblje dolaska u prostor vojarne te razloge smještanja na prostoru nekadašnje vojarne. Drugu skupinu pitanja činila su pitanja vezana uz prednosti i nedostatke lokacije udruga na prostoru nekadašnje vojarne. Treću skupinu pitanja činila su pitanja vezana uz funkcioniranje samog Centra gradskih udruga Rojc. Posljednja skupina pitanja vezana je uz planove budućeg razvoja Centra gradskih udruga Rojc. Prilikom izbora sugovornika vodilo se računa da u uzorku budu zastupljeni predstavnici najvećeg broja korisnika tj. predstavnici kulturnih, sportskih i socijalnih djelatnosti te civilnog društva

Kako bi se utvrdio način korištenja prostorija u Centru, zadovoljstvo prostorom te razlozi dolaska u sam Centar provedeni su intervjui s predstavnicima udruga. Većina ispitanika u Rojc je došla s neke druge lokacije u gradu. Čak 80% ispitanika kao glavnu prednost ističe adekvatnu veličinu prostora za smještanje udruge. Na drugom mjestu po učestalosti odgovora je postojanje velikog parkirališta te poticajni okoliš u blizini drugih udruga. Udruge iz djelatnosti kulture, a posebno likovne i kiparske umjetnosti kao prednost lokacije ističu uvjete za kreativni rad. Takav odgovor ne iznenađuje imam li u vidu činjenicu da se *brownfield* lokacije vrlo često percipiraju kao umjetnički i kreativni prostori te mjesto igre i avanture (Edensor, 2005, Hollander, J.B., Kirkwood, N.G., Gold, J.L. 2010). Kao najveće nedostatke smještaja u nekadašnjem vojnom objektu navode starost građevine te s tim povezan problem loše infrastrukture u samom objektu. Primjerice centralno grijanje u objektu pušteno je u rad tek 2004. godine, kada su djelomično obnovljene i električne i vodovodne instalacije. Kao drugi nedostatak ističe se smještaj objekta u stambenom četvrti te s tim povezan problem buke, posebice u proljetnim i ljetnim mjesecima prilikom organizacije događanja na otvorenom.

Kako bi se poboljšali uvjeti rada i boravka u prostorijama Rojca svi anketirani smatraju da bi trebalo poraditi na uređenju prostorija, a posebice zajedničkih prostora te da bi trebalo promijeniti način upravljanja te bolje planirati budući razvoj. Međutim, ispitanici se ne slažu oko toga tko bi trebao provoditi i nadgledati aktivnosti na poboljšanju uvjeta boravka i rada. Kao najčešći odgovori ističu se Vijeće Rojca i Upravni odjel za društvene djelatnosti Grada Pule, no javlja se ideja o osnivanju javne ustanove.

Treći dio intervjua činila se pitanja o budućim planovima razvoja. Upravni odjel za društvene djelatnosti u cilju povezivanja udruga unutar Centra Rojc te proširivanja djelatnosti predvidio je projekt Dnevnog boravka Rojc te otvaranje hostela Rojc. Svi ispitanica podržali pokretanje projekta uređenja Dnevnog boravka, zajedničkih prostorija površine 200 m^2 u prizemlju Centra. No nisu se složili oko toga da li bi taj prostor trebao biti otvoren isključivo za korisnike centra ili za sve posjetitelje te služiti kao mjesto prezentacije aktivnosti Centra. Također nisu bili jedinstveni niti oko toga tko bi trebao biti zadužen za nadzor prostora. Većina smatra da bi brigu o zajedničkom prostoru trebala voditi Koordinacija Rojca. Drugi projekt je projekt uređenja hostela koji bi bio smješten na trećem katu sjevernog krila na površini od 425 m^2. Većina anketiranih podupire ideju uređenja hostela smatrajući da bi vođenje hostela trebalo biti pod upravom koordinacije te da bi prihod od rada trebao biti korišten za obnovu kompleksa. Kao što je istakla jedna od anketiranih *„Primarni cilj rada hostela trebala bi biti organizacija događanja poput seminara, ljetnih škola, razmjene volontera. međunarodnih konferencija i sl. u organizaciji Centra Rojc*."

Četvrti, posljednji dio intervjua činila su pitanja o pretpostavljenim prednostima i nedostacima prenamjena vojarne Karlo Rojc za stanovnike gradske četvrti Monte Zaro. Gradska četvrt Monte Zaro obuhvaća površinu od 323 720 m^2 na kojemu je prema popisu iz 2011. godine živjelo 3 502 stanovnika. Najveći dio gradske četvrti izgrađen je u razdoblju austrijske vladavine tijekom 1870-ih godine kada je na prostoru gradske četvrti izgrađen Hidrografski institut sa zvjezdarnicom i najveći gradski perivoj. Nakon 1990. godine na prostoru gradske četvrti napuštene su dvije vojarne (Karlo Rojc i Istarskih brigada) ukupne površine 45 447 m^2 čime se značajno promijenila i funkcionalna struktura četvrti. Odlaskom nekadašnjih vojnih funkcija pojavio se ispražnjen i slobodan prostor pogodan za različite korisnike i nove aktivnosti koji predstavlja izazov različitim skupinama korisnika od umjetnika do prostornih planera. Planiranje novih funkcija značilo je planiranje i upravljanje neiskorištenim zemljištem i objektima. Koja je vrijednost ispražnjenih lokacija za stanovnike gradske četvrti. Prva je mogućnost uvođenja novih funkcija čime se povećava vrijednost iskorištavanja. Druga je vrijednost samog zemljišta. Uz to prisutne su i povijesne i kulturne vrijednosti samog lokaliteta koje nema ekonomsku komponentu i na određeni način predstavljaju svojevrsno ograničenje za buduću namjenu. Negativan aspekt napuštanja objekata predstavlja pojava negativnih okolišnih posljedica koji se ogledaju u privremenom zapuštanju prostora, zarastanju okoliša, okupljanju perifernih socijalnih skupina. Prenamjena objekata na prostoru gradske četvrti Monte Zaro rezultirala je jačanjem socijalnih, obrazovnih i administrativnih funkcija gradske četvrti. Prostor vojarne Istarskih brigada dan je na korištenje osnovnoj školi Monte Zaro, Županijskom i općinskom državnom odvjetništvu te Općinskom sudu. Na prostoru vojarne Karlo Rojc primijenjena je često prisutna praksa stvaranja prostora za neprofitne ili „slabo-profitne" organizacije pri čemu grad zadržava vlasništvo nad zemljištem i objektima i osigurava da i manje snažni lokalni interesenti ostvare korist od promjena u načinu korištenja zemljišta. Davanjem prostora takvim korisnicima smanjuje se njihova ovisnost o javnim ili privatnim potporama i subvencijama koje su neminovne ukoliko se takvi korisnici smještaju u privatnim objektima u središtu grada.

Istovremeno smanjivanjem potpora za smještaj korisnika omogućuje se povećanje potpora za njihov rad.

Dovođenjem novih funkcija i novih korisnika zaustavljen je proces propadanja i devastacije kompleksa te je povećana sigurnost samog područja. Da bi se pridonijelo daljnjem povećanju sigurnosti trebalo bi uvesti dodatnu rasvjetu na parkirališnom prostoru. Uređenjem Centra dovedena su nova ulaganja u lokalnu zajednicu te je povećana vrijednost prostora. Također uređenjem parkirališta ispred Centra otvorena je mogućnost parkiranja i za lokalno stanovništvo, te je na taj način riješen značajan komunalni problem lokalnog stanovništva. Nadalje, otvaranje Centra pridonijelo je jačanju udruga civilnog društva, ali i pridonijelo jačanju socijalnih i uslužnih funkcija gradske četvrti te pridonio kvaliteti života, posebice mladih, na prostoru gradske četvrti Monte Zaro. No otvaranje Centra Rojc imalo je i neke negativne posljedice koje se prvenstveno ogledaju u rijetkim problemima između pojedinih supkultura korisnika Centra te problema buke, posebice u ljetnim mjesecima prilikom održavanja događanja ispred Centra.

ZAKLJUČAK

Predajom na korištenje prostora nekadašnje vojne namijene dolazi do značajnih promjena kako u prostornoj strukturi vojnih objekata tako i u funkcionalnoj strukturi pojedinih naselja i gradskih četvrti. Grad Pula se tijekom jednog i pol stoljeća razvijao kao vojni grad što je rezultiralo postojanjem velikog broja vojnih objekata i djelatnika. Nakon 1990-ih godina započinje postupak povratka vojne imovine te je do danas gradu na upravljanje vraćeno 12 objekata. Jedan od njih je i vojarna Karlo Rojc. Izgrađen kao vojna obrazovna institucija u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća te kasnije prenamijenjen u vojarnu kompleks je 1994. godine predan na upravu Gradu.

Prema funkcionalnom tipu, privremena prenamjena kompleksa obuhvaćala je tip rezidencijalne prenamjene budući su u kompleksu boravile izbjeglice i prognanici s prostora Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine. No trajna prenamjena objekta, otvaranjem Centra gradskih udruga Rojc, odgovara tipu socijalne prenamjene. U prostoru centra danas djeluje stotinjak udruga pri čemu dominiraju udruge registrirane u djelatnosti kulture.

Rezultati provedenih intervjua pokazali su da je većina udruga kao najveću prednost smještaja u centru smatra adekvatnu veličinu prostora, postojanje parkirališta i mogućnost suradnje s drugim udrugama. Kao najveći nedostatak ističe se starost građevine i loše infrastrukture. Također većina ispitanika podržava buduće planove razvoja i širenje ponude centra otvaranjem hostela i zajedničkog prostora u kojemu bi se prezentirao rad udruga.

Većina ispitanika smatra da se otvaranje Centra na prostoru nekadašnje vojarne većinom pozitivno odrazilo i na kvalitetu života stanovnika gradske četvrti Monte Zaro. Uređenje prostora i dovođenje novih funkcija (na prostor vojarne Karlo Rojc, ali i vojarne Istarskih brigada) pridonijelo je daljnjem jačanju socijalnih, administrativnih i uslužnih funkcija gradske četvrti pri čemu je istodobno zaustavljen proces degradacije i devastacije urbanog pejzaža te je povećana vrijednost zemljišta na prostoru gradske četvrti.



Sl. 4 Društveni centar Rojc – nekadašnja vojarna kao prostor kreativnosti
Fig. 4 Centre Rojc – former military barrack as a space for creativity

REDEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY BROWNFIELD SITES: EXAMPLE OF REDEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY COMPLEX KARLO ROJC IN PULA

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SUMMARY

The paper deals with problems of conversion and redevelopment of military brownfields with the example of military barrack Karlo Rojc in Pula. In the first part of the paper definitions and types of redevelopment of brownfield sites are given followed by overview of relevant bibliography. The second part of the paper describes development of Pula from 1850s onwards. Military development of Pula started in 1850s when Austrian government decide to declare Pula the military port of the Empire. Military development will continue till the beginning of 1990s and leaving of Yugoslav Army. Abandonment of military sites and barracks resulted in emptying of large areas of valuable land in all parts of the city which become valuable resources. The third part of the paper gives an overview of current states of abandonment and redevelopment of military brownfields in Pula. Over the past 20 years twelve military brownfields have been abundant and returned to the city or the government. In order to gain relevant and accurate information on status of redevelopment methods of mapping, photography and quality assessment of each location was conducted.

The fourth, last, part of the paper deals with the redevelopment of former military barrack Karlo Rojc and effects of the process of redevelopment on social and functional structure of city quarter Monte Zaro. Military barrack Karlo Rojc was built in 1870's and in a way represents development of military Pula "in small". From 1870's til 1976 building was used as military school for different armies from Austrian, through Italian to military engineering school of Yugoslav Army. From 1976 to 1991 building was used as military barrack. In the beginning of 1990s barracked housed refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1998 city of Pula gives the building to different NGO's, although some NGO's were located in barracks before 1998. According to General Masterplan from 2008 building is protected as monument of exceptional monumental value of wider regional and state importance which narrows possibilities for its redevelopment. Today, Centre Rojc houses around 100 different NGO's, majority of which are organizations dealing with culture and sports. In order to gain information on reasons for location in former military barrack and level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the location and quality of life in former barrack an interview with the organisations was conducted. Results of conducted interviews revealed that majority of NGO's moved to Karlo Rojc from some other city-owned site. They are satisfied with the floorspace of their offices and possibility of cooperation with another NGO's located on the premises. They are not satisfied with the infrastructure and level of maintenance of the site and rare confrontations with residents in the neighbourhood. Interviewees think that city quarter Monte Zaro benefited from opening of NGO centre in former military barrack. Redevelopment of former military barrack resulted in rise of social and commercial services in the city quarter and rise in the level of security and quality of life for the local residents, and especially youngsters.

Key words: redevelopment, brownfield sites, Pula, Karlo Rojc, military complex

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UDC

STRUKTURNE ZNAČAJKE SUHOZIDNE MREŽE KAO POKAZATELJI ANTROPOGENOG UTJECAJA NA KRAJOBRAZ – PRIMJER JUŽNOG DIJELA OTOKA VISA, HRVATSKA

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IZVLEČEK

V tem delu je podana analiza strukturnih značilnosti mreže suhozida in njihov medsebojni odnos z naravno krajino. Uporabljen je poseben pristop oziroma elementi mreže suhozida so analizirani v sklopu predhodno opredeljenih prostornih celin (tipov geokompleksa), ki so določene z njihovo notranjo navpično zgradbo. Na podlagi tako zastavljenega odnosa je možno rekonstruirati prostorsko razporeditev in značilnosti področij, na katere vpliva človek, kar je neposredno vplivalo na stopnjo njihove razdrobljenosti in raznovrstnosti. V analizi strukture suhozida je uporabljena krajinska metrika oziroma kazalniki kompozicije in konfiguracije krajine. Podatki, pridobljeni z analizo GIS, so obdelani z metodami krajinske metrike ter s statističnimi metodami linearne soodvisnosti in faktorske analize. Z večkratno linearno soodvisnostjo sta ugotovljena značaj in stopnja povezanosti enajstih spremenljivk, vključenih v analizo. Faktorska analiza je narejena s ciljem zmanjšanja večjega števila spremenljivk na manjše število dejavnikov, ki najboljše določajo zgradbo in kompleksnost mreže suhozida, kot tudi stopnjo antropogenega vpliva na krajino.

Ključne besede: mreža suhozida, krajina, krajinska metrika, južni Vis

CARATTERISTICHE STRUTTURALI DELLA RETE DEI MURETTI A SECCO COME INDICATORI DI IMPATTI ANTROPOGENICI SUL PAESAGGIO - ESEMPIO DELLA PARTE MERIDIONALE DELL'ISOLA DI VIS

SINTESI

In questo documento è stata condotta l'analisi delle caratteristiche strutturali della rete dei muretti a secco e la loro relazione con il paesaggio naturale. E' stato applicato un metodo specifico, vale a dire gli elementi sono stati analizzati nell'ambito di complessi spaziali precedentemente determinati (tipi di geocomplessi) che sono definiti dalla loro struttura interna verticale. Sulla base di questo insieme di relazioni, è possibile ricostruire la distribuzione spaziale e le caratteristiche delle aree incluse nell'antropopressione, la quale ha direttamente influenzato il grado della loro frammentazione e diversità. Analizzando la struttura del muretto a secco è stata applicata la metrica del paesaggio, in altre parole indicatori della composizione e configurazione del paesaggio. Analisi GIS dei dati ottenuti sono stati elaborati con i metodi di metriche del paesaggio e metodi statistici di correlazione lineare e l'analisi fattoriale. Correlazione lineare multipla è stata utilizzata per determinare la natura e il grado di correlazione delle undici variabili che sono state incluse nell'analisi. Analisi fattoriale è stata condotta con l'obiettivo di ridurre il numero di variabili a un minor numero di fattori che definiscono meglio la struttura e la complessità della rete di muretti a secco, così come il grado di impatto antropogenico sul paesaggio.

Parole chiave: rete di muretti a secco, il paesaggio, la metrica del paesaggio, impatto antropogenico, parte meridionale di Vis

UVOD

Krajolik suhozida najrašireniji je element poljoprivrednog kulturnog krajolika na području otoka Visa. Razvio se kao posljedica nedostatka obradivih površina zbog čega su se počela koristiti plitka tla na karbonatnim padinama uzvišenja (Gams, 1991). Površine pod suhozidima nekad su bile značajne kao ograđene poljoprivredne površine na kojima su se uzgajale sredozemne kulture (suhozidi bliže naseljima) ili kao pašnjačke površine (suhozidi udaljeniji od naselja). Znatna područja manje ili više strmih padina preoblikovana su antropogenim djelovanjem i to terasiranjem za uzgoj vinove loze, koja je stoljećima bila primarna uzgojna kultura Visa (Peričić, 1999).

Današnji udio obradivih površina unutar suhozida znatno je smanjen, a težište uzgoja dominantnih kultura vinove loze i masline premješteno je na prostranije i zaravnjene površine krških polja. Velike površine pod suhozidima danas se nalaze u procesu zarastanja (makija, šikara i šuma primorskog bora) zbog čega je determinacija njihove izvorne funkcije otežana.

Funkcije suhozida u prošlosti a i danas bile su višestruke: suhozidi kao element ograđivanja poljoprivrednih površina, suhozidi kao element ograđivanja pašnjačkih površina i suhozidi kao potporni element u obliku terasa (Aničić, Perica, 2003).

Suhozidi kao element ograđivanja poljoprivrednih površina nastali su premještanjem kamena iz plitkih tala radi dobivanja obradivih površina, pri čemu je kamen korišten za ograđivanje poljoprivrednih parcela (Gams, 1991; Gams et al., 1993). Na južnom Visu, rasprostranjeni su uglavnom na područjima blažeg nagiba, u blizini naseljenih područja. Struktura ovog tipa suhozida uglavnom je nepravilna, u skladu s morfologijom terena. Nekada su se na tim poljoprivrednim površinama uzgajale različite kulture (osobito vinova loza i masline) dok su danas u velikoj mjeri prepuštene zarastanju.

Suhozidi u funkciji ograđivanja pašnjačkih površina rasprostranjeni su na cijelom području južnog dijela otoka Visa, imaju pretežito linearnu strukturu i dominiraju osobito na područjima kamenjara (Sl. 1).

Suhozidi koji su služili kao potporni element terasastih polja imali su funkciju zadržavanja tla na strmijim dijelovima padina. Na obradivom tlu terasa nekada su se uzgajale kulture vinove loze i masline dok je danas njihova funkcija bitno smanjena, pa u velike površine terasastih polja u zarastanju a suhozidi se radi neodržavanja nalaze u procesu raspadanja.

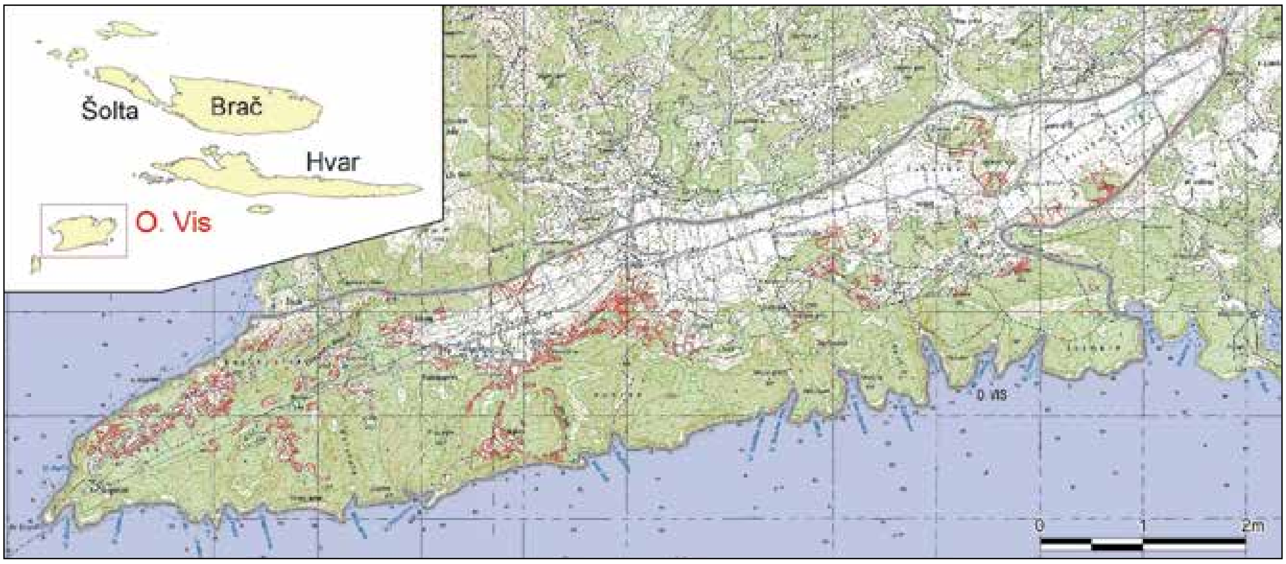
Nastanak i razvoj suhozidne mreže otoka Visa predstavljao je dugotrajan i kontinuirani proces sve do 20. stoljeća, kada zbog promijenjenih društveno-geografskih okolnosti dolazi do suprotnog procesa: napuštanja obrade zemljišta na padinama i prepuštanje suhozidne mreže prirodnoj sukcesiji i degradaciji. Ovi procesi danas su vrlo izraženi, što je jasno vidljivo u izgledu krajobraza i, što je još važnije, utječu na značajke ekosustava.

Podložnost suhozida destrukciji pod utjecajem je brojnih čimbenika. Najznačajniji su: litološki sastav, gradijent nagiba padina, nadmorska visina, postojanje/nepostojanje biljnog pokrova, njihova prostorna konfiguracija, način korištenja i napuštanje tradicionalne poljoprivredne djelatnosti. Terenska opažanja na južnom Visu sugeriraju da se degradacija suhozida (kao i denudacija i erozija na padinama) češće pojavljuju u specifičnim, izoliranim područjima, poput npr. zona s puno rasjeda, na padinama s višim vrijednostima nagiba, na padinama eksponiranim prema „kišonosnim" vjetrovima (jugo), na kojima postoji izražen proces jaruženja i izloženost površinskoj vodnoj eroziji. Pozitivan element, povezan s napuštanjem tradicionalne obrade zemljišta jest uznapredovala sukcesija različitih vegetacijskih stadija, koja umanjuje denudacijski i erozijski potencijal na padinama.

U ovom radu provedena je analiza strukturnih značajki mreže suhozida i njihov međuodnos s prirodnim krajobrazom. Primijenjen je specifičan pristup, tj. elementi suhozidne mreže analizirani su u okviru prethodno determiniranih prostornih cjelina (tipova geokompleksa) koje su definirane njihovom unutrašnjom vertikalnom strukturom (Lozić et al., 2012). Elementi vertikalne strukture obuhvaćaju litološke značajke, geomorfološke značajke (reprezentirane nagibima padina), te tipove korištenja zemljišta. Na temelju ovako postavljenog odnosa, moguće je rekonstruirati prostorni raspored i značajke područja obuhvaćenih antropopresijom (intenzivno poljoprivredno korištenje tijekom historijsko-geografskog razvoja, uključujući prvobitnu vegetacijsku regresiju i kasnije sukcesiju) koja je direktno utjecala na stupanj njihove fragmentacije i diverziteta. U analizi strukture suhozida primijenjena je krajobrazna metrika odnosno indikatori kompozicije i konfiguracije krajobraza (Haines-Young, Chopping, 1996; Gustafson, 1998; McGarigal, McComb, 1999; Kurnatowska, 1999; Turner et al., 2001; Botequilha-Leitão, Ahern, 2002; Botequilha-Leitão et al., 2006; Johnson, Patil, 2007; Lang, Blaschke, 2007).

Nekoliko je temeljnih ciljeva istraživanja: a) određivanje značajki dimenzija mreže suhozida i odabir krajobraznih indikatora koji su najpogodniji za definiranje njezine strukture, b) određivanje temeljnih značajki dimenzija elemenata krajobraza (tipovi geokompleksa) unutar kojih su sadržani dijelovi suhozidne mreže, c) utvrđivanje karaktera i stupnja njihove međusobne povezanosti, tj. međuodnosa značajki suhozidne mreže i antropogenog utjecaja na krajobraz.

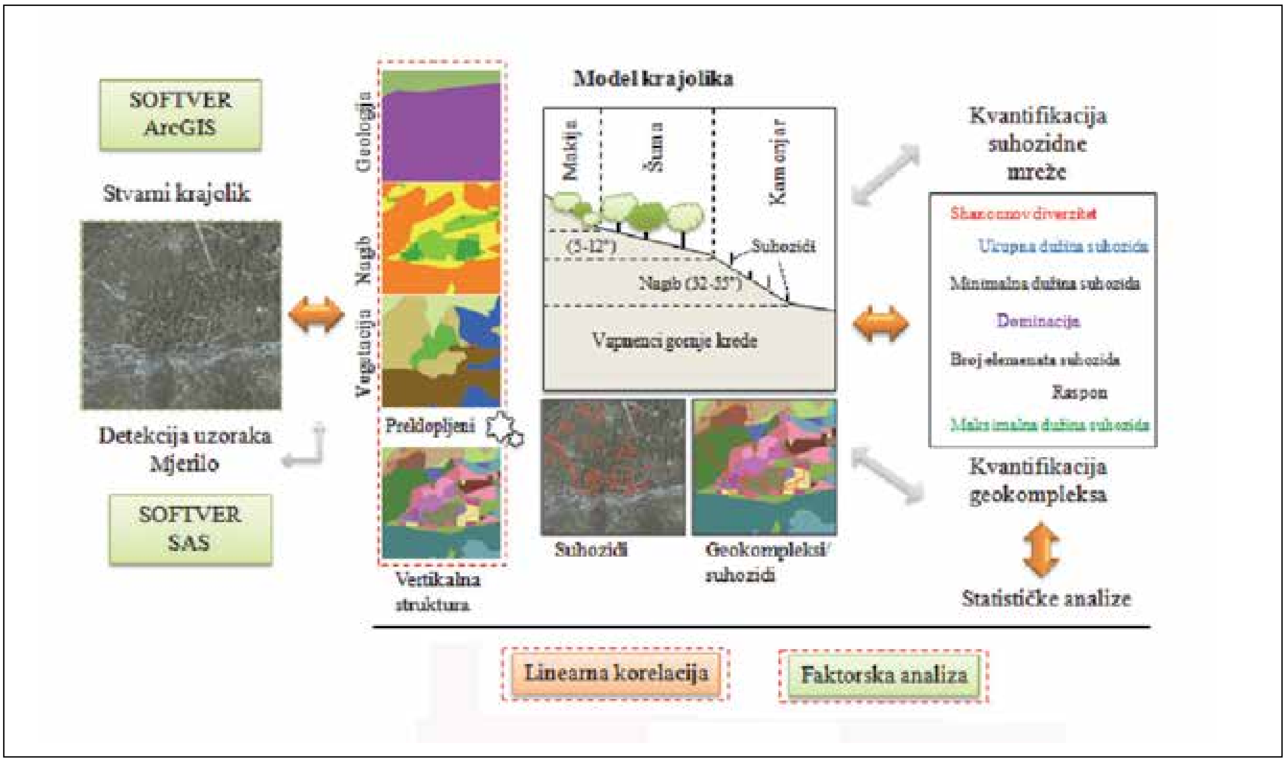
Podaci dobiveni GIS analizom obrađeni su metodama krajobrazne metrike i statističkim metodama linearne korelacije i faktorske analize. Višestruka linearna korelacija poslužila je za utvrđivanje karaktera i stupnja povezanosti trinaest varijabli uključenih u analizu. Faktorska analiza provedena je s ciljem redukcije većeg broja varijabli na manji broj faktora koji najbolje defi-



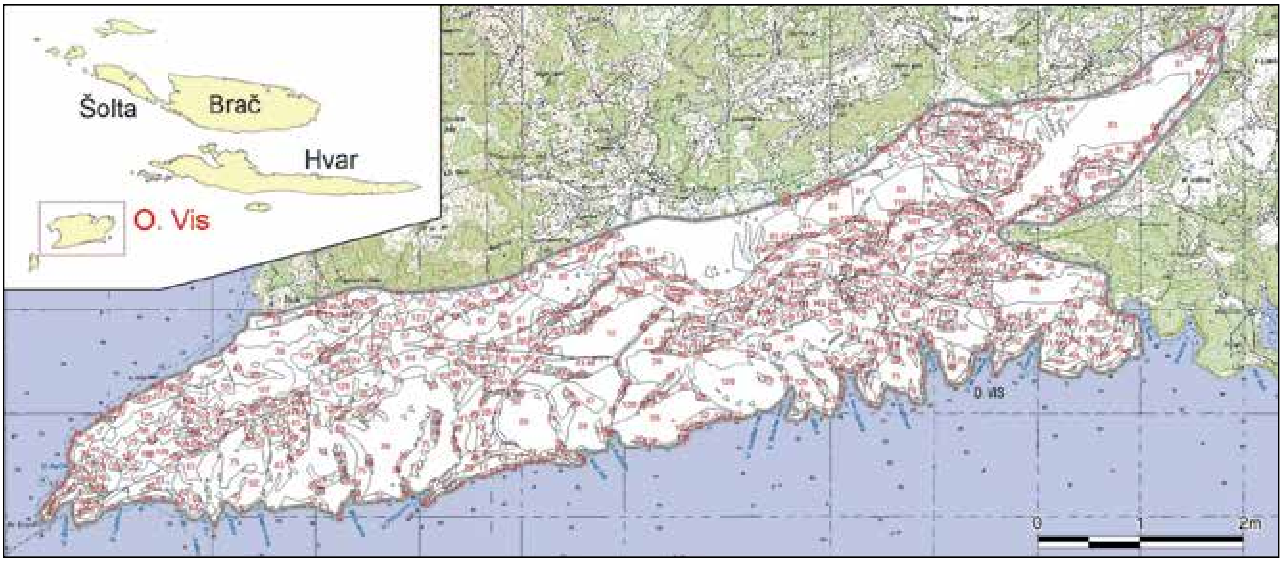
Sl. 1: Istraživano područje s mrežom suhozida.
Fig. 1: Area of investigation with dry stonewall network.

niraju strukturu i kompleksnost suhozidne mreže kao i stupanj antropogenog utjecaja na krajobraz.

Temeljna je pretpostavka da je ostvarenjem navedenih ciljeva moguće definirati značajke sadašnje strukture suhozidne mreže i pripadajućeg krajobraza južnog Visa kao i generalne obrasce utjecaja društveno-geografskih procesa tijekom historijsko-geografskog razvoja koji su doveli do njihovog sadašnjeg izgleda i stanja. Sve navedeno trebalo bi poslužiti kao smjernica prilikom odlučivanja o načinu i stupnju zaštite ovog specifičnog prirodnog i kulturnog krajobraza i eventualne revitalizacije u svrhu održivog turističkog vrednovanja.



Sl. 2: Model istraživanja.
Fig. 2: Model of research.



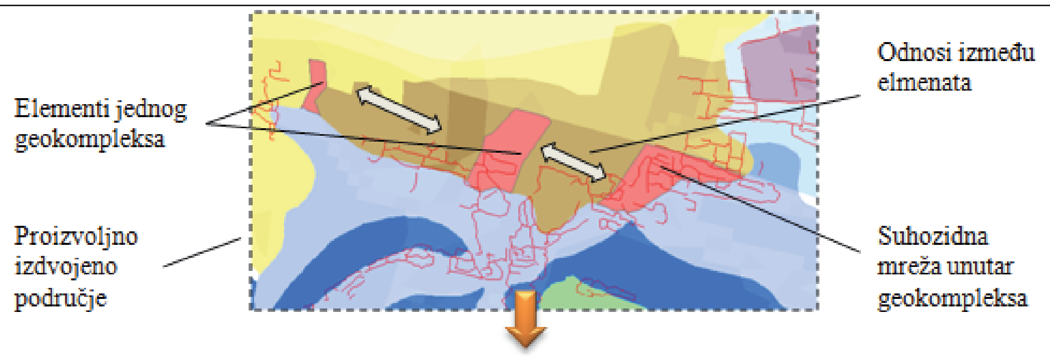
Sl. 3: Prostorni raspored tipova geokompleksa.
Fig. 3: Spatial distribution of geocomplex types.

METODOLOGIJA

U znanstvenom procesu, uz opće znanstveno-istraživačke metode, korištene su različite metode, tehnike i procedure. Cilj je bio njihovo integriranje u svrhu dobivanja kvalitetnijih izlaznih rezultata. U istraživanju su primijenjene: GIS metode, metode prikupljanja i obrade podataka (topografske karte Visa u mjerilu 1:25000, ARKOD, DOF-ovi područja, geološke karte), terenska istraživanja, metode geografske prostorne analize, metode krajobrazne metrike, statističke metode, uz izradu tematskih karata.

Nakon postavljanja hipoteze i ciljeva uspostavljen je model istraživanja (Sl. 2). Najprije su određeni parametri (trinaest varijabli), koji su podijeljeni na antropogene (suhozidna mreža), prirodne/antropogene (tipovi geokompleksa čija se vertikalna struktura sastoji od podataka o litološkom sastavu, nagibima i vegetaciji/korištenju zemljišta) (Lozić i dr., 2012; 2013) i kompozitne (indeksi). Nakon toga, pristupilo se izradi konceptualnog i matematičko - statističkog modela, GIS i statističkim analizama.

Vektorizacijom suhozidne mreže dobiven je novi sloj koji je superponiran na prethodno dobiveni kompozitni sloj sastavljen od parametara prirodnog i kulturnog krajobraza (geologije, nagiba i vegetacije/načina korištenja zemljišta) (Sl. 4) (Lozić i dr., 2012; 2013). Na taj način dobivene su 92 kompleksne prostorne jedi-



Ukupna dužina	Srednja dužina	Minimalna dužina	Maksimalna dužina	Raspon min/max	Broj geoobj.
1298,40	49,94	1,85	173,14	171,29	26
Površina geokom.	Gustoća/površina	Gustoća/opseg	IPV	Diverzitet	Dominacija
34592,09	3,7535	85,6396	100,70	0,0383	3,2198

Sl. 4: Shema primjene krajobrazne metrike u analizi suhozidne mreže i pripadajućih tipova geokompleksa.
Fig. 4: Landscape metrics application scheme in analysis of dry stonewall network and accompanying geocomplex types.

nice (tipovi geokompleksa sastavljeni od elemenata s pripadajućim suhozidima) (Sl. 3). Navedeni postupci poslužili su kao temelj za daljnju analizu strukture suhozidne mreže i pripadajućeg krajobraza. Automatsko preklapanje slojeva, njihovo klasificiranje i uređivanje omogućili su primjenu krajobrazne metrike (Haines-Young, Chopping, 1996; Gustafson, 1998; McGarigal, McComb, 1999; Kurnatowska, 1999; Turner et al., 2001; Botequilha-Leitão, Ahern, 2002; Botequilha-Leitão et al., 2006; Johnson, Patil, 2007) u prostornoj analizi suhozidne mreže s pripadajućim tipovima geokompleksa, te klasifikaciju na temelju „natural breaks" metode (Jenks, 1963; 1967) da bi se dobile odgovarajuće tematske karte pojedinih pokazatelja (Sl. 4).

Nakon uspostavljanja baze podataka, pristupilo se statističkoj analizi (linearna korelacija i faktorska analiza) da bi se utvrdili odnosi između varijabli kao i latentni faktori koji reprezentiraju određene grupe varijabli. Sve navedene metode i postupci omogućili su kvalitetniju interpretaciju rezultata i donošenje odgovarajućih zaključaka.

REZULTATI

Elementi krajobraza do sada su se opisivali i kategorizirali s različitih aspekata: kao biotopi, staništa, kategorije korištenja zemljišta, kombinacije pokazatelja prirodnih značajki i/ili korištenja zemljišta i sl. (O'Neill et al., 1988; Goigel Turner, 1989; Turner et al., 2001; Lozić et al., 2012). U ovom istraživanju primijenjen je modificirani pristup: elementima krajobraza pridodana je suhozidna mreža koja predstavlja poveznicu između antropogenog utjecaja i prirodnih uvjeta unutar krajobraza tijekom historijsko-geografskog razvoja i danas. Ovakav pristup primijenjen je iz razloga što prostorna struktura suhozidne mreže u velikoj mjeri reprezentira fizionomiju prirodnog/kulturnog krajobraza, ali istovremeno utječe i na ekološke funkcije, fragmentaciju i diverzitet unutar krajobraza. Također, veliki značaj ima za vizualni izgled i ljudsku percepciju krajobraza.

Prostorna struktura krajobraza u uskoj je vezi s kompozicijom i konfiguracijom elemenata krajobraza. Kompozicija se odnosi na broj i čestinu pojave različitih tipova elemenata krajobraza, dok konfiguracija obuhvaća prostorni raspored elemenata unutar krajobraza (McGarigal, Marks, 1995; Gustafson, 1998; Lang, Blaschke, 2007).

U tom kontekstu razvijeni su brojni matematički pokazatelji kako bi se omogućio objektivan opis različitih aspekata strukture krajobraza (O'Neill et al, 1988; Goigel Turner, 1989; Gustafson, 1998; McGarigal, Marks, 1995; Haines-Young, Chopping, 1996; McGarigal et al., 2002; Boutequilha-Leitão et al., 2006; Lang, Blaschke, 2007). Kvantitativna analiza prostornih obrazaca u krajobrazu predstavlja temelj analize strukture krajobraza odnosno funkcija i procesa koji su prisutni u njemu. Neke od tih mjera primijenjene su pri analizi strukturnih značajki suhozidne mreže južnog dijela otoka Visa.

Strukturne značajke mreže suhozida i pripadajućeg krajobraza

a) Značajke konfiguracije

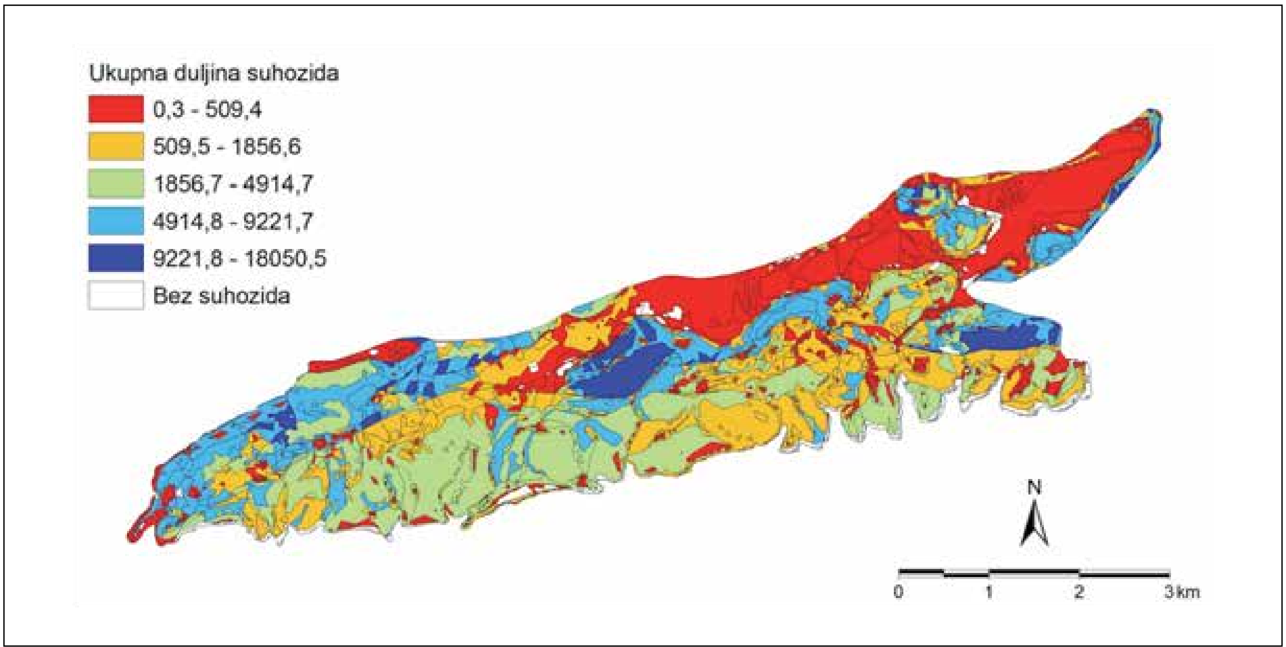
Analizom varijabli konfiguracije elemenata mreže suhozida moguće je dobiti uvid u njihov prostorni raspored, položaj, orijentaciju i stupanj složenosti strukture. Svi ovi pokazatelji ukazuju na stupanj fragmentacije/agregacije odnosno homogenosti/heterogenosti suhozidne mreže kao i pripadajućeg krajobraza. Za potrebe istraživanja odabrani su pokazatelji ukupne, srednje, minimalne i maksimalne dužine suhozida, standardne devijacije ukupne dužine suhozida, površine i opsega tipova geokompleksa koji sadrže suhozide i indeksi gustoće mreže suhozida (odnosi između ukupne dužine suhozida s površinom i opsegom tipova geokompleksa).

Slično kao i u analizi površina areala elemenata krajolika (Goigel Turner, 1989; Forman, 1995; McGarigal, Marks, 1995; Boutequilha Leitao et al., 2006, Lang, Blaschke, 2010), dužina je najuočljivija i najdominantnija mjera konfiguracije suhozida. Važnost ovog parametra je tim veća jer se veliki broj ostalih mjera direktno ili indirektno izvode iz njega, kao i u činjenici da reprezentira direktni utjecaj suhozida na biotičke veze, tj. raspored i diverzitet biljnih i životinjskih vrsta kao i utjecaj na prekid komunikacije unutar ekosustava i biocenoza. Također, dužina kao element konfiguracije suhozida utječe i na abiotičke procese, npr. stupanj i karakter infiltracije padalina što, u međuovisnosti sa sastavom tla direktno utječe na padinske procese, ako se radi o područjima izraženijeg reljefa. Ovo je od osobitog značaja zbog činjenice da padine s terasama kojima suhozidi služe kao potporni element u većoj mjeri zadržavaju stabilnost, za razliku od onih gdje takvog djelovanja nema. Ovakve padine su u puno većoj mjeri izložene djelovanju egzogeomorfoloških faktora (klimatski utjecaji, gravitacijski procesi i dr.). Sve navedeno vrijedi i za parametre kompozicije od kojih se neki temelje na udjelu dužine suhozida.

Ukupna dužina suhozida (Sl. 5) predstavlja zbroj svih dužina pojedinih suhozida koji tvore više ili manje homogenu mrežu unutar jedinice krajolika (tipa geokompleksa).

Najveća ukupna dužina suhozida (9221,8 - 18050,5 m) utvrđena je na nekoliko areala, od kojih se najveći nalazi u središnjem dijelu istraživanog područja (Sl. 5). Drugi areal s najvećim dužinama suhozida, nešto manje površine, nalazi se na krajnjem istočnom dijelu. Ostali areali fragmentarno su raspršeni na manjim područjima u SZ dijelu i bitno su manje površine nego prethodna dva areala.

Najmanja ukupna dužina suhozidne mreže (0,3 - 509,4 m) utvrđena je na područjima krških polja na sjevernom dijelu istraživanog područja (Sl. 5), što je i



Sl. 5: Ukupna dužina suhozidne mreže.
Fig. 5: Total length of dry stonewall network.

razumljivo s obzirom na to da se radi o intenzivno korištenim obradivim površinama gdje nije bilo potrebe za gradnjom takve vrste.

Prosječna dužina suhozida predstavlja aritmetičku sredinu dužina suhozida izmjerenih unutar svih geokompleksa koji sadržavaju suhozide unutar tipova i predstavlja važnu prostornu komponentu tradicionalnog kulturnog krajobraza zbog usporedivosti mreže suhozida različitih tipova geokompleksa, zbog čega ima iznimnu važnost kao indikator antropogeno uvjetovane homogenosti/heterogenosti krajobraza (Liang, 2008).

Područja s nižim vrijednostima srednje dužine suhozida ukazuju na veći stupanj fragmentacije krajobraza, slično područjima s manjom srednjom površinom areala krajobraznih prostornih jedinica (tipova geokompleksa).

Iako se radi o relativno jednostavnom krajobraznom indeksu, njegov značaj u istraživanjima krajobraza je velik zbog visoke osjetljivosti na sve promjene u krajobrazu. Uz ostale pokazatelje, prikladan je za komparativnu analizu stupnja fragmentacije/agregacije elemenata suhozida (Liang, 2008).

Na temelju podataka o ukupnim dužinama suhozida unutar svakog tipa geokompleksa određene su njihove **standardne devijacije** koje su dobar pokazatelj homogenosti/heterogenosti mreže suhozida, a vrijednosti za različite tipove geokompleksa pogodne su za usporedbu. Stupanj homogenosti/heterogenosti direktna je posljedica prirodne predispozicije zemljišta za ograđivanje i terasiranje.

Površina tipova geokompleksa (osnovnog elementa krajobraza), kao i svi ostali parametri koji se izvode iz nje, jedan je od temeljnih indikatora procesa unutar krajobraza (abiotičkih, biotičkih i antropogenih). Veličina elementa krajobraza, na svim razinama, utječe na strukturne i funkcionalne značajke kao i na procese unutar ekosustava (raspored vrsta i njihov diverzitet, količinu biomase, primarnu produktivnost i dr.). Osim toga, ovaj parametar ukazuje i na fragmentaciju staništa i ekosustava u cjelini. Npr. tip krajobraza čiji su elementi brojniji i manje površine u odnosu na neki drugi tip u većoj je mjeri fragmentiran (McGarigal, Marks, 1995). Ova fragmentacija posljedica je kombiniranog utjecaja prirodnih i antropogenih faktora tijekom historijsko-geografskog razvoja.

Opseg („*edge*“) tipova geokompleksa je temeljni parametar koji reprezentira oblik elementa krajobraza. S obzirom na to da se radi o graničnoj liniji između dvaju ili više geokompleksa ili tipova geokompleksa na višoj razini, javlja se tzv „granični efekt“ („edge effect“, Lang, Blaschke, 2007) koji ukazuje na promjene u mikroklimatskim značajkama, prirodnim ili antropogeno uvjetovanim poremećajima (demografskim i gospodarskim procesima) koji mijenjaju kompoziciju i strukturu vegetacijskog pokrova, kao i značajke životinjskog svijeta). Također, značajke granične zone u velikoj mjeri utječu na ekološke procese, kao što su npr. izmjena mase i energije i migracije biljnog i životinjskog svijeta duž ili preko granične linije (Gutzwiller, Anderson, 1992).

Omjer opsega i površine tipova geokompleksa (SHAPE) predstavlja indeks oblika elementa krajobraza i u analizama se koristi kao mjera kompleksnosti/kompaktnosti oblika, koja se odražava na različite ekološke procese (Forman, 1995). Računa se prema formuli (Lang, Blaschke, 2007):

$$SHAPE = \frac{p}{2\sqrt{\pi a}}$$

gdje je:
p = opseg elementa,
a = površina elementa

Npr. element krajobraza koji ima oblik sličan kružnici ili kvadratu, imat će malu dužinu opsega i veću površinu središnjeg područja („*core area*“). Suprotno tome, dugački, uski i nepravilni oblici elemenata krajobraza, imat će veliku dužinu opsega ali manju površinu središnjeg područja ili jezgre, unatoč velikoj ukupnoj površini. Unutar kompaktnijih elemenata krajobraza, organizmi se mogu neometano kretati ili rasprostirati, dok linearni, nepravilni i izduženi oblici često utječu na prekid u komunikaciji ili kontinuiranom rasprostranjenju.

Većina mjera koje se odnose na oblik predstavlja neke od varijacija temeljnog odnosa opseg - površina (Krummel et al., 1987). Kompleksniji oblici imat će veći opseg i, posljedično, veći indeks opsega i površine. Također, oblik utječe i na magnitudu i karakteristike interakcija između elemenata krajobraza s njihovim susjedstvom, prije svega kroz „granični efekt“ (Collinge, 1996) i procese koji se odvijaju u graničnim područjima.

Indeksi gustoće (odnos ukupne dužine suhozida i površine/opsega tipova geokompleksa) reprezentiraju fragmentaciju suhozidne mreže i pripadajućeg krajobraza. Ovi pokazatelji su od velikog značaja jer odražavaju stupanj antropogenog utjecaja na fragmentaciju ekosustava krajobraza.

Da bi se dobila potpunija slika o stupnju interakcije prirodnog krajobraza i mreže suhozida kao pokazatelja antropogeno uzrokovane fragmentacije, ukupna dužina suhozida dovedena je u vezu s ukupnom površinom i opsegom svakog tipa geokompleksa, prema izrazima:

C_1 = n/A, (Gao et al., 2011)

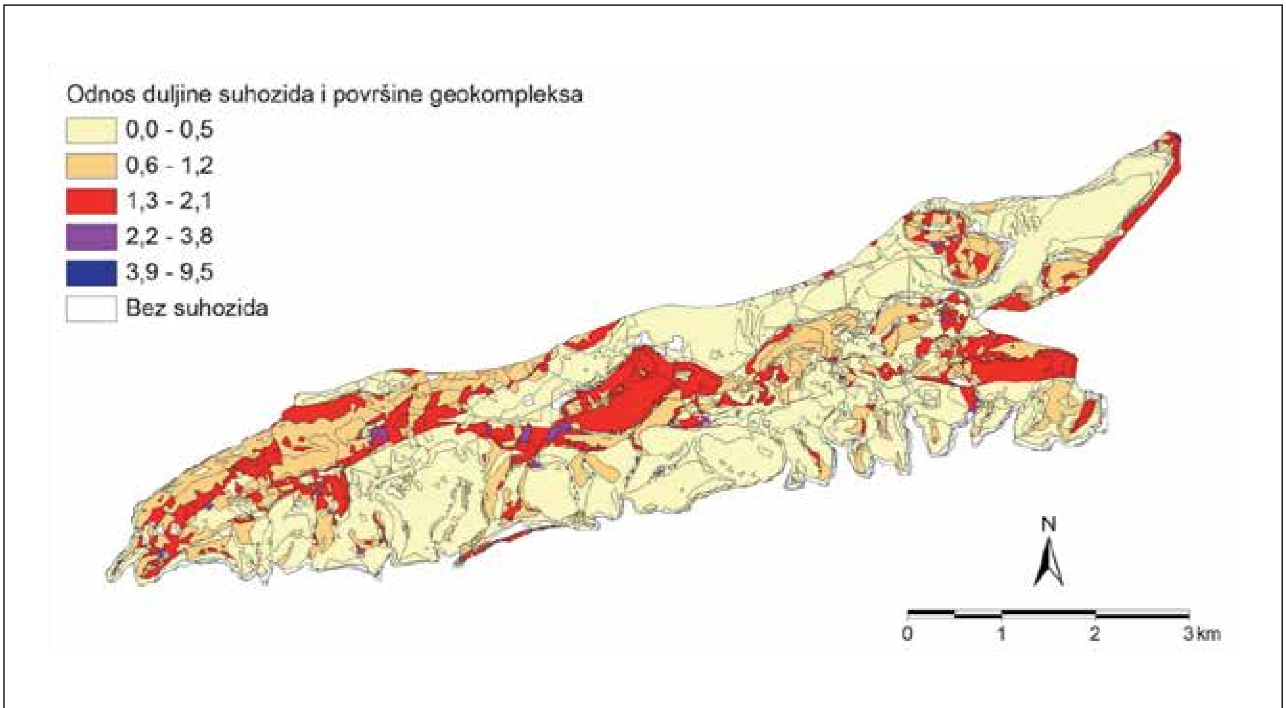
i

C_2 = n/P

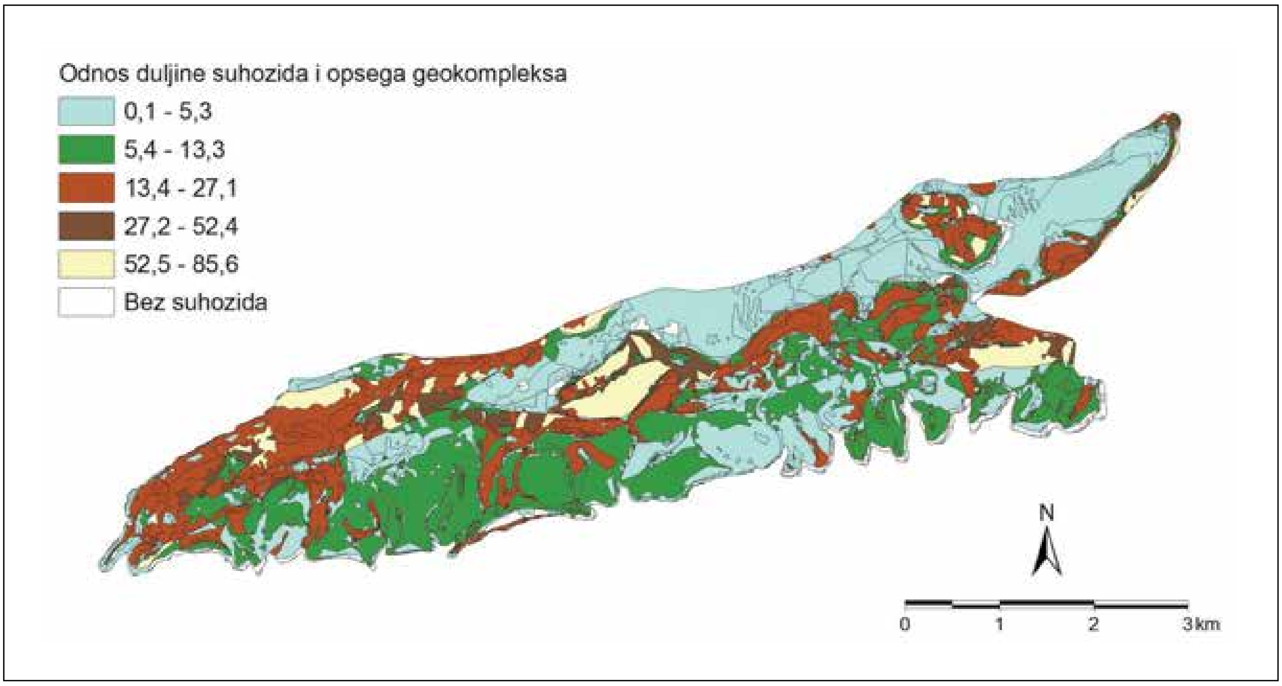
gdje je:

C_1 = indeks gustoće 1 (dužina/površina),
C_2 = indeks gustoće 2 (dužina/opseg),
n = ukupna dužina suhozida),
A = površina tipa geokompleksa
P = opseg tipa geokompleksa

Na taj način omogućena je prostorna diferencijacija područja južnog Visa na područja različitih značajki antropogenog utjecaja na prirodni krajobraz (Sl. 6 i 7). Ovi pokazatelji pružaju vrlo korisnu informaciju o stupnju i karakteru antropopresije unutar pojedinih tipova geokompleksa i mogu biti smjernica prilikom odabira odgovarajućih tehnoloških postupaka (u smislu veće ili manje zahtjevnosti) prilikom eventualne revitalizacije krajobraza.



Sl. 6: Odnos duljine suhozidne mreže i površine tipova geokompleksa.
Fig. 6: Relationship of length of dry stonewalls network and area of geocomplex types.



Sl. 7: Odnos duljine suhozidne mreže i opsega tipova geokompleksa.
Fig. 7.Relationship of length of dry stonewalls network and perimeter of geocomplex types.

b) Značajke kompozicije mreže suhozida unutar prostornih jedinica krajobraza

Prostorna kompozicija odnosi se na broj elemenata suhozida i značajke diverziteta/dominacije i fragmentacije/agregacije unutar pojedinačnih tipova geokompleksa kao i krajobraza u cjelini. Kompozicija nije prostorno eksplicitna značajka jer se odnosi na brojnost i raznolikost, ali ne i na prostorni raspored unutar elemenata krajobraza (Boutequilha-Leit**ã**o et al., 2006).

S obzirom da je veliki broj vrsta ograničeno značajkama staništa (McGarigal, Marks, 1995), poznavanje kompozicije elemenata i mreže suhozida od velikog je značaja, jer parametri kompozicije ukazuju na stupanj utjecaja na biotičke veze, tj. raspored i diverzitet biljnih i životinjskih vrsta kao i prekid ili uspostavljanje komunikacije unutar biocenoza i ekosustava. Također, kompozicija suhozida reprezentira i abiotičke procese, npr. stupanj i karakter infiltracije padalina što, u međuovisnosti sa sastavom tla, direktno utječe na padinske procese ako se radi o područjima izraženijeg reljefa. Ovo je od osobitog značaja zbog činjenice da padine s terasama kojima suhozidi služe kao potporni element u većoj mjeri zadržavaju stabilnost, za razliku od onih gdje takvog djelovanja nema. Ovakve padine su u puno većoj mjeri izložene djelovanju egzogeomorfoloških faktora (npr. derazijski procesi i dr.).

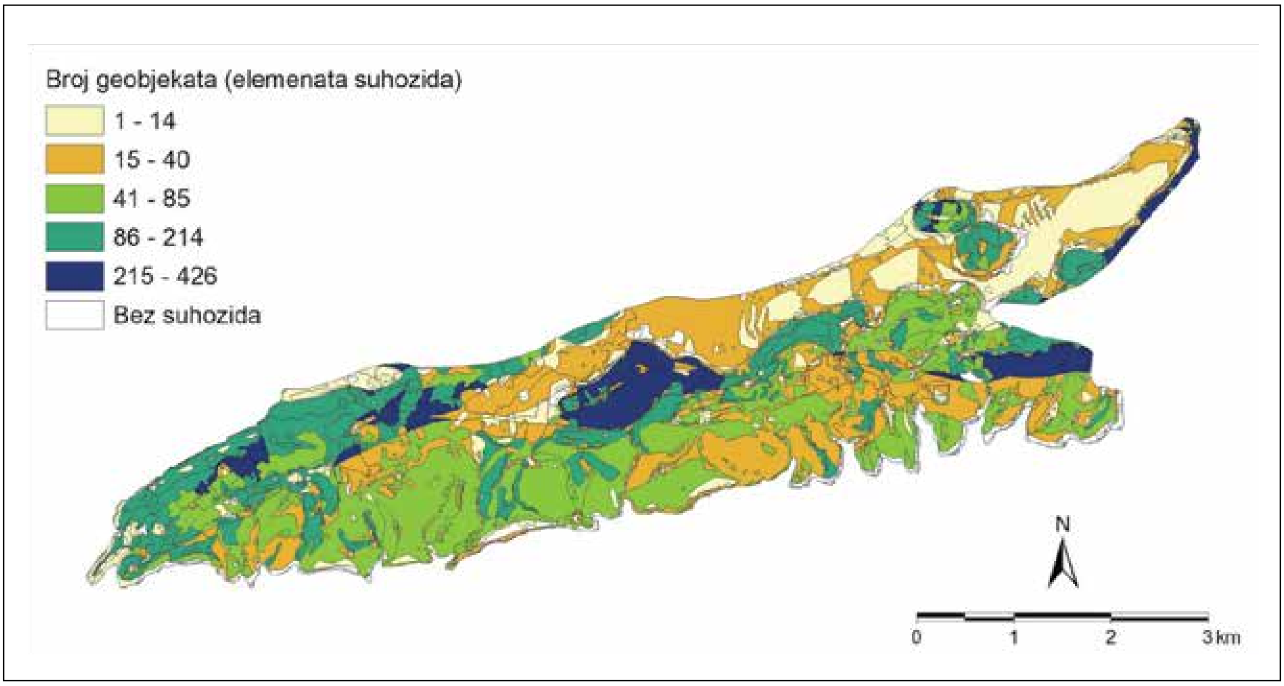
Broj elemenata suhozidne mreže (Richness index), kao osnovnih elementarnih čestica mreže suhozida, pokazatelj je fragmentacije mreže suhozida unutar tipova geokompleksa, ne uzimajući pri tome u obzir njihov prostorni karakter, raspored ili položaj unutar mreže suhozida. Određuje se prema izrazu $R = m$, gdje je m broj osnovnih elemenata suhozida prisutnih unutar skupa.

Ovaj pokazatelj ima široku primjenu kao temeljna mjera kompozicije i diverziteta strukture suhozida ali i tipa geokompleksa na kojem se određen skup suhozida nalazi (Sl. 8). Sve to ima značajne implikacije na fragmentaciju i diverzitet abiotičkih i biotičkih elemenata krajobraza, izmjenu energije i raspored prirodnih resursa. Također, ovaj pokazatelj jedan je od bitnih komponenata nekih mjera diverziteta, kao što su npr. Shannonov ili Simpsonov indeks diverziteta (Lang, Blaschke, 2010).

Shannonov indeks diverziteta je kompozitna mjera broja elemenata (*Richness*) i jednolikosti raspodjele (*Eveness*) (McGarigal, Marks, 1995; Lang, Blaschke, 2010; Boutequilha-Leitão et al., 2006). Ovisno o cilju istraživanja, naglasak može biti na brojnosti elemenata, pri čemu se kao mjera koristi Shannonnov indeks diverziteta (SDI; Shannon, Weaver, 1949), ili na jednolikosti raspodjele, za što je prikladniji Simpsonov indeks (Nagendra, 2002).

Primjena indeksa diverziteta u analizama prirodnog krajobraza detaljno je opisana u literaturi (McGarigal, Marks, 1995; Boutequilha-Leitão et al., 2006; Lang, Blaschke, 2010; Dušek, Popelkova, 2012; i mnogi drugi autori).

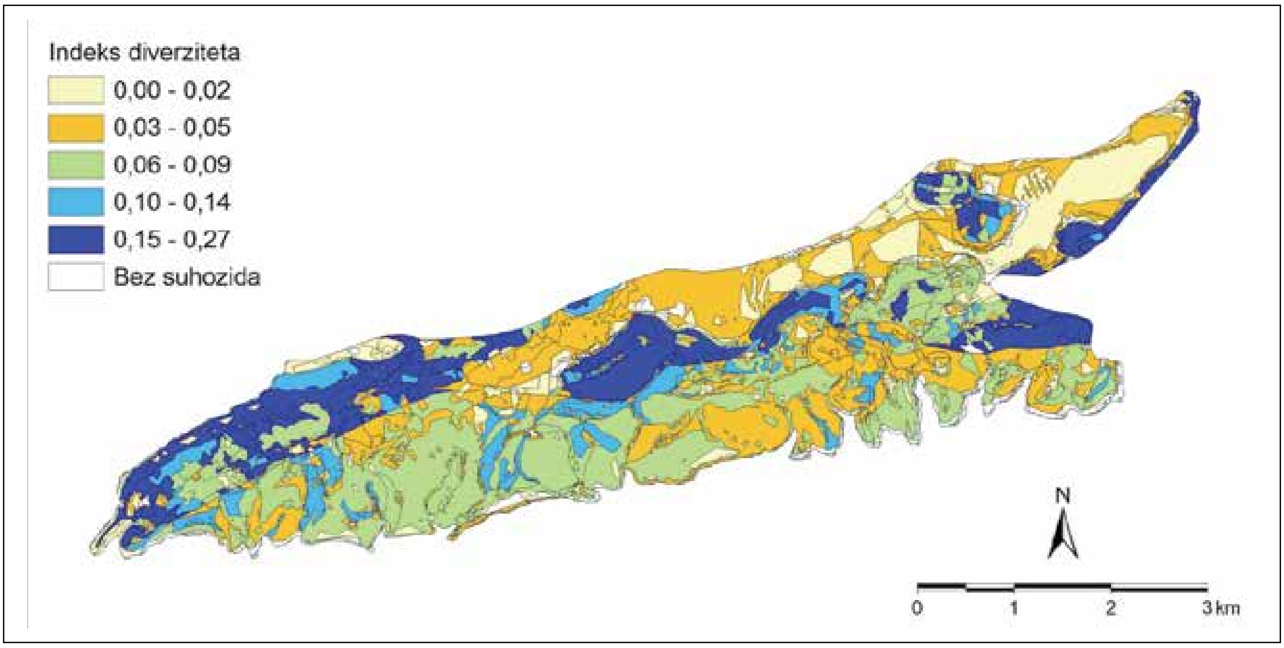
U ovom istraživanju Shannonov indeks diverziteta primijenjen je simultano na elemente suhozidne mreže i pripadajućeg prirodnog krajobraza, pri čemu su uzete u obzir dvije komponente: broj individualnih elemenata mreže suhozida unutar tipova geokompleksa kao i broj individualnih geokompleksa unutar tipova koji sadrža-



Sl. 8: Broj geoobjekata (individualnih elemenata suhozidne mreže) unutar tipova geokompleksa.
Fig. 8: Number of geoobjects (individual elements of dry stonewall network) within geocomplex types.

vaju suhozide (Sl. 9). Ova modifikacija je od važnosti jer su na taj način reprezentirane značajke diverziteta oba organski povezana elementa krajobraza. Vrijednost diverziteta svakog individualnog tipa geokompleksa može se razmatrati u odnosu na ostale individualne tipove ili krajobraz u cjelini, što omogućava kompleksniju i potpuniju detekciju dijelova krajobraza kojima je potrebno posvetiti posebnu pažnju prilikom eventualne revitalizacije i revalorizacije (agrarne ili turističke).

U ovom slučaju, indeks diverziteta označava frekvenciju pojavljivanja pojedinačnih elemenata suhozidne mreže unutar prostornih jedinica krajobraza, koja



Sl. 9: Prostorni raspored indeksa diverziteta suhozidne mreže unutar tipova geokompleksa.
Fig. 9: Spatial distribution of dry stonewall network diversity index within geocomplex types.

istovremeno ukazuje na stupanj fragmentacije krajobraza. Ovaj pokazatelj izračunat je za sva 92 tipa geokompleksa sa suhozidima kao i za krajobraz u cjelini, prema izrazu:

$$H = \sum_{i=1}^{s} -(p_i \times log\ p_i)$$

$$p_i = \frac{N_i}{N}$$

gdje je:
N_i = broj elemenata suhozida unutar određenog tipa geokompleksa
N = broj elementa suhozida unutar svih geokompleksa (cijelog krajobraza)
s = broj geokompleksa (uutar pojedinog tipa geokompleksa)

Vrijednosti SDI rastu s povećanjem broja individualnih elemenata suhozida unutar pripadajućih tipova geokompleksa odnosno sa stupnjem proporcionalne distribucije broja elemenata suhozida i površine tipa geokompleksa u odnosu na sve druge skupove suhozida s pripadajućim tipovima geokompleksa. Drugim riječima, maksimalne vrijednosti SDI javljaju se kada su proporcije ili udjeli svih tipova geokompleksa s pripadajućim suhozidima jednaki, a opadaju ako se razlike u proporcijama povećavaju (McGarigal, Marks, 1995; Lang, Blaschke, 2010; Boutequilha-Leitão et al., 2006).

Indeks dominacije odražava stupanj dominacije jedne ili više mreža suhozida zajedno s pripadajućim tipovima geokompleksa. Drugim riječima, ovaj indeks je mjera odstupanja pojedinačnih vrijednosti diverziteta od maksimalne vrijednosti na razini cijelog krajobraza (O'Neill et al., 1988; Hulshoff, 1995; McGarigal,Marks, 1995). Vrijednost indeksa dominacije proporcionalna je veličini broja elemenata (*Richnesss*) i jednolikosti raspodjele (*Eveness*) (McGarigal, Marks, 1995; Boutequilha-Leitão et al., 2006; Lang, Blaschke, 2010; Gao et al., 2011). Ukoliko je indeks dominacije za pojedini skup suhozida unutar tipa geokompleksa veći, ukazuje na veći stupanj dominacije u odnosu na ostale, i obratno.

Indeks dominacije računa se prema slijedećem izrazu:

$$D = H_{\max} + \sum_{i=1}^{s} \left(p_i \times \log p_i\right)$$

$$H_{\max} = \log(s)$$

$$p_i = \frac{N_i}{N}$$

gdje je
H_{max} = maksimalna vrijednost indeksa diverziteta
Ni = broj elemenata suhozida unutar određenog tipa geokompleksa
N = broj elementa suhozida unutar svih tipova geokompleksa (cijelog krajobraza)
s = broj individualnih geokompleksa unutar pojedinog tipa geokompleksa

Korelacija između SDI i indeksa dominacije u ovom slučaju skoro potpuna, tj. r = 0,98 (Tabela 1), što znači da su područja s izraženim diverzitetom istovremeno i dominantna, i obratno.

Odnosi između varijabli i njihov značaj za procjenu fragmentacije i diverziteta krajobraza

Da bi se utvrdila jačina veze između varijabli strukture krajolika, provedena je Pearsonova analiza linearne korelacije (Atauri, de Lucio, 2001). S obzirom na to da se radi o parametrijskom testu, prije samog postupka bilo je potrebno provesti analizu normalnosti raspodjele za svaku pojedinu varijablu (Tabachnik, Fidel, 2007). Utvrđeno je da većina varijabli nema normalnu raspodjelu, zbog čega je provedena transformacija (kvadratna ili logaritamska, ovisno o varijabli). Na taj način dobivene su približno normalne raspodjele vrijednosti varijabli, čime su zadovoljeni uvjeti parametrijske korelacije i svih ostalih parametrijskih postupaka.

Iz dobivenih rezultata predstavljenih korelacijskom matricom (Tabela 1), može se utvrditi da postoji značajna povezanost između velikog broja varijabli. Ako se korelacijska matrica raščlani prema stupnjevima jačine povezanosti varijabli, odnosi među varijablama i njihov doprinos razumijevanju strukture suhozidne mreže i pripadajućeg krajobraza i s njome povezanih procesa u krajobrazu postaju jasniji. Zbog opsežnosti korelacijske matrice, ovdje su predstavljeni samo najvažniji odnosi među varijablama.

Velika ukupna dužina suhozida u pozitivnom smjeru povezana je sa srednjom, maksimalnom i minimalnom (u negativnom smjeru) dužinom kao i njihovim rasponom. Također je visoko povezana s varijablama krajobraza (broj geoobjekata, površina i opseg geokompleksa u pozitivnom smjeru), te kompozitnom varijablom suhozida i krajobraza (Gustoća 2). Područja s velikom ukupnom dužinom suhozidne mreže sastoje se i od većeg broja geoobjekata od kojih je veliki udio onih s maksimalnom dužinom. Razlike između standardne devijacije dužina pojedinih geoobjekata (varijabla STD), u odnosu na ukupnu dužinu svih geoobjekata unutar tipova geokompleksa izrazito su velike, što upućuje na raznolikost i heterogenost suhozidne mreže. Povezanost ukupne dužine suhozidne mreže s površinom elemenata krajobraza je visoka (r =0,75) što znači da se površine s velikom dužinom suhozidne mreže uglavnom nalaze i na većim područjima. Također, s porastom površine ele-

menata krajobraza raste prosječna i maksimalna dužina suhozida, dok se broj suhozida manje dužine smanjuje. Značajna je pozitivna povezanost ukupne dužine s rasponom dužine suhozida, što ukazuje na rast diverzificiranosti suhozidne mreže s porastom površine.

Varijabla Srednja dužina suhozida pokazuje slične značajke povezanosti s ostalim varijablama kao i varijabla Ukupna dužina, samo slabijeg intenziteta. To je i razumljivo jer se radi o aritmetičkim sredinama vrijednosti dužina suhozidnih mreža.

Varijabla Minimalna dužina suhozida pokazuje negativnu povezanost s gotovo svim varijablama, izuzev varijabli Srednja dužina suhozida, SHAPE i Gustoća 1 i 2, gdje je povezanost pozitivna ali slaba (<4,0). Ovakvi odnosi upućuju na zaključak da se smanjivanjem dužine elemenata suhozidne mreže povećava stupanj fragmentacije, što potvrđuje i značajna negativna povezanost s varijablama diverziteta i dominacije (-0,69 odnosno -0,68). Prema tome, i ova varijabla, kao direktan odraz antropogenog utjecaja na strukturu suhozidne mreže, predstavlja dobar pokazatelj fragmentacije i heterogenosti.

S obzirom na visoku međusobnu pozitivnu povezanost varijabli ukupne dužine suhozida, površine i opsega pripadajućih elemenata krajobraza, diverziteta i dominacije, jasno je da se radi o pokazateljima koji imaju veliki značaj za kvantifikaciju strukturnih značajki krajobraza unutar cijelog područja južnog Visa. Povezanost ukupne dužine suhozidne mreže s površinom elemenata krajobraza je visoka (r=0,75) što znači da se površine s velikom ukupnom dužinom suhozidne mreže uglavnom nalaze i na većim područjima. Također, s porastom površine elemenata krajobraza raste prosječna i maksimalna dužina suhozida, dok se broj suhozida manje dužine smanjuje. Značajna je i pozitivna povezanost površine tipova geokompleksa sa standardnom devijacijom, što ukazuje na porast heterogenosti suhozidne mreže s porastom površine.

Povezanost varijable Ukupna dužina s kompozitnom varijablom Gustoća 2 značajna je (0,70). Razlog je specifičnost varijable opsega koja je sadržana u ovom odnosu, odnosno činjenice da ona reprezentira dužinu rubne linije geokompleksa koja može biti vrlo različita, o čemu ovisi karakter i opseg procesa koji se odvijaju u graničnim zonama između različitih tipova geokompleksa.

Još bolji i točniji pokazatelj utjecaja suhozidne mreže na krajobraz je varijabla oblika (SHAPE). Ukoliko se razmotri odnos ukupne dužine suhozida i oblika elemenata krajobraza (SHAPE), uočljivo je da s porastom ukupne dužine suhozida rastu i vrijednosti indeksa oblika, što znači da je veća dužina suhozidne mreže zastupljena na dijelovima krajobraza koji su nepravilnijeg i/ili linearnog oblika, s često manjim područjem „jezgre" („*core area*", Goigel Turner, 1989; McGarigal, Marks, 1995; McGarigal et al., 2002; Boutequilha-Leitão et al., 2006; Lang, Blaschke, 2007). Ova činjenica ukazuje na značaj antropogenog utjecaja, izraženog kroz elemente strukture suhozidne mreže, na modifikaciju oblika a time i na funkcije i procese unutar ekosustava krajobraza.

Osim s varijablom ukupne dužine, varijabla oblika (SHAPE) pozitivno je povezana s gotovo svim ostalim varijablama strukture suhozidne mreže i pripadajućeg krajobraza (osobito s dužinom opsega elemenata krajobraza). Značajna je slaba povezanost s varijablama gustoće, što ukazuje na činjenicu da veći utjecaj na

Tabela 1: Korelacijska matrica odnosa između varijabli.
Table 1: Correlation matrix of variables relationship.

Varijable	UkDuzSuh	SredDuzSuh	MinDuzSuh	MaxDuzSuh	STD	BrojGeoob	PovGeok	OpsGeok	SHAPE	Gustoca1	Gustoca2	DIV	DOM
UkDuzSuh	1,000000	0,757697	-0,627713	0,947514	0,835643	0,978585	0,752423	0,715368	0,597044	0,453169	0,704408	0,979057	0,965045
SredDuzSuh		1,000000	-0,259148	0,827879	0,782098	0,615535	0,494554	0,401462	0,211978	0,447454	0,691009	0,617385	0,608215
MinDuzSuh			1,000000	-0,549944	-0,562774	-0,691319	-0,475902	-0,494669	-0,489027	-0,249504	-0,355325	-0,694478	-0,681374
MaxDuzSuh				1,000000	0,924558	0,897752	0,710882	0,658715	0,517628	0,437288	0,693498	0,897770	0,887859
STD					1,000000	0,775739	0,590414	0,537031	0,536046	0,424038	0,647267	0,781897	0,771573
BrojGeoob						1,000000	0,754560	0,736605	0,651002	0,418031	0,646882	0,999018	0,986037
PovGeok							1,000000	0,967361	0,792739	-0,235210	0,104678	0,753369	0,754430
OpsGeok								1,000000	0,912588	-0,251666	0,022863	0,735580	0,738297
SHAPE									1,000000	-0,188539	-0,061009	0,648718	0,650167
Gustoca1										1,000000	0,908348	0,420570	0,396323
Gustoca2											1,000000	0,649169	0,626222
DIV												1,000000	0,985104
DOM													1,000000

Marked correlations are significant at $p < ,05$; N = 95

UkDuzSuh = ukupna dužina suhozida; SredDuzSuh = prosječna dužina suhozida; MinDuzSuh = minimalna dužina suhozida; MaxDuzSuh = maksimalna dužina suhozida; STD = standardna devijacija; BrojGeoob = broj geoobjekata (elemenata suhozidne mreže); PovGeok = površina tipova geokompleksa; OpsGeok = opseg tipova geokompleksa; SHAPE = oblik tipova geokompleksa; Gustoca 1/2 = odnos ukupne dužine suhozida i površine/opsega tipova geokompleksa; DIV = Shannonov indeks diverziteta; DOM = indeks dominacije.

UkDuzSuh = total dry stonewall length; SredDuzSuh = average dry stonewall length; MinDuzSuh = minimal dry stonewall length; MaxDuzSuh = maximum dry stonewall length; STD = standard deviation; BrojGeoob = number of dry stonewall network objects; PovGeok = area of geocomplex types; OpsGeok = perimeter of geocomplex types; SHAPE = shape of geocomplex types; Gustoca 1/2 = the ratio of total dry stonewall length and area/perimeter of geocomplex types; DIV = Shannon diversity index; DOM = domination index.

Tabela 2: Kumulativne svojstvene vrijednosti glavnih faktora.
Table 2: Cumulative eigenvalues of main factors.

Value	Eigenvalues Extraction: principal components			
	Eigenvalue	% Total variance	Cumulative Eigenvalue	Cumulative %
1	8,691	66,856	8,691	66,856
2	2,594	19,960	11,286	86,817

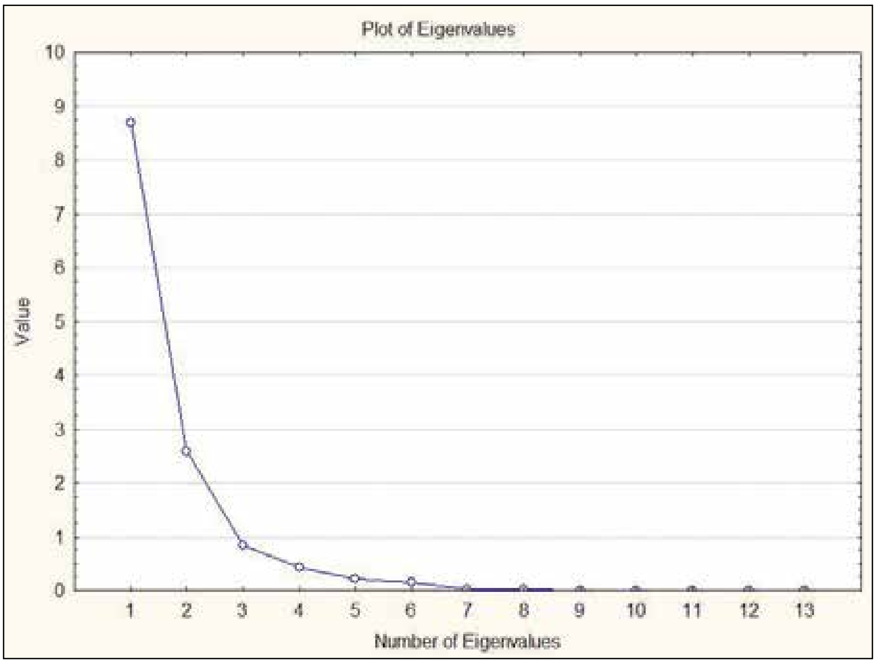
promjene u krajobrazu imaju strukturni elementi suhozidne mreže (povezani s načinom gradnje i prostornim rasporedom) nego udaljenost između elemenata suhozidne mreže, odnosno gustoća izgrađenosti u odnosu na površinu i opseg elemenata krajobraza.

Značajna povezanost varijable oblika (SHAPE) s varijablama diverziteta i dominacije (r= 0,65) ukazuje na komplementarnost procesa diverzifikacije krajobraza suhozida i fragmentacije prirodnog krajobraza. To potvrđuju i visoki koeficijenti korelacije između varijabli diverziteta i dominacije s gotovo svim varijablama strukture suhozidne mreže.

Rezultati analize odnosa između varijabli ukazuju na činjenicu da se iz elemenata strukture suhozidne mreže, kao i iz njihovog međuodnosa s elementima prirodnog krajobraza, mogu determinirati posljedice procesa transformacije izvornog krajobraza uzrokovane antropogenim utjecajem. To se prije svega odnosi na značajke heterogenosti/homogenosti (diverziteta) i fragmentacije/agregacije krajobraza, što ima direktan utjecaj na abiotičke i biotičke procese koji se odvijaju unutar postojećih ekosustava.

Faktorska analiza provedena je kao komplementarna analiza linearnoj korelaciji, s ciljem da se utvrdi kovarijanca između većeg broja manje ili više povezanih varijabli (Riiteers et al., 1995; Tabachnik, Fidell, 2007), na temelju čega ih se grupira u smislene kombinacije manjeg broja nezavisnih (ortogonalnih) faktora (Timm, 2002; Lin et al., 2002; Tabachnik, Fidell, 2007). Interpretacija značenja pojedinih faktora temelji se na veličini faktorskih bodova svake varijable u modelu (Quinn, Keough, 2002). Uvjeti za provedbu faktorske analize prethodno su postignuti normalizacijom, čime je postignut linearni odnos među varijablama.

Trinaest varijabli kompozicije i konfiguracije reducirano je faktorskom analizom (metoda glavnih komponenata) (Mardia et al., 1979; Riitters, et al., 1995; Timm, 2002; Lin et al., 2002; Johnson, Wichern, 2007; Taba-



Sl. 10: Graf pada svojstvenih vrijednosti u faktorskoj analizi trinaest varijabli strukture suhozidne mreže.
Fig. 10: Graph showing decrease of eigenvalues in factorial analysis of thirteen variables of dry stonewall network.

Tabela 3: Faktorska struktura prema varijablama.
Table 3: Factor structure of variables.

	Factor Loadings (Varimax norm.) Extraction: Principal comp. (Marked loadings are > ,700000	
Varijable	Factor 1	Factor 2
UkDužSuh	0,694802	0,709871
SrDužSuh	0,337601	0,726301
MinDužSuh	-0,560825	-0,393612
MaxDužSuh	0,633679	0,726801
STD	0,523626	0,713520
BrojGeoob	0,733736	0,645168
PovGeok	0,957892	0,104965
OpsGeokomp	0,991250	0,028822
SHAPE	0,915384	-0,050871
UkDuž_PovGeo	-0,276520	0,906579
UkDuž_OpsGeo	-0,011740	0,987514
DIV	0,732288	0,648140
DOM	0,737457	0,628169
Expl.Var	6,020103	5,266142
Prp.Totl	0,463085	0,405088

chnik, Fidell, 2007) na manji broj latentnih varijabli s ciljem smanjenja broja varijabli koje opisuju značajke varijabilnosti sustava odnosno fragmentacije (diverziteta) mreže suhozida i pripadajućeg prirodnog i kulturnog krajobraza. Istovremeno, utvrđene su i međusobne veze varijabli unutar faktora, te međusobna korelacija faktora, što je od značaja prilikom interpretacije njihovog utjecaja na strukturu krajobraza. Faktorska struktura optimizirana je pomoću normalizirane varimax rotacije (Tabela 2). U ovom slučaju trinaest varijabli svedeno je na dva faktora (s karakterističnom vrijednošću >1) koji zajedno objašnjavaju 86,82% ukupne varijance (Tabela 2, Sl. 10).

Ako se razmotri ukupni doprinos svakog faktora, uočljiva je izrazita dominacija faktora 1, koji objašnjava 66,86% ukupne varijance. Drugi faktor sudjeluje s 19,96% objašnjene varijance.

Ako se analiziraju faktorska opterećenja, uočljivo je da su za prvi faktor jače vezane varijable strukture elemenata krajobraza (izuzev varijable Broj geoobjekata, DIV i DOM) (Tabela 3). Za ove varijable karakteristično je da su uglavnom složene, tj. radi se o parametrima strukture krajobraza izraženim kroz indekse. Drugi faktor najopterećeniji je varijablama Gustoća 1 i Gustoća 2, odnosno kompozitnim varijablama odnosa suhozidne mreže i krajobraza (omjeri ukupne dužine suhozida i površine/opsega tipa geokompleksa), te varijablama strukture suhozidne mreže.

Prvi faktor može se definirati kao faktor strukture elemenata krajobraza odnosno diverzifikacije i fragmentacije kao posljedica promjena u strukturi i obliku krajobraznih elemenata uslijed dugotrajnog antropogenog utjecaja. Na ovo ukazuju vrlo visoka faktorska opterećenja varijabli površine i opsega tipova geokompleksa i oblika (SHAPE).

Drugi faktor mogao bi se definirati kao faktor strukture i gustoće suhozidne mreže i pripadajućih elemenata krajobraza odnosno kao faktor antropopresije, tj. antropogeno uvjetovane fragmentacije i diverzifikacije krajobraza (kao posljedice načina i intenziteta gradnje) koju reprezentiraju strukturne značajke mreže suhozida kao i gustoća izgrađenosti suhozidne mreže unutar elemenata krajobraza.

Faktorskom analizom značajke strukture suhozidne mreže i njihov utjecaj na diverzifikaciju/fragmentaciju pripadajućeg krajobraza objašnjeni su minimalnim brojem faktora, što potvrđuje primjerenost odabranih varijabli i pojednostavljuje eventualne daljnje analize. Također, omogućuje precizniju determinaciju varijabli koje reprezentiraju antropogeni utjecaj na krajobraz, kao i njihov relativni doprinos u okviru navedenog utjecaja u cjelini, što je i jedan od glavnih ciljeva ovog istraživanja.

RASPRAVA

Fragmentacija krajobraza je proces kojim se veća staništa dijele u više manjih, u manjoj ili većoj mjeri izoliranih areala (Forman, 1995). Veliki broj istraživanja ukazao je nedvosmisleni utjecaj antropogeno uvjetovanih promjena u prostornoj strukturi krajobraza na strukturu i funkcije staništa i ekosustava (Haila, 2002; Fahrig, 2003; Rutledge, 2003; Fischer, Lindenmayer, 2007; Didham, 2010; Fahrig et al. 2011). U prvom redu, radi se o

smanjivanju ili nestajanju kontinuiranih areala istih ili sličnih prirodnih značajki s kojima su organski povezani određeni ekosustavi. Većina istraživanja ove problematike ne daje jednoznačni odgovor da li se radi o isključivo negativnom efektu. Staništa u kojima žive organizmi prostorno su strukturirana, a ti obrasci strukture u interakciji su s prostornom percepcijom organizama kao i dinamikom i unutrašnjom strukturom pojedinih zajednica (Johnson, Wichern, 1992; McGarigal, Cushman, 2002, Cushman et al, 2010). Antropogeno uvjetovane modifikacije krajobraza djeluju na ove obrasce, s često pretpostavljenim negativnim posljedicama na biodiverzitet (Hill, Caswell 1999; Urban, Keitt 2001; Flather, Bevers 2002; Haila, 2002; Cushman et al., 2010). Neka istraživanja ukazuju na činjenicu da utjecaj fragmentacije na modifikaciju staništa i smanjivanje biodiverziteta ne mora biti, ili je u relativnom smislu od presudnog značaja (Atauri, de Lucio, 2001; Flather, Bevers, 2002; Yaacobi et al., 2007; Saura et al., 2008).

S obzirom na činjenicu da su diverzitet i fragmentacija vrlo složene značajke krajobraza, često se javljaju tendencije pojednostavljivanja, kao na primjer tvrdnje da veća raznolikost/fragmentacija dovodi do veće stabilnosti (ili nestabilnosti) elemenata krajolika, što može biti potpuno pogrešno i posljedica je zanemarivanja značajki strukture elemenata krajobraza (Dušek, Popelkova, 2012). Stoga, razumijevanje i karakterizacija krajobrazne raznolikosti zahtijevaju složeniji pristup u kojem je poželjno izbjegavati generalizacije i simplifikacije i fokusirati se na sagledavanje diverziteta i fragmentacije iz složenije perspektive (La Rosa et al., 2011; Fahrig et al., 2011).

Očito je da ovaj problem zaokuplja veliki broj znanstvenika zbog svog značaja za planiranje održivog razvoja i očuvanje prirodnog i kulturnog krajobraza mnogih područja u svijetu, te ne postoji opći konsenzus u definiranju odnosa između diverziteta, fragmentacije i stabilnosti elemenata krajobraza.

S obzirom na važnost ovog problema, u ovom radu istražen je odnos između stupnja i karaktera antropogenog utjecaja (izraženog kroz strukturne značajke suhozidne mreže) i funkcionalnih značajki pripadajućeg krajobraza, odnosno međuodnos antropogeno uvjetovane strukture krajobrazne mreže i utjecaja na fragmentaciju i diverzitet krajobraza (i s njima povezanih biotičkih/abiotičkih procesa).

Na temelju provedenih analiza može se zaključiti sljedeće:

1. Antropogeni utjecaj u prostornom smislu vrlo je neravnomjerno izražen na području južnog Visa, prije svega zbog geografske predispozicije (različitost geomorfoloških, klimatoloških i pedoloških uvjeta, udaljenost od naseljenih područja, dostupnost i dr.), na što ukazuje velika varijabilnost vrijednosti analiziranih parametara na razini tipova geokompleksa što se odražava i na krajobraz u cjelini.
2. Suhozidna mreža pokazuje veliku složenost strukture, definirane varijablama konfiguracije i kompozicije. Ova složenost izražena je kroz značajne razlike u međusobnim odnosima analiziranih varijabli između 92 tipa geokompleksa, reprezentiranim matricom koeficijenata korelacije.
3. Oblici tipova geokompleksa u značajnoj su korelaciji s gotovo svim varijablama suhozidne mreže (izuzev prosječne dužine suhozida). Relativno je visoka povezanost i s varijablama diverziteta i dominacije, što potvrđuje značaj antropogenog utjecaja.
4. Faktorskom analizom, trinaest varijabli strukture suhozidne mreže i pripadajućeg krajobraza svedeno je na dva faktora. Prvi faktor definiran je kao faktor strukture krajobraza (uvjetovane promjenama biotičkih/abiotičkih značajki uslijed antropogenog djelovanja), a drugi kao faktor antropopresije, odnosno antropogeno uvjetovane fragmentacije i diverzifikacije krajobraza (kao posljedice načina i intenziteta gradnje suhozidne mreže) koju reprezentiraju strukturne značajke mreže suhozida unutar pojedinih elemenata krajobraza. Unutar drugog faktora, na temelju faktorskih bodova, determiniran je pojedinačni utjecaj varijabli na transformaciju prirodnog krajobraza. To je osobito vidljivo na primjeru povezanosti diverziteta suhozidne mreže i fragmentacije krajobraza reprezentirane varijablom oblika, na što ukazuju visoka opterećenja varijable Broj geoobjekata (koja je gotovo u potpunosti u korelaciji s varijablom diverziteta) na oba faktora.

ZAKLJUČAK

Sustav suhozidne mreže južnog Visa, usprkos rasvjetljavanju prirodnog i društvenog konteksta unutar kojih su nastali i razvijali se, i dalje ostaje složen za interpretaciju. Povezanost lokacija suhozida i njihovih strukturnih i funkcionalnih osobitosti s prirodno-geografskim kontekstom neosporna je, međutim ona nije jednoznačna: unutar pojedinih dijelova mreže suhozida postoje i neki drugi obrasci grupiranja, lokalne veze i odnosi od daljnjeg interpretacijskog interesa. Prije svega radi se o novijem antropogenom utjecaju, izraženom kroz gradnju prometnica, urbanih i infrastrukturnih sadržaja. Za sada, na području južnog Visa ovaj utjecaj još nije izražen u značajnijoj mjeri, što predstavlja pozitivnu okolnost, jer bi degradacijom površina pod suhozidima nestala ili bi se bitno smanjila ljepota i posebnost krajobraza kao i njegov turistički potencijal.

Analize su pokazale da je primijenjenom metodologijom moguće rekonstruirati antropogeni utjecaj na krajobraz odnosno stupanj intenziteta korištenja zemljišta

tijekom historijsko -geografskog razvoja. Opsežna baza podataka o strukturi suhozidne mreže i značajkama prirodnog krajobraza omogućava precizan odabir područja koja su najpogodnija za revitalizaciju u smislu rekonstrukcije i uređenja suhozidne mreže za potrebe turizma ili obnavljanja tradicionalne poljoprivrede, u skladu s održivim razvojem. Drugim riječima, planiranje daljnjeg razvoja tradicionalnog kulturnog krajobraza suhozida južnog Visa trebalo bi biti usmjereno prema očuvanju strukturnih značajki i estetske vrijednosti suhozida kao turistički vrlo atraktivne autentične kulturne baštine te njihovoj revitalizaciji, zajedno s pripadajućim poljoprivrednim površinama, u svrhu zaustavljanja depopulacije stanovništva i poticaja razvoja turizma.

Planiranju s ciljem održivog razvoja umnogome bi pridonijela primjena krajobrazne metrike, geomorfometrijskih i geostatističkih metoda, koje bi olakšale i poboljšale identifikaciju elemenata i strukture suhozidne mreže i pripadajućeg prirodnog krajobraza i pridonijele kvalitetnijem pristupu gospodarenju. Bez sumnje, neophodne su daljnje kvantitativne i kvalitativne geografske analize, koje bi, uz terensku detekciju, podrazumijevale korelaciju sa svim prirodno-geografskim i društveno-geografskim čimbenicima od neposredne i posredne važnosti. Sve navedeno preduvjet je kvalitetnoj interpretaciji stvarnog stanja u širem prostornom i vremenskom kontekstu, s ciljem točnije procjene potencijalnih mogućnosti očuvanja i valorizacije.

DRY STONEWALLS STRUCTURAL FEATURES AS INDICES OF ANTHROPOGENIC IMPACT ON LANDSCAPE – EXAMPLE OF SOUTHERN PART OF VIS ISLAND, CROATIA

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SUMMARY

This paper deals with analysis of the dry stonewall network structural features and their relationship with the natural landscape. Thus, specific approach was applied – elements of dry stonewall network are analyzed within previously determined spatial units (geocomplex types) that are defined by their internal vertical structure. Based on this set of relations, it is possible to reconstruct the spatial distribution and characteristics of the areas under impact of anthropopression which directly affected the degree of fragmentation and diversity. Landscape metrics (indicators of the composition and configuration of the landscape) was applied in analysis of dry stonewalls structure.

Several basic research objectives were set: a) to determine the characteristics of size of dry stonewall network and to select landscape indicators that are most appropriate to define its structure, b) to determine the basic features of the dimension of landscape elements (geocomplex types) within which parts of dry stonewall network are contained c) to determine the nature and the degree of their relationship (relationship between dry stonewall network and anthropogenic impact on the landscape).

Data obtained from GIS analysis were further processed by landscape metrics methods and statistical methods of linear correlation and factor analysis. To determine the nature and degree of correlation between eleven analysed variables, method of multiple linear correlation was used. Factor analysis was conducted in order to reduce a number of variables to a smaller number of factors that define the structure and complexity of dry stonewall network and the degree of anthropogenic impact on the landscape

The authors presume that the achievement of these goals will enable to define the features of the current structure and the associated landscape of southern part of Vis Island. Additionally, it will enable definition of general patterns of impact of the socio-geographic processes during historical and geographical development that led to their present appearance and condition. All this should serve as guidance when deciding on the method and degree of protection of specific natural and cultural landscapes; and eventual revitalization to sustainable tourism valuation.

On the basis of the analysis we can conclude the following:

1. Anthropogenic impact (in spatial terms) is very unevenly expressed in the southern part of Vis Island, primarily due to its geographic predisposition (diversity of geomorphological, climatic and soil conditions, distance from populated areas, availability, etc.), as indicated by the high variability in the values of the analyzed parameters on the level of geocomplex types which is reflected in the landscape as a whole.

2. Dry stonewall network shows great complexity of the structure, defined by variables of configuration and composition. This complexity is expressed through significant differences in the mutual relations of the analyzed variables of 92 geocomplex types, represented by a matrix of correlation coefficients.

3. Shapes of geocomplex types are in significant correlation with almost all variables of dry stonewall network (except the average length of drywall). Relatively high correlation with the variables of diversity and dominance confirms the importance of anthropogenic impact.

4. Factor analysis of thirteen variables of dry stonewall structure and associated landscape reduced this to two factors. The first factor is defined as the factor of the landscape structure (caused by changes in biotic / abiotic features due to anthropogenic activities), and the other as a factor of anthropopression or anthropogenically caused fragmentation and diversification of the landscape (as a consequence of the mode and intensity of construction of dry stonewall network) that represent the structural characteristics of the dry stonewall network within the individual elements of the landscape. Within the second factor, based on the factor points, individual impact of variables on transformation of the natural landscape is determined.

Analyses have shown that used methodologies can serve to reconstruct anthropogenic impact on the landscape and the degree of intensity of land use during historical and geographical development. Extensive database containing information on structure of dry stonewall network and natural features of the landscape allows precise selection of the areas that are most suitable for reconstruction in terms of reconstruction and interior of dry stonewall network for tourism or renewal of traditional agriculture, in line with sustainable development.

Key words: dry stonewall network, landscape, landscape metrics, southern Vis island

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IN MEMORIAM

OCENE

RECENSIONI

REVIEWS

IN MEMORIAM

STANE JUŽNIČ
(19. julij 1928, Fara pri Kostelu, - 5. november 2013)



Dr. Stane Južnič - bard slovenske antropologije, je bil legendarni profesor na Fakulteti za sociologijo, politične vede in novinarstvo, sedanji Fakulteti za družbene vede. Bil je erudit in poliglot, slovel je po izvrstnih predavanjih, začinjenih z zanimivimi in sočnimi anekdotami, duhovitostmi, včasih sarkazmom.

Zaradi vseh svojih posebnostih je njegovo ime znano daleč zunaj zidov fakultete. Njegova bibliografija obsega več kot dvajset znanstvenih monografij in visokošolskih učbenikov ter več sto znanstvenih člankov, ki govorijo o njegovih raznovrstnih zanimanjih od antropologije in politične zgodovine, vprašanj identitete in specifike jezikoslovja. V svojih delih je preučeval dežele v razvoju, procese kolonializma in dekolonizacije, še posebej Latinsko Ameriko in Afriko, zgodovino civilizacij, politične vede, socialno politično in lingvistično antropologijo. Med izvirnimi znanstvenimi članki profesorja Južniča najdemo celo paleto antropoloških razmišljanj in idej, kot na primer: *Antropologija humorja,* Človekovo *telo, Herezije, Ideologija razvoja, Kaj je in kje je Evropa v sodobnem svetu, Sakralizacija in ritualizacija oblasti, O gospodarskem tradicionalizmu, Avtoriteta in oblast, Kriza v Južni Afriki, Problemi birokratske vladavine, Položaj jezikov v sodobnem svetu, Nekateri vidiki zaustavljene dekolonizacije, Ideologija antikolonijalne revolucije, Razmišljanje o evrocentrizmu.*

Od znanstvenih monografij so najpomembnejše vsekakor: *Človekovo telo med naravo in kulturo, Identiteta, Politična kultura, Lingvistična antropologija, Kolonializem in dekolonizacija, Socialna in politična antropologija, Novejša zgodovina, z zgodovino delavskega gibanja, Socializem in države v razvoju, Kam gre Latinska Amerika.*

Rodil se je v Fari pri Kostelu blizu hrvaške meje na Kolpi. V Ljubljani je obiskoval tedanjo osemletno klasično gimnazijo. Pozneje je študiral na diplomatski šoli v Beogradu in zatem diplomiral na tamkajšnji Filozofski fakulteti. Na Visoki šoli za politične vede v Beogradu je doktoriral iz geneze kapitalizma v nerazvitem svetu. Nekaj let je v Beogradu vodil oddelek za nerazvite države na Inštitutu za mednarodno politiko in sodeloval v Ekonomski komisiji Združenih narodov za Afriko, ki je imela sedež v Etiopiji, sodeloval v številnih mednarodnih združenjih. Leta 2002 je za znanstveno, raziskovalno in pedagoško delo ter za prispevek k razvoju slovenske družbene znanosti prejel častni znak svobode Republike Slovenije.

Njegovo življenje je zaznamovala tudi druga svetovna vojna, še ne šestnajstleten je postal partizan. Po vojni je delal na zunanjem ministrstvu in služboval v Veliki Britaniji in ZDA. Za seznanjanje z antropologijo je bil ključen najprej London, potem sodelovanje s t.i. tretjim svetom, predvsem z Latinsko Ameriko, ki je bila pozneje v središču njegovega raziskovalnega zanimanja.

Leta 1968 se je zaposlil na FSPN, kjer je poučeval več predmetov: Socialno in politično antropologijo, Lingvistično antropologijo, Nastanek sodobnega sveta, Novejšo politično zgodovino z zgodovino delavskega gibanja, Civilizacije in Politično kulturo. Rad je predaval, v tem je vidno užival, predavalnice so bile vedno nabito polne. Pravičen pri ocenjevanju, nedvomno najbolj zahteven profesor, včasih tudi z nenavadnimi pod/vprašanji. Spomnim se, da sem enkrat na izpitu morala sklanjati svoje ime v latinščini.

Užival je tudi v polemikah s študenti, na koncu je profesor vselej zmagal. Tudi če se nisva vedno strinjala, je nedvomno ostal njegov odtis na antropologiji, ki jo vedno in znova izhajajoč iz njegovih predavanj posredujem/o svojim študentom naprej.

Karmen Medica

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OCENE
RECENSIONI
REVIEWS

Dragana Antonijević: STRANAC OVDE, STRANAC TAMO. Antropološko istraživanje kulturnog identiteta gastarbajtera. Srpski genealoški centar Beograd, Odeljenje za etnologiju i antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerze v Beogradu, Beograd 2013, 355 strani.

Knjiga ***Tujec tukaj, tujec tam. Antropološko raziskovanje kulturne identitete gastarbajterjev*** Dragane Antonijević podaja celovit prikaz sodobnega multi-metodološkega pristopa na področju antropologije migracij. V uvodnih poglavjih Dragana Antonijević poda prve antropološke študije migracijskih procesov. Le-te datirajo v šestdeseta leta 20. stoletja, v osemdesetih indevetdesetih pa postajajo osrednja tema antropoloških raziskav. Antropologijo zanimajo ljudje in proces, zato avtorica poudarja pomen *etnografije izkušnje*: kdo, kako in zakaj emigrira.

Osredotoča se na kulturno-kognitivne okvirje znotraj katerih gastarbajterji – srbski migranti v zahodno-evropskih državah, predvsem Avstriji in Nemčiji delujejo zadnjih 50 let. Analizira socio-ekonomski prestiž, ki se manifestira v matičnih okoljih in njihovo potencialno vlogo v procesih modernizacije. Proces gastarbajterstva postavi v kontekst v zadnjem času zelo popularne in tudi polemične transnacionalnosti. Avtorica izpostavi dilemo: ali so gastarbajterji transmigranti? Transnacionalizem kot nova paradigma od konca 90-ih let prejšnjega stoletja pod vplivom pospešenih globalizacijskih procesov odpira nove možnosti v antropološkem kontekstu. V raziskavah migracij se odpirata dva nova pogleda na vprašanja identitete in kulturne difuzije: na eni strani je ‚način bivanja' *(ways of being*) na drugi strani je ‚način pripadanja' (*ways of belonging*). Sposobnost živeti različna življenja, dvojezičnost, ohranjanje vsaj dveh kulturnih krogov, življenje tukaj in tam. Čeprav se sklicuje na vodilne avtoritete na področju antropologije transnacionalnosti in migracija (Stevena Vertovca, Alejandra Portesa), avtorica podaja svoje specifične postopke interpretacije in opozarja, da uporaba prefiksa‚trans' ne bo razrešila marginalnost in liminalnost njihove dejanske življenjske pozicije. Zato posebej konceptualizira pojem ‚gastarbajter' skozi naslednje postavke:

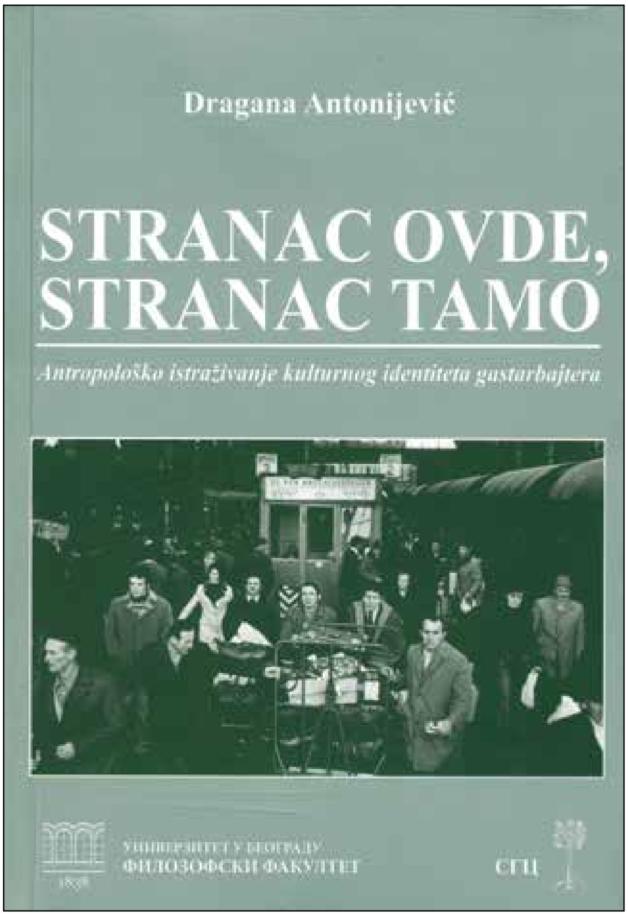
- ekonomska: revščina, nezaposlenost
- družbena: nekvalificiranost, nizka izobrazba
- ideološka: kapitalizem nasproti komunizmu/socializmu
- temporalna: začasnost
- teritorialna: tujina.

V poglavju *Igre prestiža: Ekonomsko obnašanje gastarbajterjev kot dejavnik kulturne identitete* je posebno zanimiva predstavitev tekmovalne ekonomije migrantov, pre/velike hiše in grobnice, vpadljiv videz fasad, veličina in neobičajna, pogosto kičasta dekoracija, razkošne poroke in krstitve. Vse to avtorica pojasni skozi neposredne primere, ki jih imenuje gastarbajterski potlač – etnografija prekomerne porabe. Ali so gastarbarterji tudi modernizatorji izvornega okolja, se sprašuje, glede na to, da je njihov vpliv prisoten ne samo v materialni kulturi, ampak tudi masovni, turbo-folk kulturi.

Relativnost začasnosti: različne dimenzije migrantskega časa je poglavje, ki bralcu ponazori različne percepcije in modele migrantskega časa. Avtorica izhaja iz teorije Saula Cwernerja in delitvi na: tuji čas, zakonski čas in asihroni čas. Slednji čas/časovna obdobja migrantom omogočajo ‚biti v stiku', ali povezani z novim in izhodiščnim okoljem. Drugi sklop časovnih modelov pa zajema čas spomina, kolažni in liminalni čas. Tretji sklop diasporičen in nomadski čas pride kot posledica dolgotrajnega bivanja v tujini.

Poglavje *Boljše življenje – kje? Miti o uspehu in miti o povratku kot obrazec kulturnega modela gastarbajterja* popestri z inserti iz življenjskih izpovedi prve generacije migrantov, ki so si ustvarili *‚paralelna življenja'*, oblikovali ‚translokalne družbene prostore', ustvarili družine in življenja v novem prostoru, gradili hiše v rojstnem kraju. Kot ilustrira eden od informantov: ‚Zdi se kot da so mislili, da bodo celo življenje imeli 30 let'.

Zadnje poglavje *Migrantski narativi* je v celoti posvečeno gastarbajterskim življenjskim zgodbam srbskih



emigrantov v različnih evropskih državah, njihovim izkušnjam, vključevanju v novo okolje in istočasno navezanosti na rojstni kraj. Eno od izkušenj je starejši emigrant v Nemčiji predstavil takole: *‚Če želiš uspeti v Nemčiji, moraš biti robot z duracell baterijami, ne z navadnimi'.*

Vrednost in inovativnost knjige je v pregledni predstavitvi teorij, terminoloških in metodoloških konceptov o sodobnih migracijah, izvirnih in avtentičnih biografskih zgodbah, predvsem v razmišljanjih o dvoumnosti zelo popularnega koncepta transnacionalnosti. Avtorica opozori na dejstvo, da omejevanje transnacionalnsoti zgolj na izkušnjo migrantov v diaspori postaja nezadostno. Tukaj nastopi največja težava in sicer, da ne antropologija, ne druge družboslovne discipline še nimajo metodologije, ki bi povsem zajele in pojasnile pestrost in vse večjo razširjenost tega, kar opredeljujemo kot transnacionalne migracije. Sploh ob upoštevanju dejstva, da sodobna migracijska izkušnja ni omejena zgolj na migrante in je koncept diaspore vse manj uporaben.

Kot dodatno vrednost knjige bi opredelila številne biografske zgodbe gastarbajterjev, izseke iz življenja *tukaj in tam*, ali prej *ne tukaj ne tam,* ki vendarle opozarjajo na razširitev koncepta krajevne poligamije kot posledice vse bolj globaliziranega vsakdanjega življenja.

Knjiga je rezultat dela na projektih: *Antropološko raziskovanje Srbije – od kulturne dediščine do moderne dobe* in *Ne tam na tukaj – Kulturna dediščina in identiteta gastarbajterske populacije*. Kritična sinteza prebranega omogoča kreiranje lastnih pogledov in stališč do obstoječega in tudi morebitnih alternativnih predlogov za strategije razumevanje sodobnih migracijskih procesov na globalni in tudi lokalni ravni.

Vsekakor gre za študijo, ki utegne zaradi trajno aktualne problematike, ki jo obravnava pritegniti sorazmerno širok krog bralcev: v prvi vrsti seveda strokovnjake za migracijske študije in strokovnjake z različnih področij humanistike in družbenih ved, predvsem antropologe. Nenazadnje je antropološko raziskovanje kulturne identitete migrantov področje, ki bi ga kazalo v prihodnje celovito raziskovati tudi pri nas.

Karmen Medica

Dimitrij Rupel: NEGOTOVO ŽIVLJENJE 176. ČLANICE OZN. Negotovo življenje Slovencev od avstrijskega cesarja, srbskega kralja in jugoslovanskega maršala do Demosa in stricev iz ozadja; od narodnega vprašanja do nacionalne države, evropskega poslanstva in morebitnega novega koncepta. Ljubljana, Trst, Dobrava, Ljubljana 2013, Nova obzorja, d.o.o., 318 strani.

Dimitrij Rupel (1946) je ob svojih političnih oziroma diplomatskih funkcijah avtor mnogih leposlovnih in družboslovnih del ter knjig o mednarodnih vprašanjih. Osebno doživljanje slovenske pomladi je opisal v knjigi Skrivnost države (1992), kot slovenski zunanji minister je zaslužen za pripravo in izdajo publikacije Slovensko-italijanski odnosi 1880-1956 / Poročilo slovensko-italijanske zgodovinsko-kulturne komisije (Koper-Capodistria, julij 2000) in Bele knjige o meji med Republiko Slovenijo in Republiko Hrvaško (Ljubljana, 2006). V novejšem času pa je poleg podrobnega poročila o slovenskem predsedovanju Evropski uniji (Slovensko predsedovanje v ognju lastnih sil, 2009) objavil tudi obsežen prikaz slovenske diplomacije (Slovenija na svetovnem prizorišču, 2011).

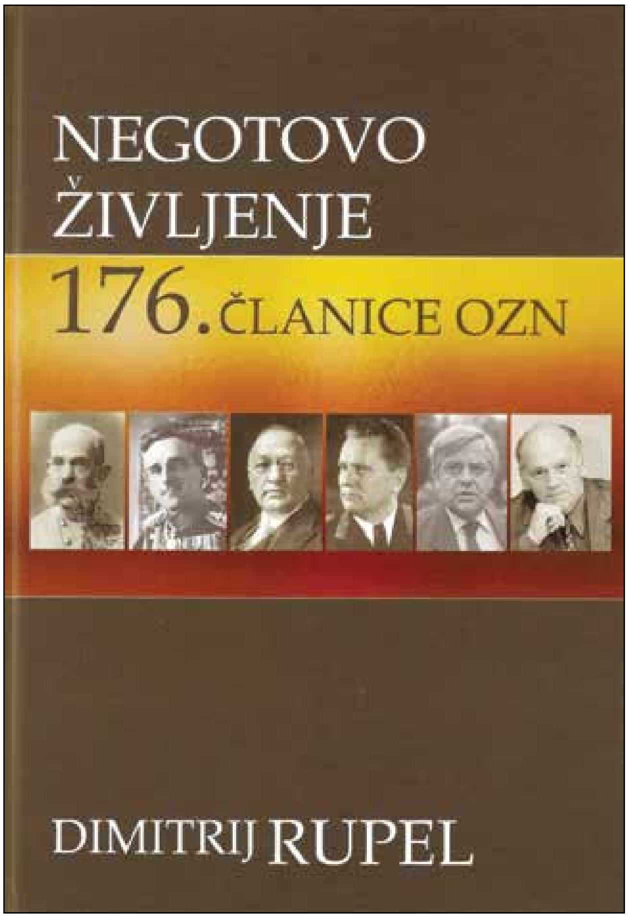
Njegovo zadnje delo z nekoliko pomenljivim naslovom »Negotovo življenje 176. Članice OZN«, ki je izšlo pri Založbi Nova obzorja (2013), naj bi bilo, kot sam navaja, namenjeno osvetlitvi in kronološkemu prikazu prelomnih dejanj na poti do slovenske osamosvojitve.

Svoje obsežno delo je po tematsko-kronološkem principu razvrstil v tri vsebinske sklope oziroma deset poglavij z dokaj širokim izborom slikovnih prilog in dokumentov, zemljevidov in imenskim kazalom. Že v drugem delu oziroma IV. poglavju, ko govori o mednarodnem priznanju Slovenije, hkrati nastopa že tudi kot eden najpomembnejših protagonistov slovenske pomladi in mnogokrat bralca nagovarja v prvi osebi, zato njegovo tokratno delo uvrščamo v tisto kategorijo oziroma literarno zvrst, ki je lahko za bralca zanimiva in privlačna, mestoma pa dokaj zahtevna ali celo neprijetna. Ob konglomeratu historičnega in avtobiografskega podajanja snovi je namreč težko zavzeti objektivno distanco, zlasti ko gre za avtorjevo ocenjevanje novejšega oziroma aktualnega političnega dogajanja, ki je zlasti razvidno iz poglavij tretjega sklopa njegove knjige. V tem kontekstu je morda smiselno povzeti misel, ki jo je na okrogli mizi o slovenskem zgodovinopisju po drugi svetovni vojni v zrcalu Zgodovinskega časopisa (Ljubljana, 8. XII. 2012) izrekel dr. E. Pelikan, »da po zgledu politike tudi v zgodovinopisju ostajamo v ideološkem spopadu za interpretacije in revizije, ki so sčasoma tudi aktualne teme slovenskih medijev; interpretacije in revizije torej, ki niso zastavljene kot vprašanje kakega »pluralizma diskurzov«, temveč so ideološko ali celo aktualno politično ter ekskluzivistično pogojene » (ZČ, 2013, 505).

Povsem razumljivo je, da je fenomen osamosvojitve leta 1991 oziroma formiranje slovenske države, spodbudil mnoge slovenske zgodovinarje srednje pa tudi starejše generacije, da so pristopili k pripravi preglednejših del o genezi slovenske države ; naj kot primer navedemo dela P. Vodopivca : Od Pohlinove slovnice do samostojne države / Slovenska zgodovina od konca 18. do konca 20. stoletja (Modrijan, 2007), J. Pleterskega : Pravica in moč za samoodločbo. Med Meternichom in Badinterjem / Študije, razgledi, preudarki iz petnajstletja po tretji odločitvi Slovencev (Modrijan, 2008) in S. Grande: Mala zgodovina Slovenije (Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2008). Gre seveda za zgodovinska dela z utečeno zgodovinsko

metodologijo in upoštevanjem pravil zgodovinske stroke, Dimitrij Rupel pa je svoje delo napisal v večji meri kot udeleženec in protagonist prelomnega dogajanja, predvsem pa kot »zaskrbljen državljan«, zato njegovo besedilo ne razkriva le manj znanih in neznanih dogodkov na težki in trnovi poti do slovenske državnosti, temveč tudi napovedi glede prihodnosti.

Avtor prehojeno pot od narodne ideje oziroma formiranja slovenskega naroda in njegovega političnega programa (1848/49)pa do plebiscita in razglasitve neodvisnosti (25. VI. 1991), definira kot »pripravljalna dejanja«, ki naj bi se pričela že v zadnjem obdobju habsburške monarhije oziroma prve svetovne vojne z majniško deklaracijo (1917) in se zaključila z drugo majniško deklaracijo leta 1989. Celoten zgodovinski tok dogajanj in procesov tako umešča v poglavja prvega sklopa, kjer izpostavlja problematiko Slovencev kot narodni problem z dogajanji, ki so razpeta med propadom Avstro-Ogrske, formiranjem Kraljevine SHS do tridesetih let 20. stoletja z vzponom fašizma in nacizma, kakor tudi integralnega jugoslovanstva in razvojem slovenskega narodnega vprašanja v predvojnem obdobju. Po kronološko-tematskem principu avtor v drugem poglavju z naslovom »Slovenci kot junaki«, analizira dogajanje v jugoslovanskem prostoru v letih 1941-1945 s poudarkom na OF in zunajsodnih pobojih leta 1945, tržaškem vprašanju,



kakor tudi na vprašanjih povezanih s Pariško mirovno konferenco (1947) in Informbirojem (1948). V časovnem zaporedju s prikazom osrednjih dogodkov v petdesetih, šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih, s Titovo smrtjo 4. maja 1980 zaključuje svoj zgodovinski pregled, v katerem izpostavlja jugoslovansko krizo in slovensko pomlad ter ob koncu povzame najpomembnejše etape v obdobju med prvo in drugo majniško deklaracijo.

V poglavjih drugega sklopa z naslovom »Mednarodno priznanje«, se ob dogajanju v kritičnem in prelomnem obdobju 1989-1991, pred bralcem razgrinja marsikaj tistega, kar širši javnosti doslej ni bilo poznano, saj je bilo skrito v diplomatskem zakulisju tako domačega kot mednarodnega prostora, in marsikaj tega zabeleženega ob stikih in pogovorih s pomembnimi politiki in diplomati tistega časa le v njegovi beležnici.

V poglavjih »Raztresena in zbrana Slovenija«, se avtor na določen način znova vrača na vprašanje preddržavnih konceptov oziroma državotvorne miselnosti od sredine 19. stoletja prek Dolomitske izjave do Titove Jugoslavije, slovenske pomladi in osamosvojitve, pri tem pa kot ključna elementa izpostavlja izid 57. številke Nove revije (1987) in formiranje Demokratične opozicije Slovenije (Demos), kot zadnjega dejanja slovenskega kulturnega sindroma, torej nadomeščanja politike s kulturo. Obdobje 1989-1992 opredeljuje kot čas zbranosti, ko so si Slovenci ustvarili samostojno državo. Le-ta naj bi se, kot navaja, posrečila v posebnem zgodovinskem trenutku, v katerem so se ujele na eni strani »objektivna« izčrpanost komunističnih oz. socialističnih konceptov, po drugi strani pa »subjektivna« slovenska zbranost in presenetljiva enotnost, ki so jo spodbudili dotlej – v socialistični stvarnosti – bolj ali manj skriti in zapostavljeni, vendar duhoviti in daljnovidni posamezniki. Avtor v tem poglavju podaja tudi zanimiva in pronicljiva razmišljanja o odnosu Slovencev do lastne države in vzrokih za pogostoma kritičen ali celo odklonilen odnos do nje.

Pri mnogih definicijah in ocenah posameznih osebnosti in dogajanja na poti do osamosvojitve, je tudi sam pogostoma polemičen in kritičen, kar pa ne zmanjšuje pomena njegovega dela, saj prinaša veliko novih pogledov in detajlov, ki so bili doslej širši javnosti manj ali docela neznani. Svoje delo je napisal kot univerzitetni profesor, diplomat in politik, predvsem pa kot udeleženec prelomnega dogajanja, ki je oblikovalo našo državnost.

Salvator Žitko

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SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI:

INDEX TO IMAGES ON THE COVER

FRONT COVER:

NAVODILA AVTORJEM

1. Revija ANNALES *(Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije* Ser. hist et soc.) objavlja **izvirne** in **pregledne znanstvene članke** z družboslovnimi in humanističnimi vsebinami, ki se navezujejo na preučevanje *zgodovine, kulture in družbe* Istre in Mediterana. Vključujejo pa tudi *primerjalne in medkulturne študije* ter *metodološke in teoretične* razprave, ki se nanašajo na omenjeno področje.

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Povzetek vsebuje opis namena in metod dela ter povzame analizo oziroma interpretacijo rezultatov. V povzetku ne sme biti ničesar, česar glavno besedilo ne vsebuje.

6. Avtorji naj pod izvleček članka pripišejo ustrezne **ključne besede**. Potrebni so tudi **angleški (ali slovenski) in italijanski prevodi** izvlečka, povzetka, ključnih besed, podnapisov k slikovnemu in tabelarnemu gradivu.

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Celotni bibliografski podatki citiranih in uporabljenih virov so navedeni v poglavju *Viri in literatura* (najprej navedemo vse vire, nato literaturo). Pri tem avtor navede izključno dela ter izdaje, ki jih je v članku citiral.

Primer citata med besedilom:

(Kalc, 2010, 426).

Primer navajanja vira kot celote:

(Kalc, 2010).

Popolni podatki o tem viru v poglavju Literatura pa se glasijo:

Kalc, A. (2010): „Statistični podatki o Trstu" ob tretji francoski zasedbi leta 1809. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 20, 2. Koper, Založba Annales, 423–444.

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(Kalc, 2010a; Verginella, 2008).

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(ARS-1851, 67, 1808).

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ARS-1589, 1562, Zapisnik seje Okrajnega komiteja ZKS Koper, 19. 12. 1955.

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ARS-1589 – Arhiv republike Slovenije (ARS), Centralni komite Zveze komunistov Slovenije (fond 1589).

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(Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009, 26).

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Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009: Ali podjetja merijo učinkovitost?, 26.

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Primorske novice. Koper, Primorske novice, 1963–.

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Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M., Tavčar, L. (2007): Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

V zgornjem primeru, kjer je *avtorjev več kot dva*, je korekten tudi citat:

(Šelih et al., 2007).

Če navajamo določeni del iz zaključene publikacije, zgornjemu opisu dodamo še številke strani, od koder smo navedbo prevzeli.

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Lenarčič, B. (2010): Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekokulturnost. V: Sedmak, M., Ženko, E. (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

- Opis članka v **reviji:**

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov članka. Naslov revije, letnik, številka. Kraj, strani od-do. Primer:

Lazar, I. (2008): Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2. Koper, 349–360.

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Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, župnik v Vižinadi. Ustno izporočilo. Zvočni zapis pri avtorju.

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Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf (15. 9. 2008).

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UP ZRS (2009): Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper. Znanstveni sestanki in conference. Http://www.zrs-kp.si/SL/kongres.htm (2. 2. 2009).

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Il *riassunto* riporterà in maniera sintetica i metodi delle ricerche, i motivi che le hanno determinate assieme all'analisi, cioè all'interpretazione, dei risultati raggiunti. Si eviterà di riportare conclusioni omesse nel testo del contributo.

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Borean, L. (2010): Collezionisti e opere d'arte tra Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia nel Settecento. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol. 20, 2. Koper, Založba Annales, 323–330.

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10. Nel citare fonti di giornale nel testo andranno indicati il nome del giornale, la data di edizione e le pagine:

(Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009, 26)

Nel caso in cui è noto anche il titolo dell'articolo, l'intera indicazione bibliografica verrà indicata *a piè di pagina*:

Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009: Da Mestre all'Archivio segreto del Vaticano, 26.

Nell'elenco Fonti e bibliografia scriviamo il nome del giornale, il luogo di edizione, l'editore ed il periodo di pubblicazione.

Ad es.:

Il Corriere della Sera. Milano, RCS Editoriale Quotidiani, 1876–.

11. Il capitolo **Fonti e bibliografia** è obbligatorio. I dati bibliografici vanno riportati come segue:

- Descrizione di un'opera compiuta:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice. Per es.:

Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M., Tavčar, L. (2007): Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

Se *gli autori sono più di due*, la citazione è corretta anche nel modo seguente:

(Šelih et al., 2007)

Se indichiamo una parte della pubblicazione, alla citazione vanno aggiunte le pagine di riferimento.

Descrizione di un articolo che compare in un **volume miscellaneo:**

- autore/i del contributo (anno di edizione): Titolo. In: autore/curatore del libro: titolo del libro. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Lenarčič, B. (2010): Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekokulturnost. V: Sedmak, M., Ženko, E. (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

Descrizione di un articolo in una **pubblicazione periodica – rivista:**

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo del contributo. Titolo del periodico, annata, nro. del periodico. Luogo di edizione, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Lazar, I. (2008): Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2. Koper, 349–360.

Descrizione di una **fonte orale**:

informatore (anno della testimonianza): nome e cognome dell'informatore, anno di nascita, ruolo, posizione o stato sociale. Tipo di testimonianza. Forma e luogo di trascrizione della fonte. Per es.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, parroco a Visinada. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell'intervista presso l'archivio personale dell'autore.

Descrizione di una **fonte tratta da pagina internet**:

Se è possibile registriamo la fonte internet come un articolo e aggiungiamo l'indirizzo della pagina web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). (15. 9. 2008). Http://www. trynova. org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf

Se l'autore non è noto, si indichi il webmaster, anno della pubblicazione, titolo ed eventuale sottotitolo del testo, indirizzo web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso. Se l'anno di edizione non è noto si indichi tra parentesi l'anno di accesso a tale indirizzo:

UP ZRS (2009): Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper. Znanstveni sestanki in conference. Http://www.zrs-kp.si /SL/kongres.htm (2. 2. 2009).

La bibliografia va compilata in ordine alfabetico secondo i cognomi degli autori ed anno di edizione, nel caso in cui ci siano più citazioni riferibili allo stesso autore.

12. Il significato delle **abbreviazioni** va spiegato, tra parentesi, appena queste si presentano nel testo. L'elenco delle abbreviazioni sarà riportato alla fine dell'articolo.

13. Per quanto riguarda le **recensioni**, nel titolo del contributo l'autore deve riportare i dati bibliografici come al punto 10, vale a dire autore, titolo, luogo di edizione, casa editrice, anno di edizione nonché il numero complessivo delle pagine dell'opera recensita.

14. Gli autori ricevono le **prime bozze** di stampa per la revisione. Le bozze corrette vanno quindi rispedite entro una settimana alla Redazione. In questa fase, i testi corretti non possono essere più ampliati. La revisione delle bozze è svolta dalla Redazione.

15. La Redazione rimane a disposizione per eventuali chiarimenti.

LA REDAZIONE

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

1. The journal ANNALES *(Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies,* Ser. hist et soc.) publishes **original** and **review scientific articles** dealing with social and human topics related to research on *the history, culture and society of Istria and the Mediterranean,* as well as *comparative and intercultural studies* and *methodological and theoretical discussions* related to the above-mentioned fields.

2. The articles submitted can be written in the Slovene, Italian, Croatian or English language. The authors should ensure that their contributions meet acceptable standards of language, while the editorial board has the right to have them language edited.

3. The articles should be no longer than 8,000 words. They can be submitted via e-mail (Annaleszdjp@gmail.com) or regular mail, with the electronic data carrier (CD) sent to the address of the editorial board. Submission of the article implies that it reports original unpublished work and that it will not be published elsewhere.

4. The front page should include the title and subtitle of the article, the author's name and surname, academic titles, affiliation (institutional name and address) or home address, including post code, and e-mail address.

5. The article should contain the **summary** and the **abstract,** with the former (c. 200 words) being longer than the latter (max. 100 words).

The *abstract* contains a brief description of the aim of the article, methods of work and results. It should contain no comments and recommendations.

The *summary* contains the description of the aim of the article and methods of work and a brief analysis or interpretation of results. It can contain only the information that appears in the text as well.

6. Beneath the abstract, the author should supply appropriate **keywords**, as well as the **English (or Slovene) and italian translation** of the abstract, summary, keywords, and captions to figures and tables.

7. If possible, the author should also supply (original) **illustrative matter** submitted as separate files (in jpeg or tiff format) and saved at a minimum resolution of 300 dpi per size preferred, with the maximum possible publication size being 17x20 cm. Prior to publication, the author should obtain all necessary authorizations (as stipulated by the Copyright and Related Rights Act) for the publication of the illustrative matter and submit them to the editorial board. All figures, tables and diagrams should be captioned and numbered.

8. Footnotes providing additional explanation to the text should be written at *the foot of the page*. **Bibliographic notes** – i.e. references to other articles or publications – should contain the following data: *author, year of publication* and – when citing an extract from another text – *page*. Bibliographic notes appear in the text.

The entire list of sources cited and referred to should be published in the section *Sources and Bibliography* (starting with sources and ending with bibliography). The author should list only the works and editions cited or referred to in their article.

E.g.: Citation in the text:

(Kalc, 2010, 426).

E.g.: Reference in a text:

(Kalc, 2010).

In the section on *bibliography*, citations or references should be listed as follows:

Kalc, A. (2010): „Statistični podatki o Trstu" ob tretji francoski zasedbi leta 1809. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 20, 2. Koper, Založba Annales, 423–444.

If you are listing *several works published by the same author in the same year*, they should be differentiated by adding a lower case letter after the year for each item.

E.g.:

(Kalc, 2010a) and (Kalc, 2010b).

If the bibliographic note appears in the footnote, it should be written in the same way.

If listed in the same footnote, individual works or sources should be separated by a semicolon. E.g.:

(Kalc, 2010a; Verginella, 2008).

9. When **citing archival records** *within the parenthesis* in the text, the archive acronym should be listed first, followed by the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and number of the document. E.g.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

If the number of the document can not be specified, the record should be cited *in the footnote*, listing the archive acronym and the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and document title. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4, 31, Note on Interview between Colonel Fišera and Captain Wilkinson on December 16th 1939.

The abbreviations should be explained in the section on sources in the end of the article, with the archival records arranged in an alphabetical order. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4 – The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA), fond Special Operations Executive, series Eastern Europe (HS 4).

10. If referring to **newspaper sources** in the text, you should cite the name of the newspaper, date of publication and page:

If the title of the article is also known, the whole reference should be stated *in the footnote*:

The New York Times, 16. 5. 2009: Two Studies tie Disaster Risk to Urban Growth, 3.

In the list of sources and bibliography the name of the newspaper. Place, publisher, years of publication.

E.g.:

The New York Times. New York, H.J. Raymond & Co., 1857–.

11. The list of **sources and bibliography** is a mandatory part of the article**.** Bibliographical data should be cited as follows:

- Description of a non-serial publication – a book:

Author (year of publication): Title. Place, Publisher. E.g.:

Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M., Tavčar, L. (2007): Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

If there are *more than two authors*, you can also use et al.:

(Šelih et al., 2007)

If citing an excerpt from a non-serial publication, you should also add the number of page from which the citation is taken after the year.

- Description of an article published in a **non-serial publication** – e.g. an article from a collection of papers:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. In: Author of publication: Title of publication. Place, Publisher, pages from-to. E.g.:

Lenarčič, B. (2010): Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekokulturnost. V: Sedmak, M., Ženko, E. (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

- Description of an article from a **serial publication:**

Author (year of publication): Title of article. Title of serial publication, yearbook, number. Place, pages from-to. E.g.:

Lazar, I. (2008): Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2. Koper, 349–360.

- Description of an **oral source**:

Informant (year of transmission): Name and surname of informant, year of birth, role, function or position. Manner of transmission. Form and place of data storage. E.g.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, born 1930, priest in Vižinada. Oral history. Audio recording held by the author.

- Description of an **internet source**:

If possible, the internet source should be cited in the same manner as an article. What you should add is the website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis):

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). Http://www.trynova.org/ victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf (15. 9. 2008).

If the author is unknown, you should cite the organization that set up the website, year of publication, title and subtitle of text, website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis). If the year of publication is unknown, you should cite the year in which you accessed the website (within the parenthesis):

UP ZRS (2009): Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper. Znanstveni sestanki in conference. Http://www.zrs-kp.si/SL/kongres.htm (2. 2. 2009).

If there are more citations by the same author(s), you should list them in the alphabetical order of the authors' surnames and year of publication.

12. The **abbreviations** should *be explained* when they first appear in the *text. You can also add a list of their explanations at the end of the article*.

13. The title of a **review article** should contain the following data: author of the publication reviewed, title of publication, address, place, publisher, year of publication and number of pages (or the appropriate description given in Item 10).

14. The authors are sent the **first page proofs**. They should be returned to the editorial board within a week.

It is not allowed to lengthen the text during proof-reading. Second proof-reading is done by the editorial board.

15. For additional information regarding article publication contact the editorial board.

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